

17

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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17











"So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote . . . the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being."

Indira Gandhi

**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**



IN BOMBAY, 1952



# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Seventeen**

**(1 November 1951 – 31 March 1952)**

**A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund**

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PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund  
Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN 0-19-563745-3

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press  
YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001  
Bombay Calcutta Madras  
Oxford New York Toronto  
Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PHOTOTYPESET AND PRINTED BY

Rekha Printers Private Limited  
A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II  
New Delhi 110 020

**General Editor**

**S. Gopal**



## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

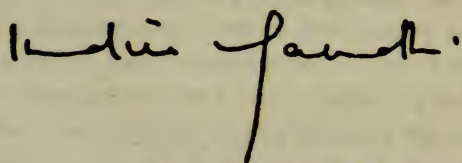
No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interest in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the



'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit, that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Indira Gandhi". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

This volume covers the five months from 1 November 1951 to 31 March 1952, when Jawaharlal Nehru was preoccupied with the general elections—India's first experiment in adult suffrage on a scale without precedent. About a million officials were involved to register over 173 million voters, three quarters of whom were illiterate. Candidates of 77 political parties and scores of Independents contested in 3,772 constituencies.

As President of the Congress, the squabbles over selection of candidates, and the cliques, bossism and lack of organization which were widely prevailing, filled Nehru with dismay. However excitement returned once he set out on a vigorous campaign covering 25,000 miles and addressing in all about 35 million people. He urged the masses to use their minds and was pleased to discover that "the so-called illiterate voter showed greater civic sense than most people of the towns" and, by and large, the voters conducted themselves peacefully. Congress, he felt, was the only party that could ensure unity against communal and separatist forces, push through land and social reforms and build a new and secular India. He welcomed the raising of the issue of the Hindu Code Bill by the communal parties during the campaign as it gave him an opportunity to allay the fears of the common man on this account and to show him how reactionary parties mixed religion with social reforms to mislead him. His political opponents recognized Nehru as the trump card of the Congress and attacked him from every possible viewpoint. So the overall victory of the party was seen as a national vote of personal confidence in Nehru, overriding all other issues.

The left parties were successful in halting the Nehru wave in the South and effectively exploited local dissatisfaction with the existing governments, shortage of food, especially rice, caste groupings, and disintegration of the Congress organization. In Rajasthan, allegiance to feudal elements overshadowed Nehru's popularity. Though he admitted with some sense of pride and satisfaction that but for his extensive tours, "we would have suffered far greater defeats", he took care not to impose himself in the formation of new governments in the States.

On plans for economic development, while recognizing the importance of accurate statistical data, Nehru laid equal emphasis on the human element—participation of the masses in their successful implementation. The draft Five Year Plan seemed to him a realistic attempt "to look at the whole picture of India in its various activities—industrial, agricultural, social, cultural etc." He told the industrialists that any planning would be faulty "unless both private and public sectors are properly adjusted so as to ensure proper coordination" and warned that "freedom to private enterprise tends to create an unwholesome



atmosphere in the present day world. If you want to tackle the big national problems, it is essential that you carry the teeming millions with you."

On Kashmir, although unhappy with the way Frank Graham and his associates allowed themselves to be influenced by Pakistan's underhand methods, Nehru still welcomed Graham's efforts at resolving the problem of demilitarization in Kashmir as a condition prior to the holding of a plebiscite.

Concerned about growing instability in Nepal, he welcomed the end of Rana domination and emergence of a popular government under M.P. Koirala. He also readily sent troops to help quell a rebellion by the Raksha Dal.

He expressed concern about the policy of racial discrimination in South Africa and the creation of communal electorates in British East Africa, the attempt of the imperialist powers to suppress the freedom struggles in Tunisia and Sudan, and their handling of the Suez crisis, the nationalization of oil industry in Iran and the war in Korea.

Elsewhere, he was determined to follow a "policy of friendliness" with all countries. It was "no small achievement" that, at a time when the world was "torn by mutual bickerings, we can stretch our hand of friendship to every country." In this context he viewed India's association with the Commonwealth as "a factor for peace in the world."

The Nehru Memorial Library has been good enough to grant access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Indira Gandhi made available to us documents in her possession and these papers are referred to as the J.N. Collection. The Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of Home, External Affairs and Irrigation and Water Resources, the National Archives of India and the Press Information Bureau have allowed us to use the material in their possession. Some classified material has necessarily been deleted. A letter published in *Two Alone, Two Together Letters Between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-1964* edited by Shrimati Sonia Gandhi has been included in the volume.

The biographical footnotes in the earlier volumes of the *Selected Works* have been indicated in the index with the volume number.

Shrimati Maya Gupta resigned in June 1994 after being associated with the *Selected Works* project for about twenty years. She was involved in the preparation of this volume at the time of her departure.

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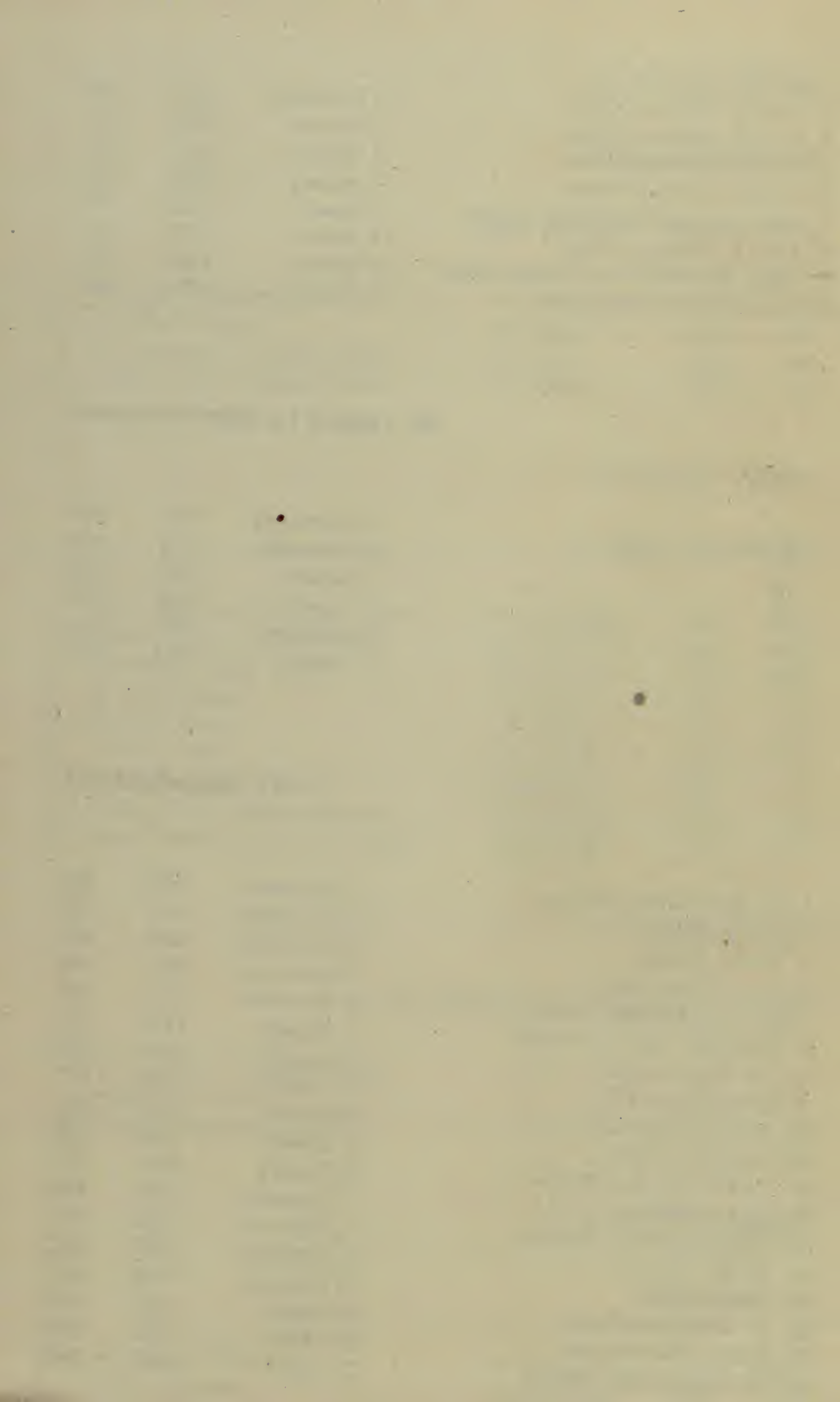
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## ABBREVIATIONS

AIR	All India Radio
ANC	African National Congress
BNR	Bengal Nagpur Railway
CGS	Chief of the General Staff
DM	District Magistrate
FICCI	Fédération of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry
GO	Government Order
HM	Honourable Minister
IAS	Indian Administrative Service
IAF	Indian Air Force
IAAS	Indian Audit and Accounts Service
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
IPS	Indian Police Service
KMP/KMPP	Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party
KMT	Kuomintang
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MLA	Member Legislative Assembly
NAI	National Archives of India
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
NRSR	Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
SAIC	South African Indian Congress
STRIM	Societe Technique De Recherches Industrielles & Mecaniques
TNCC	Tamil Nadu Congress Committee
UFL	United Front of Leftists
UNCIP	United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WPS	Ministry of Works, Power and Supply





# THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## I. The General Elections



## 1. Preparing for the Elections<sup>1</sup>

Question: In the last municipal elections,<sup>2</sup> Dr Mookerjee said that there was official corruption. Have you taken note of that?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee's language is rather loose occasionally. When these charges were made,<sup>3</sup> we asked for specific instances to be inquired into. One thing that was pointed out to me was that some ballot boxes had a wider slit and some had a narrower slit and that the ballot boxes with wider slit, were given to Congress candidates and those with narrow slit to the others. I enquired into this and I found that it was perfectly true that about some 25% of the boxes had a narrow slit. We were short of ballot boxes, so that we took some ballot boxes from the District Board which had different types of slits and they were distributed evenly. The Chief Commissioner did that. We knew nothing about it. That is the only thing which was brought to my notice.

Q: What do you think of the *fatwa* being issued by Muslim divines?

JN: I am all against any *fatwa* or any appeal to religion being issued in political matters. It is open to anybody of course to recommend to his friends to vote this way or that way, but I do not think it is at all desirable for religion to be brought in. I was reading this morning, or yesterday, some noted member of the Hindu Mahasabha, or some such group, saying that to vote for the Congress is to commit the sin of cow slaughter.

Q: Will you make an inquiry.

JN: It is not a *fatwa*; it is recommendation.

Q: Will you take action against the offenders?

JN: How can I take any action unless they infringe the law.

Q: How are you proceeding with men of integrity?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 3 November 1951. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 419-426, 481-482, 507-508 and 541-546.
2. The Delhi municipal elections were held on 15 October 1951 in which Congress won 42 seats out of 50, Jan Sangh 5 and Independents 3.
3. Mookerjee was reported to have said that from the recent experience in the Delhi municipal elections, "It is feared that the elections may not be free and fair."



JN: Patting them on the back.

...Q: With regard to the selection of candidates, you have stated that integrity and honesty are the criteria. May I know if this is strictly being followed?

JN: I doubt if at any time in any election quite so much trouble has been taken in choosing candidates as we have been taking. It is very easy to criticize but it is a comparatively difficult job to choose 4,000 candidates and to know all about them and the number of times they have to pass some kind of screening process is considerable. I have no doubt that in spite of those efforts some people get there who are not the right people. I know very well that a large number of people who might otherwise get there have not survived the screening process, because it is quite impossible. In dealing with these matters, we have to deal first of all with the local choice, the district or whatever area it may be. Secondly there is the provincial choice or recommendations and thirdly, here. Here too there are two or three screening processes and one has to take into consideration any number of factors. You may divide the candidates into three categories: (1) a small category of obviously good people whom we would like to go through in any case and we choose them straightaway; (2) a category of people who should be kept out for personal reasons or if you have doubts about their integrity or whatever it may be, we keep them out. That is so. These are both relatively small categories; you may call them 10 or 20 per cent in all; and (3) we have to deal with the remaining 80 per cent to whom no such hard and fast rule can be applied. So, one has to judge and balance factors and accept them or not accept them. Among all the factors there is one very important factor and that is local choice. If we find in the alternate choice one is a wrong person, then we consider it in spite of the local choice. But otherwise, we trust the local people. As far as we can, we trust the choice of the provincial people and thus proceed with it.

Q: There is a complaint that even when the screening committee or even your election sub-committee gives the opinion against a certain candidate, if the Chief Minister of the province insists on those candidates, they are accepted. Is this not going against the very objectives for which these committees are appointed?

JN: If the screening committee has given any opinion based on lack of integrity, I am not aware of a single case, not one in which anybody else's opinion has prevailed, unless that matter has been further enquired into and we found that the charge was not justified. Remember that we cannot inquire into these matters deeply. It is impossible in hundreds and thousands of cases. We have to go by the facts before us, the general reputation etc. If they are clear, there



is no doubt that the decision is made immediately. If it is not clear, they have to be balanced. The Chief Minister or anybody else who comes sometimes puts in additional factors before us. He sometimes explains something which we do not know. But there has not been a single instance where a Chief Minister or any one has pressed for the inclusion of a person against whom the facts were more or less clear.

Q: Would you invite some independent men of integrity and ability to contest seats, if not on the Congress ticket on an Independent ticket?

JN: No. We want people to agree with our basic policy, aims, ideals and objectives completely. I do not understand this argument. When I said we want integrity, honesty and all that, it does not mean that we would pick up such people who are, no doubt, intelligent people and are good too—but are opposed to our very ideals and our policy. Which political party will take in its ranks people who are opposed to its ideals and policy? I have never heard such a thing in politics. People come to me or write to me and say “I am a man of integrity.” Of course, everybody agrees with that, but they come to us with no political record or any record, and nobody knows what they think or do. In fact, what they have done sometimes is not right from the viewpoint of any political programme. We want men of integrity but they must accept our election manifesto and our general programme.

Q: At the time when the Constituent Assembly was meeting, you were liberal enough to take in men who did not belong to the Congress and even in the Cabinet there are people who do not belong to the Congress.

JN: You are perfectly right. You may take a man who has not been in the Congress. That is an entirely different thing. You take him because he agrees with our policy. But how can we take a man who does not agree with our policy. I do not understand that. If a person does not agree with the basic policy, how can we make him a candidate. It is a patent thing.

Q: Just as other political parties have shown a gesture by declaring that they would not contest outstanding personalities in your party, like yourself or Mulana Azad,<sup>4</sup> is your party going to show a similar gesture by not contesting the seats of Acharya Narendra Deva<sup>5</sup> or Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee?

4. Union Minister for Education at this time.

5. Chairman of the Central Executive of the Socialist Party.

JN: If you will forgive my saying so, these questions show a certain lack of political maturity. The Socialist Party contains some of my old intimate friends whom I admire and respect. But if a party is frankly not only an opposition party, but a party whose main purpose is to attack my party, how can you expect us—I am not speaking of any particular seat as to what we would do or we would not do; I am talking about general principles—in the normal course of things, not to put our viewpoint before the electorate? I have not criticised a single member of the Socialist Party by name or otherwise; in fact, I have said normally good things about them. But, the kind of personal things that are said about us, about our party, about my Government and about me personally, sometimes, make me a little sad, that people should feel so frustrated as to indulge in that language and sink to that level. But the question is one of putting forward certain policies before the electorate and getting their agreement, or in the event of failing to get it, educate them. I do not want uncontested elections in this country. I want contested elections. Let the people learn by it. A wrong man may get in; a right man may keep out. Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee—you have mentioned his name—happens to represent, at the present moment, everything that I consider wrong and objectionable in this country. What is the point of my not opposing Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee if he stands? It means my accepting, to allow that area which he may represent, to accept his policy.

Q: I am sorry, my question has been misunderstood. My question was not that you should not oppose the Jan Sangh; certainly not. It was a question of a reciprocal gesture, just as the Socialist Party has declared that they are not going to contest your seat or Maulana Azad's seat: not that they are not going to contest the Congress. Just as a gesture.

JN: May I remind you that the Socialist Party is not contesting probably 75 per cent of the seats in India? Out of 4,000 seats, they are not contesting 3,000. They may throw away my seat among those 3,000 or throw away half a dozen more.

Q: Would you like to contest persons who represent liberal traditions like Pandit Kunzru?<sup>6</sup>

JN: I do not want to go into personal questions and individual seats. I can only state in broad terms. It may be that in some particular place, we decide for a variety of reasons not to contest a seat. That would be very exceptional and special cases where we may do that. That again depends on certain factors. We cannot order people about. Suppose the local constituency insists. I will give an instance, about Dr Matthai.<sup>7</sup> It was stated in some papers that I invited

6. Hriday Nath Kunzru, a liberal and a noted parliamentarian.

7. John Matthai was the Union Finance Minister who resigned in May 1950.



Dr Matthai to stand on the Congress ticket and that he refused. That, of course, is wrong. What happened was this. Dr Matthai wrote to me saying that he wanted to stand as an independent candidate and hoped that the Congress would not oppose him. I wrote to him immediately that so far as I was personally concerned, I would have no objection, but it depended also on the constituency. I cannot ignore the wishes of the constituency. I referred him to the people in Travancore. His constituency and the province wrote to us very strongly saying that they did not approve of not opposing Dr Matthai if he stands as an independent candidate, but that if he was prepared to take the Congress ticket, then, they were prepared to accept him. They offered it to him; but he was not prepared to accept it. Therefore he stands as an independent candidate and his constituency has said that they will oppose him. As I said, personally, I have no objection; but I cannot easily override the province and the constituency in that matter.

Q: In nominating candidates, how do you treat applications from journalists?

JN: With the greatest respect.

Q: How much of India do you hope to cover in your election tour?

JN: I can cover the whole of India by going from here to Cape Comorin. There has been a talk about my having a sort of intensive seven-week tour. That is wrong. I cannot go away for seven weeks or even one week. What was said was that in the course of seven weeks, I shall occasionally go for three or four days and then come back and then go for three or four days. We shall do that. I have not drawn up any tour programme at all.

Q: What is your reaction to the suggestion for the constitution of a caretaker Government for the next two or three months? Most of your Ministers are busy with the elections and it is said that some officials find it very difficult to contact some of the Ministers.

JN: My reaction to it is not favourable. In fact, the question does not arise. I have not heard of a caretaker Government. Some people cannot get out of the thought that the British are still ruling this country.

Q: Don't you think that we should also adopt certain healthy practices? Not a caretaker Government; but about the use of Government vehicles and Government conveyances in the course of election tours. The British politicians never do that.

JN: I do not know if you have seen the rules that have been framed in regard to this matter. They are very strict.

Q: Mr Attlee does not do election tours in Government vehicles.

JN: I do not propose to, either, except in the case of air travel about which specific rules have been framed. I am in great difficulty and it is a continuous difficulty. The kind of rules that have been framed have been framed against my wishes in the matter. Even apart from the elections, I am not allowed to travel by an ordinary service plane. I am not allowed to travel except by an Air Force plane.

Q: Which is the authority that frames these rules?

JN: There are any number of authorities. I do not know if I am correct but I am told that although the President of the United States has enormous powers, his word is not obeyed in regard to security arrangements for him. He cannot pass any order about himself. Others pass orders, because, naturally the person himself does not want trouble to be taken about himself and so on. The time and other elements are there. Apart from my travelling for this tour, wherever I go, sometimes, bills have to be paid and as a matter of fact, if I go by the ordinary plane, it costs the Government more. I am not talking about the elections. There are other persons who accompany me during the tours. The normal practice in most countries, I believe, is—I am not talking of elections—that a certain number of Air Force planes are placed at the disposal of the Members of Government. These Air Force planes have to fly a certain number of hours; anyhow, they have to be kept in practice. The Government Members may require the planes urgently. In England, they have got half a dozen planes, big and small. In half an hour, they get them. There cost is not involved because they have to put in a certain number of hours' flying and they become practice flights. You cannot calculate the cost by any other means. In a small way, we started it here also and have placed three or may be four—two smaller ones also—at the disposal of Government, for special purposes, more especially for the President, the Prime Minister, and the Minister for Defence. There used to be some kind of adjustment in accounts about that, charges for petrol paid by one department to the other, etc. Now, it has been cleared up.

Q: So far as Government tours are concerned, it is all right. But is not the Congress having enough funds to pay for its election tours?

JN: It is not a question of payment. We do pay for any part that is political. But, why should I pay for the hordes of security people from the Congress funds? I do not want them. If they want to accompany, somebody will have to pay for the security men.

Q: Will it not be a remedy to allow the other party people to travel in the I.A.F. planes?

JN: They will have to wait until they are Members of Government....



## 2. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 6, 1951

My dear Krishna,<sup>2</sup>

I would have written to you earlier but for the fact that I have been expecting your letter. I made that an excuse for delaying writing to you. The real reason is that I am rather overwhelmed with work, most of it of the dullest and most distressing kind. More and more I hate this election business, more especially the choosing of candidates. We have to work under tremendous limitations and have to accept many persons whom normally one would not like to have. The choice is limited and we have to choose four thousand candidates within a short time. I do not look forward with any great enthusiasm to the new Parliament and Assemblies....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Indian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom at this time.

## 3. To Vijayalakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 7, 1951

Nan dear,

I am not sure if you will receive this letter before you leave Washington.<sup>2</sup> Probably it will reach you just in time. I have not written to you for some time, because life here has been rather feverish on account of these wretched elections that are looming ahead. I sometimes wonder why and how human ingenuity has evolved this extraordinarily futile way of choosing our legislators. My dominant urge and desire today is somehow to reach the middle of February. Of course, I shall do so, because the middle of February is bound to come. Meanwhile, the intervening months are a nightmare.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. Vijayalakshmi had resigned the ambassadorship in Washington in October 1951.

Pantji<sup>3</sup> is here helping in this choice of candidates. He tells me that he has received several messages from you about your nomination.

It must of course be hard for you to bid goodbye to so many of your friends in Washington and elsewhere in the U.S. Yet goodbyes have to be said and should be said lest we become fixtures in one place and static in a changing world. I am of course sorry at your leaving Washington because I am hard put to it to find your successor. But looking at it from your point of view and even India's I think you have taken the right step. What I shall do in the future is more than I can say.

Chief Justice Kania died suddenly last night without any previous intimation.<sup>4</sup> It is extraordinary how life ends suddenly, and yet the world carries on after a momentary shock....

With love from  
Jawahar

3. Govind Ballabh Pant, Chief Minister of U.P. at this time.

4. H.J. Kania fell ill on 29 October and died of a heart attack on 6 November. He was 61 years old.

#### 4. Selection of Candidates<sup>1</sup>

During the last three weeks or so, I have had a new and most unpleasant experience. I have been engaged, together with my colleagues, in selecting candidates for nomination on behalf of the Congress for the general elections. Unfortunately we had decided to adopt a certain procedure of application, publication, appeal, etc., which, I am now convinced, was not a right one. However, this has to be gone through now and we can only profit by our present experience on a future occasion.

Whatever the defects of procedure, I doubt, if at any time, here or elsewhere, so much trouble was taken in the selection of candidates. Apart from the labours of the District and Pradesh Congress Committees, various Committees at the Centre here have taken enormous pains over this matter. There are zonal committees and screening committees which look into each applicant's case thoroughly and often interview him or her. After all this preliminary examination, the matter comes up before the Central Election

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 12 November 1951 and published in the newspapers the next day.



Committee for final disposal. That Committee looks into every case. We have thus far examined and passed in this way three thousand candidates. It should be remembered that for each candidate chosen, there are a number of applicants who are not chosen.

In spite of the trouble taken, mistakes cannot be avoided in such a complicated matter where not only facts have to be considered but many other things which are immaterial and yet important. Charges and counter-charges have often been made. I want to make it perfectly clear that our Committee can neither condemn a man nor absolve him from such charges. We have not the data for that before us. We judge, as we must, on a balance of considerations. The fact that we do not select a person does not mean that we have decided on any charge against him. Sometimes several applicants for a constituency may be good or may have nothing against them. We can only choose one. That does not mean any slur on the others.

I should like to express my deep gratitude to my colleagues in the Congress office here, more particularly Shri Sri Prakasa and the members of his Committee. This Committee has worked practically in a non-stop manner, not only all day but a good part of the night. It has been not only very heavy but also very uncongenial and sometimes depressing work. On the staff of the A.I.C.C. office a very special burden has fallen and they have worked to the utmost of their capacity.

What the results of all this might be, I do not know. But I do know that all of us have worked hard and have tried our utmost to choose the right candidates. This in itself is satisfaction enough.

As the elections are approaching, I should like to utter a word of warning to all Congressmen, and even, if I may, to others also. Let these elections be run with decency and, without ill will. Let us not bring the personal element in them but speak about larger policies and put forward our respective programmes for the acceptance of the Indian people.

## 5. Allegations of Gopichand Bhargava<sup>1</sup>

Dr Gopichand has issued a statement giving his reasons for his recent change

1. Statement to the press, New Delhi, 12 November 1951 and published in the newspapers the next day.

of front.<sup>2</sup> If he has at last found his spiritual home, after much thought and hesitation, I have no quarrel with him. But he has made some statements which require a reply.

He states that "the Congress President, privately as well as publicly, assured of an enquiry." He repeats this charge about an enquiry and accuses the Central Election Committee of having shown partiality. He says that an enquiry against him was hushed up lest it might lead to the exposure of the State Congress. Finally, he demands that "the High Command even at this stage appoint a judicial commission to investigate the charges against us and other groups. Let it suspend the tickets till the completion of the enquiry."

Dr Gopichand is evidently suffering from a certain confusion of mind. The High Command of the Congress does not and cannot appoint judicial commissions to investigate the charges. It is only the Government that can do so. The idea of the Government appointing such a judicial commission at this stage, in relation to the elections, is so impractical that even Dr Gopichand on second thoughts, might realise this.

What I have said repeatedly, in private as well as in public, is this: The Government is perfectly prepared to have an enquiry into any specific charge against a specific person, provided there is some *prima facie* basis for that charge. If a preliminary enquiry leads to substantiation of that charge, further steps will immediately be taken, regardless of who the person concerned might be. As a matter of fact, such enquiries are continually being made on behalf of Government. Where charges are vague and general, it is not possible to have an enquiry. If Dr Gopichand will send me any specific charge against a particular individual, I promise him that I shall enquire into it.

As Congress President, interested in the selection of proper candidates, I have said that we cannot have elaborate enquiries. All we can do is to judge the competence of candidates from such evidence as we may have. That judgement cannot decide in regard to any charges, for or against, but will take the various factors into consideration and decide about the merits of the person to be nominated a candidate having regard to all the facts before us. We have proceeded on these lines.

Dr Gopichand says that "the only course for the High Command was either to withdraw the charges against him or to substantiate them." I do not

2. The brewing conflict between two groups in the Congress—one headed by Bhargava, the Chief Minister, and the other by Bhimsen Sachar, his predecessor, and Pratap Singh Kairon, President of the P.C.C. leading to defeat of a no-confidence motion on 3 April against the Ministry culminated in the resignation of Bhargava on 20 June and imposition of President's rule. Bhargava left the party on 14 November.



know to what specific charges he refers. I told him some time back that he lacked political integrity. Subsequent events have confirmed my opinion. This is hardly a matter for enquiry by a judicial or other tribunal. It is open to anyone to judge from the facts to form his or her opinion.

## 6. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 12, 1951

My dear Dickie,

...Our coming elections have become a nightmare to me, not the actual elections themselves but rather the preliminaries and the choosing of candidates. The desire to stand for election has become an infectious disease, which is affecting a very large number of persons. Most of them not only put forward their own virtues and claims to distinction but run down their rivals. This is a sorry business and I am absolutely disgusted with it. You will have some idea of my task at present when I tell you that we have to choose four thousand candidates for Parliament and all the State Assemblies. I have seldom felt quite so exhausted and depressed as I have done during these days. Indeed I have begun to doubt the value of this particular form of democratic process.

All kinds of parties have cropped up. The Communists will give trouble in some places, but will make little difference. The Socialists will make some difference. Some of them are good men. What I object to are the communal organizations and there are many of these supported by some of the Princes and big jagirdars. The most important of these is Syama Prasad Mookerjee's Jan Sangh. Mookerjee is behaving like a perfect demagogue and his slogan is *Akhand Bharat*—"Indivisible India",<sup>2</sup> that is to say, he is after undoing the partition.

Because we have a vast number of constituencies limited to small areas, the constituency is for some community or group which has a majority in that area, to send up one of its own representatives. I shall be very glad indeed when these elections are over.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. The Hindu Mahasabha had first adopted as its aim and objective the establishment of *Akhand Bharat* on 27 December 1948.

Nearly all the elections, that is the polling, are fixed for January. A very few are taking place this month because the higher mountains are inaccessible after November and the passes are closed. Similarly a few mountain constituencies will have their polling early in February....

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 7. To Chandra Bhan Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 13, 1951

My dear Chandra Bhan,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of November 11th. I entirely agree with you that the manner in which we have proceeded in the choice of our candidates has been unfortunate in the extreme. Unfortunately this procedure was laid down several months ago and I inherited it. I could do nothing to change it at that late stage. More and more during the last two or three weeks, I have come to realize how harmful this procedure has been. But there was no way out of it at this late stage.

I had not been directly connected with these charges, and I have seen the charges made against you in this connection for the first time when you sent the papers to me. I had appointed some committees, called the zonal committees or screening committees, to look into all applications, appeals and other papers not only to lighten the burden of the Central Election Committee but also to some extent, to avoid this detailed consideration of an unsavoury matter by the Central Committee. These zonal committees having been appointed, they had to look through these papers. When there were charges, it seemed the right thing for them to send for the persons concerned. Not to do so would also have led to objection that no information was given.

I propose to suggest to the Central Election Committee to appoint a small committee to consider such matters so as to avoid a discussion in a larger body. I myself hope to be present then.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Treasurer, U.P. P.C.C. at this time.



## 8. To Purushottamdas Tandon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 13, 1951

My dear Purushottamdas,

I have received your letter of today's date. I am sorry that you feel that you should not stand for election either to Parliament or to the Assembly. I hope you will reconsider the matter and permit the Central Election Committee to include your name in either of these two places. Of course we cannot act against your own wishes in the matter. But I do feel that you should agree to stand. It is for you to decide.

I quite understand and appreciate your reluctance to do so. Indeed I sometimes wonder why, in existing circumstances, anyone should be anxious to stand for election. And yet I feel also that there is no escape from it for some of us at least.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

## 9. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 21, 1951

My dear Bidhan,<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter of the 15th November on my return to Delhi.<sup>3</sup>

This business of selection of candidates has been the most distressing and oppressing experience that I have known. I feel completely disgusted. Perhaps what distressed me the most was the U.P. list and selections, partly because I knew many of the people concerned. I confess that I am not satisfied with the work that we have done, but there was a limit beyond which I could not press Pantji. I think that there will be some trouble in the U.P. over these elections.

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal at this time.
3. With regard to the prevailing conflict in Bihar between Sri Krishna Sinha and Anugraha Narain Sinha, Roy suggested that Bihar be left in charge of S.K. Sinha while A.N. Sinha could be offered a central portfolio.

At any rate, most of our work is done now. There still remain Vindhya Pradesh, Delhi, Bhopal, Ajmer and possibly one or two other small places. We are taking a respite for a few days and I am going to Travancore. I shall be back on the 28th. On the 1st December I intend going to Madhya Bharat for three days. In this way I shall be travelling about a good deal now with brief intervals in Delhi.

I am afraid we shall have to accept Bihar as it is for the present. There is no help for it.

I do hope that you have got over your lapse from grace and are much better now.<sup>4</sup>

I have had some reports about Nadia District which disturbed me. They have come from two or three sources, the latest being Colonel Jiwan Singh.<sup>5</sup> I hope you will see him. The reports are chiefly about Tarak Babu<sup>6</sup> (I think that is the name) whose influence and activities there appear to be entirely of the wrong kind.<sup>7</sup> I was also told that large areas of land are lying uncultivated there chiefly because the Muslims are not allowed to cultivate them or have not the wherewithal to do so.

Gaganvehari Mehta of the Planning Commission came to see me yesterday. He was agitated because he had heard that some ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court (I think Deven Sen was his name, but I am not sure) had been suggesting quite openly that Jawaharlal Nehru should be put an end to, as Gandhi had been liquidated, because of my attacks on the Hindu religion. This does not worry me in the least, but I thought that I might pass on this information to you.

Yours,  
Jawahar

4. Roy had hoped to stay on in Delhi till Nehru's return but could not and left for Calcutta as he was "not quite well yet."
5. A former member of I.N.A., Jiwan Singh Bains had worked for Mahatma Gandhi in 1946 and continued to work in West Bengal after 1947.
6. Tarak Nath Banerji entered government service, 1928; promoted to I.P.S. from state police service in 1951.
7. There was a Hindu-Muslim riot in September 1951 in the border district of Nadia. Nehru was informed that the Superintendent of Police, Tarak Nath Banerji had not functioned fairly, followed an anti-Muslim policy and was harassing a Sub-Inspector who refused to follow his orders. For Nehru's letter of 24 March 1952 on the Muslims of Nadia, see *post*, pp. 393-394.



## 10. The First Adult Franchise<sup>1</sup>

I am going to speak to you tonight about the general elections that we are having.<sup>2</sup> All of you know something about them, and there is naturally a great deal of interest in the country on this subject. It is right that each one of you should take interest in this great democratic process on a scale unknown in history. It is also important that you take interest as a citizen of the Republic of India whose future will no doubt be affected to some extent by these elections. Democracy is based on the active and intelligent interest of the people in national problems and affairs, and in the elections that result in the formation of governments. Let us first have some idea of the extent of these general elections. There are altogether 3,293 constituencies all over India. These include constituencies for Parliament, that is, for the House of the People, and the Council of States, and for the Legislative Assemblies and Councils in the States. Altogether, 4,412 representatives will be chosen for these various legislatures. The number of voters on our electoral rolls are about 176,600,000 or 176 million, six hundred thousand. The number of polling booths will be approximately 22,400. Each polling booth will have to be managed by one presiding officer, five clerks and four policemen. As the elections will not take place simultaneously all over India, part of the staff required will do duty in more than one place. A rough estimate of the specialised staff required is: presiding officers: 56,000, clerks: 2,80,000, policemen: 2,24,000. To these have to be added vast numbers of government servants and voluntary workers. Indeed, the whole machinery of the State will be geared up for these elections. The estimated cost of these elections, both for the Central Government and the State Governments, is approximately 10 crores or 100 million rupees. I have referred to the official staff, but you will remember that every candidate will have an election agent, as well as other agents and assistants. You will thus see that the number of people engaged in these elections, apart from the voters, is very great. Indeed, the entire organization is on a colossal scale. It is a test for all of us. This organization for the actual business of polling has been preceded by a tremendous amount of labour of large numbers of persons all over India. First, there was the preparation of electoral rolls. You can calculate the amount of paper required for these rolls and the vast amount of printing which had to be done. Unfortunately, many of our voters are not literate, and we have, therefore, to provide coloured boxes with emblems for

1. Broadcast to the nation, 22 November 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. India's first general elections were held over a period of about six months, from October 1951 to May 1952. Elections were first held for the House of the People and the State Legislative Assemblies. Then, after an interval, elections took place to the Upper Houses, the Council of States at the Centre, and Legislative Councils in the States.

different parties and candidates. This introduces a fresh burden and complication. The Governments at the Centre and in the States have to shoulder all this heavy burden and have to build up a huge staff for this purpose, which functions under the Central Election Commission. But no amount of governmental organization will make these elections a success unless our people cooperate. It is, therefore of the utmost importance for our people to understand all these processes, which lead us to their vote, and to give their intelligent cooperation to them. There are many organized parties running candidates for these elections. There are also likely to be many independent candidates. Every party and every candidate must be given a fair and equal chance in those elections. The fact that one party happens to be in charge of Government, does not entitle it to any special privileges, during the elections. Officers of Government have to function impartially. Strict instructions have been issued to all of them, both by the Central and the State Governments, so that they might carry out their duties, with strict neutrality and independence. The law has laid down penalties for any improper conduct on the part of a public servant. The Election Commission has also issued warnings on several occasions in regard to any improper conduct and it is proposed to take suitable action if such improper or illegal conduct occurs.

Candidates and their agents have to remember their duties and obligations and must be well-acquainted with the rather complicated laws and rules on the subject. Any error or lapse may disqualify them. Ministers of Government, many of whom will themselves be standing as candidates for election, have a difficult task before them. They must not utilize their official position in any way to further their own election prospects. They must try to separate as far as possible their official duties from their electoral or private work. Detailed instructions to this effect have been issued. It should always be remembered that the national flag must not be used or exploited for party purposes. Indeed there are rules strictly laying down on what occasions the national flag can be used for official purposes. It must not be used for any election purpose.

The whole object of democratic elections is to ascertain the views of the electorate on major problems, and to enable the electorate to select their representatives. Parties place their programmes before the public and carry on intense propaganda to convince the electorate of the virtues of each individual programme, as well as of the demerits of other programmes. These conflicting approaches are supposed to educate and enlighten the electorate and enable it to choose rightly. For some odd reason, elections lead to a great deal of excitement and sometimes even passion. Unfortunately, this excitement may also lead to improper behaviour and to a lowering of normal standards. We have to be on our guard against this. It is of the utmost importance that all of us, to whatever party we might belong, should maintain a high level of propriety and decorous behaviour. Our propaganda, by speech or in writing, should not



be personal, but should deal with policies and programmes. It should on no account be allowed to degenerate into personal criticism and abuse.

This is our first general election on adult franchise. The standard we set up now will act as a precedent and govern future elections. The elections have already begun and polling has taken place in some of the remote valleys of Himachal Pradesh. This had to be done now, because in the depth of winter the mountain passes are closed and travelling becomes very difficult. For the same reason, a few constituencies in the mountain parts of Uttar Pradesh will poll in February next. But, apart from these exceptional cases, polling will take place all over the length and breadth of India, in January next on various dates, which have been announced. I have given you a simple and rather bald account of these elections. I should like you, however, to try to visualise the inner significance of this great adventure of the Indian people. Imagine hundreds of millions of people on the move all over India to determine the future government of this country. They do so, or should do so, peacefully and will put their voting papers in tens of thousands in ballot boxes indicating their choice. Out of these voting papers will emerge the Members of the Parliament of India, and of the State Assemblies, and we shall accept the result of this election, whoever wins or loses. That is the essence of democracy. All of us naturally want the cause we represent to triumph, and we strive our hardest to that end. In a democracy, we have to know how to win, and how also to lose, with grace. Those who win, should not allow this to go to their heads; those who lose, should not feel dejected. Naturally, we want the person or the group that we consider right, to win, and we work to that end. But the manner of winning or losing is more important even than the result. It is better to lose in the right way than to win in the wrong way. Indeed, if success comes through misconceived effort or wrong means, then the value of that success itself fades away. There has been a long argument specially in India about means and ends. Do wrong means justify right ends? So far as we are concerned in India, we decided long ago that there can be no right end if the means employed were wrong. If we apply that to this business of elections, we come to the conclusion that it is even better for the wrong person to be elected than for a right person to win by dubious methods. If such dubious methods are employed, then the rightness of the right person itself fades away. I lay stress upon this, because it is important, and because there is a tendency during election time to forget normal standards of behaviour. I earnestly hope that every candidate, and those who support him, will remember that, to some extent, he has the honour of India in his keeping and will conduct himself accordingly. For the 4,412 seats to be filled, there are innumerable applications. Out of these, a limited number are chosen and out of these again only some will win, and others will lose. So there will be a very large number of these, who are not chosen as candidates and of these who being chosen, do not

succeed. I hope that those who fall out in the first or second round will not take this to heart too much. There is a mistaken impression that the service of India largely consists of going to the legislatures. That is a bad and a wrong impression. No doubt, people can serve in the legislatures, but people can serve better outside them also. In any event, elections come from time to time, and it is not necessary to get too excited about them. Let us face them calmly, and take them in our stride. I should like to add what I have often said before, that we owe a special duty to our minority communities and to those who unfortunately are backward economically or educationally, and who form the largest part of the population of India. We are all clamouring for our rights and privileges. It is more important to remember our duties and responsibilities.

Let us, then, face this great adventure of our general elections, with good heart and spirit, and try to avoid ill will even in regard to those who oppose us. Thus we shall lay the firm foundations of the democratic structure of this great Republic.

## 11. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 22, 1951

My dear Rajaji,

I have not written to you for many days. I was happy to receive your letter sending me your good wishes on my birthday. It was particularly welcome. I need very much good wishes from you.

I have seldom had a more depressing experience than the one I have gone through during the last month in connection with the selection of candidates for election. This has been a terrible business, physically most exhausting and mentally distressing. My distress is the greatest in regard to the U.P. I am unhappy about the whole thing and yet I do not know what else to do about it.

I am paying a fleeting visit to Madras on the 27th November. I hope I shall see you then. Delhi has not been the same since you left us and there is a big gap here which creates a sense of vacuum.<sup>2</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Earlier on 4 November Nehru wrote to Rajagopalachari: "Delhi seems to be somewhat different without you. Even though I did not meet you for a few days, it was comforting to know that you were there. I feel rather lonely now." Rajagopalachari had resigned as Union Home Minister in October 1951 on grounds of health.



## 12. To Lady Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

Jaipur

December 3, 1951

My dear Edwina,

Forgive me for sending this type-written letter to you. I am doing it to save time and time has somehow become very precious, or rather I am constantly trying to put in a day more work than it was meant for. One of my continuing troubles is how to cover the whole of India within a brief month or so. I rush about from north to the far south and from east to west and yet a vast area remains uncovered. Insistent demands come to me from all the States demanding my instant presence. What is more, they want to take me to out of the way places, covering a long stretch of road, not realizing that I have to visit scores of other towns and rural areas.

I wrote to you after my return from my southern tour. I am now in Jaipur, having practically finished another lap of this journey. I have visited Indore, Dewas, Ujjain, Mhow, Morena, Gwalior, Bhopal and Jaipur, in the process adding to my knowledge of India's geography. Tomorrow morning I return to Delhi for a two-day spell. Then again I go on tour visiting various places in Rajasthan such as Udaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Bundi, Bharatpur, etc.

The more I travel about in this way, the more a feeling of excitement seizes me. This is not, I think, due to elections and the like, but rather to a fresh discovery of various parts of India and of the masses of human beings that inhabit them. Wherever I have been, vast multitudes gather at my meetings and I love to compare them, their faces, their dresses, their reactions to me and to what I say. Scenes from past history of that very part of India rise up before me and my mind becomes a picture gallery of past events. But, more than the past, the present fills my mind and I try to probe into the minds and hearts of these multitudes. Having long been imprisoned in the Secretariat of Delhi, I rather enjoy these fresh contacts with the Indian people. It all becomes an exciting adventure. I feel naturally physically tired by this constant movement and long speeches, but the tiredness passes off because of the feeling of adventure and excitement. Usually, when I return to Delhi, there is a reaction and I suddenly feel very tired.

I speak to these people and I try to tell them in some detail of how I feel and what I want them to do. I refer to the elections only casually because, I tell them, I have bigger things in my mind. The effort to explain in simple language our problems and our difficulties and to reach the minds of these simple folk is both exhausting and exhilarating.

As I wander about, the past and the present merge into one another and this merger leads me to think of the future. Time becomes like a flowing river in continuous motion with events connected with one another....

Yours  
Jawaharlal

### 13. To Asaf Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 4, 1951

My dear Asaf,

On my return to Delhi today I received your letter of the 30th November.<sup>2</sup> I must apologize to you for not writing and telling you of my proposed visit to Orissa. As a matter of fact all this writing is being done by the Congress office.

I am living at present in some kind of dazed condition. The burden of these elections is very largely falling on me. So far as touring is concerned it is almost entirely on me. Then there is the A.I.C.C. office, selection of candidates and many other arrangements. Maulana shares in this work and is giving a good deal of his time to it. I am trying very hard to go to as many places as I can. It is manifestly impossible for me to visit the whole of India in the month of December. I am giving just two days to a province. Even so I cannot go to all of them. I have therefore fixed two days for Orissa. I cannot add to this and as for my taking rest, that will have to be some time in February. But then, these two months—December and January are almost a nightmare.

I have just received my two days' programme from Naba Krushna Chaudhuri.<sup>3</sup> I can't make much of it but I suppose I shall have to accept it. From this it appears that I reach Cuttack in the afternoon of the second day and spend the night there. I am glad of this as this will enable me to meet you. Of course you must not accompany me during this tour. That would not be fitting.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Asaf Ali, Governor of Orissa, wrote that he had not been informed of Nehru's proposed visit to Orissa and requested him to stay with him for a couple of days.

3. Chief Minister of Orissa.



Deshbandhu's death<sup>4</sup> was a shock to all of us. I had an engagement with him the next day!

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Deshbandhu Gupta, a prominent Congressman of Delhi, died in a plane crash near Dum Dum, Calcutta on 21 November 1951.

#### 14. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 9, 1951

My dear Shaikh Sahib,  
Mridula<sup>2</sup> gave me your letter of December 7th today on my return to Delhi. I am off again on tour on the 12th morning. But for very brief visits to Delhi, I shall be absent till the 3rd January. Again I shall go out probably on the 8th and return on the 12th. Even this will not be an end of my touring, because I shall have to visit some places between the 15th and the 18th January. I hope that that will see the end of this business at least.

I have set up some kind of a record in swift election travelling all over India and delivering a large number of speeches to vast audiences. The audiences have been tremendous.

I am sorry you are having further trouble with the Praja Parishad in Jammu. I cannot imagine a greater folly than what they are doing. I think that this is a reaction to our election campaign here. As soon as the election is over this will subside. In any event, this has to be dealt with firmly.

I would like to come to Jammu myself, but I do not see how I can manage it when these elections are on. Perhaps in the last week of January, it might be possible. Indeed, I would like to get away from Delhi etc. then.

As far as I can see, nothing much is happening in Paris, and very soon Graham's six weeks will be up.<sup>3</sup> I have been slightly out of touch, but I have seen the telegrams and they indicate no progress.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Mridula Sarabhai.

3. On 10 November 1951, the Security Council approved an Anglo-American resolution calling upon the United Nations representative, Frank Graham, to continue discussions with India and Pakistan for another six weeks and seek an agreement on demilitarization of the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The resolution also instructed him to report back to the Security Council with his comments within the next six weeks.



I have given a good deal of thought to the question of your touring in India for our election work. I was not quite clear in my own mind about it and hence I did not write to you. Of course your coming will make a difference in many places, but there are some other considerations also. I think that, in view of the situation in Jammu and elsewhere, you should spend most of your time in your State. On the whole I am inclined to think that you should not travel about India on election business, nor should Bakshi or Beg.<sup>4</sup> But it would be worthwhile your sending some competent workers whom we can utilize in special constituencies. For instance, I would like to help Shah Nawaz<sup>5</sup> in Meerut, Syed Ahmed<sup>6</sup> in Hoshangabad, Abdul Ghani<sup>7</sup> in Gurgaon and some people specially in Rajasthan. If you send any workers, they should go straight to Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>8</sup> at the A.I.C.C. office in Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad and Mirza Afzal Beg were Ministers in the Interim Government of Kashmir since 5 March 1948.
5. Shah Nawaz Khan, formerly of the Indian National Army, was elected to the first Lok Sabha (Meerut), 1952-57.
6. (b. 1896); advocate; Chairman, District Council, Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh, 1938-47; and member of the first Lok Sabha (Hoshangabad), 1952-57.
7. Abdul Ghani Dar (1907-1980); member, Progressive Independent Party, Punjab; member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-62, and member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-67.
8. General Secretary, A.I.C.C. at this time.

## 15. To Lady Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 23, 1951

My dear Edwina,

I came back to Delhi this afternoon after a rush tour in the Punjab. In less than three days I visited most of the cities and some of the rural areas there. As usual, there were big audiences. In Amritsar and Jullundur a vast multitude, estimated at anything between 2,00,000 and 3,00,000, gathered to hear me. Last night I was at Ferozepore and after my public meeting I went over to the Pakistan border which was nearby. I crossed the bridge which

1. J.N. Collection.

separates India from Pakistan. There were the pickets and the sentries all alert, and even dug-outs and the like. Yet, it was very calm and I was told that the relations between the Indian and Pakistan armymen were fairly friendly.

Early tomorrow morning, at the crack of dawn, I leave again, this time for rather a longer tour which will last ten days and will take me to the west, the south, the east coast, Bihar, Assam and Bengal—a wide range. I shall come back to Delhi on the 3rd January.

I had hoped to have some free days after that, but this election campaign grows more and more feverish and hectic and the days that were kept for leisure or other work gradually get filled in. It seems to me that I shall have to be carrying on in this way right up to the 20th January. That seems to be the last date, because the final pollings will take place soon after.

All this has been rather a remarkable test of endurance. My day normally begins at 5.30 a.m. and ends at 11 p.m. or later. In the course of the day, I deliver four to five major speeches, each lasting about an hour or so. Usually the evening meeting is the biggest and I speak the longest, sometimes for an hour and a half. I talk to these vast multitudes in a quiet and conversational way, trying to explain the problems before us and what we should do about them. It is extraordinary how, as a rule, they remain quiet throughout this business. At the Jullundur meeting I spoke for an hour and a half and there was almost pin drop silence throughout. Almost everywhere I have found very large numbers of women attending.

It is extraordinary how the human frame adapts itself to a new environment and to a novel method of living. I have now more or less adapted myself, and it seems that I can go on in this way almost indefinitely. I take snatches of rest and sleep in the plane or the car, as the case may be. Indeed, on the whole I feel less tired than I do sometimes in Delhi. Perhaps this is due to the excitement of the moment which serves as a tonic, and reaction may come later. Even my voice has held, although it is hardening and becoming rather coarse. Sometimes, I fear, I look a little haggard. But I recover soon.

I am travelling about not as Prime Minister, but as Congress President. I avoid, therefore, as far as possible, taking facilities which a P.M. normally gets. But it is impossible to separate the two and, in any event, there are always rather formidable security arrangements. I suppose these arrangements do some good or prevent some evil, but it is the easiest thing in the world for any determined person to overcome them. I passed through crowds in the streets and they threw flowers and garlands at me, sometimes hitting me hard. It is equally easy for them to throw something dangerous. Even a stone would hurt. All the security arrangements cannot prevent this.

Apart from this, the major staff work and organization part of these



vast gatherings and touring is a big job. I must say it has been rather well done.

I think I have written to you that our Parliament—the old one—will meet on February 5th and will last for about three weeks. I am not yet sure what I shall do between the 20th January, when my touring ends, and the 5th of February. I suppose I shall be in Delhi most of the time, though I might go out for an odd day. I had hoped to go away for two or three days to rest somewhere.

In any event, I shall be here most of the time and specially on January 26th, which is our Republic Day.

You have mentioned in one of your letters that you might be coming here about the end of January. If you could be here on January 26th, you could participate in our Annual Show. Because of the elections, perhaps it might not be quite as it is supposed to be.

During my earlier tours Indu accompanied me. Then once Nan did so. Now with the pace hot, both of them are working separately. Two days ago, in the Punjab, Indira and I went in different directions. She went by car somewhere towards Kangra. I went by air to Amritsar and then by car to Gurdaspur. To my surprise, as I landed at Gurdaspur, I found Indira was stranded somewhere nearby, because her car had broken down. She had no food either. Of course, I am looked after much better.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 16. Congress and Democracy<sup>1</sup>

Question: How do you propose to purify the Congress?

Jawaharlal Nehru: A change of environment is necessary and that can be made by a two-fold approach. One is the individual approach and the other mass approach. The individual approach is obviously not possible. If the

1. Interview to the press in the train, Kakinada, 27 December 1951. From the *National Herald*, 29 December 1951.



environment is bad, the bad individual, of course, remains bad. Even a good individual tends to become bad and is pulled down by the environment. My business is to improve the environment, because in a good environment a man's virtues come to the forefront.

Q: Are the Congress candidates set up for election ideal?

JN: Congress candidates set up for election are not all ideal. But I hold there has been greater scrutiny in the choice of Congress candidates than in any other party.

Q: When will the new Government assume office after the elections?

JN: Elections to the upper houses will be over by the end of March and the President's election will take place probably in April.

Q: How is it that you talked about the deteriorating standards in democracy at the UNESCO seminar?

JN: At the UNESCO seminar held in Delhi recently,<sup>2</sup> I had spoken of deteriorating standards in democracy. Several papers had written articles on this, presuming that my speech had reference to the present elections.

I did not at all have the elections in mind but my reference was to the new society that had sprung up in the West in the wake of tremendous changes after the Industrial Revolution.

When we talk of democracy here we have in view the nineteenth century democracy of England or the early twentieth century.

Our leaders are still Gladstone<sup>3</sup> and Bright.<sup>4</sup> Democracy all over the world is facing a big crisis because of the development of new society and none exactly knows what shape it will take.

I feel that following rapid industrialization people are likely to function as mere machines, which in turn might deteriorate the standards of democracy.

2. For Nehru's address at the concluding session of the seminar on 20 December 1951 see *post*, pp. 198-204.

3. William Ewart Gladstone.

4. John Bright (1811-1899).

## 17. Security Arrangements at Election Meetings<sup>1</sup>

I think that the Election Commissioner<sup>2</sup> was quite right in objecting to the terms of the orders issued in Travancore-Cochin in regard to my visit. As a matter of fact I also expressed my objection to the Chief Minister of the State.<sup>3</sup> I had not then seen the orders but had merely seen the telegram of Shri Thanu Pillai.<sup>4</sup> He informed me that much of what he has suggested was directly or indirectly connected with proper security arrangements at the meetings and elsewhere, and that it was clearly understood that all expenses will be borne by the Congress.

2. My meetings have been of such colossal dimensions, the audience numbering from a hundred thousand to much more, that very special arrangements have had to be made to prevent upsets and confusion, apart from worse consequences. The District authorities were concerned with the maintenance of proper order at these meetings to prevent the vast crowds from getting out of hand, apart from the question of security.

3. Directions in regard to the organization of the meetings and the rostrum were primarily drawn up by Central Intelligence from the security point of view and they insisted that these directions should be carried out. The actual communications in regard to these directions were communicated to the All-India Congress Committee who were asked to forward them to the local committees. Central Intelligence insisted on these directions being given effect to from their own point of view. As a matter of fact this generally proved a success and the vast crowds were kept in check and in their proper places. Wherever some new arrangement was tried by the local people we almost came to grief.

4. I have already impressed the local authorities (both the Chief Ministers and the Congress people) that Government's help should not be taken except in regard to security arrangements. Much of my touring for election purposes is over now.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 29 December 1951. J.N. Collection.

2. Sukumar Sen.

3. C. Kesavan.

4. Pattom Thanu Pillai.



## 18. Government Servants and Political Activities<sup>1</sup>

I do not know what the precise rules are relating to Government servants' participation in political activities. The Election Commissioner is no doubt right in interpreting them as he has done. Nevertheless I think that the old rules are hardly applicable in modern conditions.

2. These old rules presumably were framed in the days of the British Government when politics were essentially anti-government and limited to a relatively small number. Now conditions are wholly different and with the growth of socialized services, more and more people are engaged in some kind of governmental activity. It does not seem quite fair to ask them to abstain even from what might be called passive political activity. I do not think this is done in other countries.

3. It is clear that a Government servant should not take an active part in any kind of political propaganda or demonstration. But it is not clear to me that attending a political meeting is necessarily active participation. That would partly depend on the nature and size of the meeting.

4. Government officers have their function as citizens who vote. They should normally be entitled to listen to arguments etc., and decide. They should not do so in their official capacity but merely attending big meetings in an unostentatious way does not seem to me to be objectionable. Indeed sometime or other we shall have to allow this, otherwise a very large section of people will be partly deprived of their rights as citizens. This of course applies to the meetings of all parties and not merely to those who support Government. It should not apply to any activity which is supposed to be definitely subversive.

5. So far as my meetings are concerned, they have been of such a stupendous scale that a human upheaval of great magnitude has occurred wherever I have gone. The entire resources of that particular area are brought into play to deal with the situation that arises from multitudes of over hundred thousand collecting together. Apart from security, the law and order situation becomes difficult and might become unmanageable unless great care is taken. Some months ago I visited Darbhanga (this was not in the election tour). A large audience gathered. The loud-speakers did not work and so I had to leave the place without speaking. After I left the audience was angry and destroyed the loud-speakers and burnt the rostrum. Obviously where there is such a possibility care is to be taken and efficient precautions.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 30 December 1951. J.N. Collection.



6. My meetings thus practically draw into their field the entire police of the area as well as a number of district officers. They have to go there on duty for security and law and order reasons. Only a few of the local officers are really left out. If these few come at all they are lost in a huge crowd.

7. In one of the places I visited, the Chief Commissioner wanted to sit on the rostrum. I told him not to do so but if he so chose he could sit inconspicuously somewhere.

8. The question of soldiers attending my meetings has also arisen, though not formally. I have seen quite considerable numbers of them in the audience. To prevent them from attending might have led to rather unfortunate results. My case is rather special and has aspects other than political also. It results as I have said in a human upheaval in the area of very considerable dimensions.

9. I think that we shall have to revise our rules about Government servants in this regard. For the present the best thing is to remain quiet unless there is an obvious breach.

## 19. To H.S. Malik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 4, 1952

My dear Malik,<sup>2</sup>

...During the last five weeks I have been incessantly touring and addressing public meetings of colossal dimensions. I think I have actually addressed fifteen to twenty million people during this period. This kind of thing will continue upto the 21st of this month, when at last I can think of something else. It is a strain, of course, but the affectionate welcome of vast numbers of people is an exhilarating experience....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Ambassador to France.

## 20. To Mridula Sarabhai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 6, 1952

My dear Mridu,

Your letter. I think it would be a very good thing if you went to Allahabad. As a matter of fact, from all accounts, the situation there is none too good. Thousands of sadhus have been let loose in the constituency. This is the time of the Magha Mela<sup>2</sup> when all these sadhus congregate there. They make people take oaths in Ganges water and the like. All the important men of the Ram Rajya Parishad, Hindu Mahasabha, etc., are concentrating on that constituency.

I think therefore that we should make a special effort there and I am going to discuss this matter with Lal Bahadur. I should like you to go there as soon as you can. Before you go, you should discuss this with Lal Bahadur.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Every year in the month of Magha (January-February), a fair held at Allahabad is attended by thousands of Hindu pilgrims from all over India.

## 21. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 6, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Stafford Cripps has written to me a very nice letter. In this he has asked me to give you his and his wife's love and greetings, which I do with pleasure.

I have become a nomad with no fixed places anywhere. I have rushed about from place to place all over the country and addressed colossal audiences everywhere. This has been tiring of course, but at the same time very exhilarating.

I hope you are well.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

## 22. To Stafford Cripps<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 6, 1952

My dear Stafford,

It made me happy to receive your letter. Among so many things that are depressing, the fact of your progress to recovery and health has cheered us up greatly. I hope that you will be well soon and that you will be able to carry out your wish to travel and visit India. You will be very welcome here and so of course will Isobel.<sup>2</sup>

I have been leading a very hectic life for the last five or six weeks. Our general elections are on a tremendous scale. At first, I did not want to give too much time to them, but I was dragged in and have been unable to extricate myself. The result is that I have travelled all over the country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and addressed a vast number of meetings everywhere. It is astonishing how people come to these meetings. They vary in size from fifty thousand to several hundred thousands. I think that I have addressed during the last six weeks at least fifteen million people directly and not by radio. The number might be more.

This coming into direct touch with vast numbers of people, who are friendly and full of affection, is an exhilarating experience. For another two weeks I shall be touring. After that, other headaches will follow.

Rajaji is in Madras living a very retired life. Amrit<sup>3</sup> is busy as usual.

With all my love and good wishes for the New Year to you and Isobel.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Lady Cripps.
3. Amrit Kaur.

## 23. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 14, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have received your savingram of January 12th.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.



I would very much like to write to you at some length to explain not only the various matters about which we have corresponded, but also the situation in India. I fear that there is not much realization of this at your end. Perhaps when the elections are over this might be appreciated a little more.

Every party and group in India, apart from the Congress, is concentrating its attack on me both personally and as representing the Congress. The most amazing combinations are taking place just to put me out of business, if possible. Because of my popularity with the masses, I am supposed to be the chief obstruction in other people's way. And so communalists and Communists and dissident Congressmen and independents and a multitude of other groups all join up against us. The burden of meeting this joint and violent assault has fallen largely upon me. I have done my best and have made some difference, but it is difficult to fight on dozens of fronts at the same time.

I do not know yet what the result of the elections will be. All our future programmes must necessarily depend upon that result.

I have written to you already that you should not come to India early in February, as I had previously suggested. You must wait for the full result of the elections and we shall not have them till the end of February. Perhaps March would be a more suitable date for you to come here. But for the present we cannot fix any date and I shall write to you about it later.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 24. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 14, 1952

My dear Dickie,

I received today your letter of the 4th January. It is after midnight and I am leaving before dawn on another of my election tours. But I must write to you, however briefly, before I go.

More than two months ago I wrote to Krishna Menon<sup>2</sup> that it will be advisable for him to have a change. He was getting tied up in all kinds of ways and I wanted him to come to India. My own idea was that he should

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 742-755.

remain in India and even be a Minister here for some time. But I said that it was impossible to decide anything till the elections were over. I said therefore that he might come here on leave early in February, when I thought the greater part of the elections would be over.

I now find that I was mistaken about the dates and our elections will go on till the end of February. For this and other reasons I wrote to Krishna about ten days or more ago and told him that he should postpone his visit to India till sometime in March. I promised to write to him again more definitely later.

That is the present position and he should stay on at least till sometime in March. After that I should like him to come here on leave.

It is very difficult to come to any decision before the elections are over. These elections are not going as well as we had hoped and all kinds of difficult problems are going to face us soon. From the official and organizational point of view, the elections have been amazingly successful. Thus far they have been conducted all over India with surprising efficiency and order. There has been trouble, chiefly in Rajasthan, where jagirdars have terrorized people and prevented them from voting.<sup>3</sup> But our election machine has functioned wonderfully all over India. Everybody has to admit that these elections have been fair. The foreign diplomats are greatly impressed.

For a variety of reasons, every party and group in India, apart from the Congress, has aligned itself against the Congress and the Government. There have been the most amazing combinations of communalists, feudalists, Hindu Mahasabha, Akali Dal, dissident Congressmen, Socialists and Communists.<sup>4</sup> They all curse the Government in the strongest and sometimes in indecent language, because it was felt that I was the chief obstruction in their way. Because of my popularity with the masses, I am considered by all of them as

3. The jagirdars operated through powerful gangs by supplying arms to them. These gangs terrorized the people to vote for the Maharajas and punished those who voted for the Congress.
4. For example, in Bombay, the Socialist Party had an alliance with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party and Ambedkar's Scheduled Castes Federation. In Uttar Pradesh, the Hindu Mahasabha and Ram Rajya Parishad had forged an alliance with the K.M.P.P. and the Socialists. In Andhra, the Socialists had allied with the Scheduled Castes Federation and the Communists with the K.M.P.P. In Punjab, the Scheduled Castes Federation had an understanding with the Jan Sangh. Gopichand Bhargava, the dissident Congress leader who joined the K.M.P.P., had an alliance with the Jan Sangh and sought the support of the Akali Dal. In Travancore-Cochin, the K.M.P.P. reached an agreement with the Communists.



public enemy No. 1. But for my colossal tours all over India, there is no doubt that the various parties would have done better and produced patch-work legislatures and governments. I have had some effect in checking this drift. Nevertheless many changes are taking place which are not good and which will create many difficulties. We shall deal with them when they arise. Enough for the day is the evil thereof.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 25. To Lady Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

Lucknow  
January 16, 1952

My dear Edwina,

Do you remember my telling you about the hundred days which were going to be a difficult period for me? How I look forward to the beginning of February when those hundred days would be over!...

Well, the hundred days are drawing to an end. I think I have gone through about 82 or 83 of them. At any rate, they will see the end of this incessant touring though whether they will bring in real relaxation to me and peace of mind is quite another matter. Already all kinds of difficult problems and big headaches are looming ahead, partly as the result of the elections.

I am now on my last tour, this time of my own province, the U.P. Everywhere else the elections are either over or are still taking place. Because of the vastness of the territory, polling is spread out and sometimes they give several days to a particular area. The U.P. begins polling on the 22nd and this will go on till the end of the month. My present tour is for a week, seven hard days. Today is the second day evening. I started this tour from Allahabad from my own constituency. I went to a number of places in the far interior of the District. The District is a big one and rather unwieldy. This morning I started from Allahabad and motored to a large number of places, passing through three districts and ultimately reaching Lucknow this evening. There was a big meeting waiting for me. Tomorrow I go off again to the south-

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.



eastern corner of the Province ending up with Banaras. Then, in a special train to the northern areas stopping at numerous places *en route*. And so, late on the 21st night I reach Delhi and remain there.

Nan and Indira are functioning separately and we come across each other occasionally. I am not likely to see Indira now till probably the 2nd February when she returns to Delhi. Nan also will be coming back about that time. One of the surprises of this election, which has pleased me of course, has been the very fine work done by Indira. She has worked terribly hard. In Delhi she used to go out at 8 in the morning and return about 11 at night addressing numerous small meetings and groups. She is reported to be a very effective speaker and is in great demand. I have not heard her speaking in public yet.

Delhi lived in a state of high fever for several days with literally scores and hundreds of meetings, big and small, everyday. Then there were processions and the like also. On the 14th it went to the polls and there was an end of all the meetings and the shouting. Suddenly Delhi became quiet, or relatively so. There were hundreds of polling booths and so there was no overcrowding. We do not know the results yet.

My last tour was in Saurashtra (Kathiawar) and Kutch. I enjoyed this very much as I had never visited this part of India except Rajkot. There is a clean and attractive look about Saurashtra. The towns are almost all stone-built and hence I suppose the appearance of cleanliness and neatness. The women of Saurashtra had a high standard of looks. In Porbandar I visited the birthplace of Gandhiji....

The first thing that strikes one about these general elections is the extraordinary success of the organizational side. This organization has worked like a machine and there has been no legitimate or valid complaints about unfairness anywhere. Considering the vast extent of these elections, this is no small achievement.

General elections on such a tremendous scale are a gamble. To have them in this way in India on a basis of adult suffrage was a pure act of faith. That faith has been more or less justified, though the results are not always to our liking. We do not know most of the results yet and it would be rash to prophesy. On the whole, thus far, we have not done badly. But a great deal has to come yet. Oddly enough, we have done rather well in the places where we were supposed to be weak. We have lost however in places where we were over-confident. There have been two or three serious losses by very narrow margins, more specially those of Morarji Desai of Bombay and the Chief Minister of Madras.<sup>2</sup> This is rather upsetting. Morarji was the prospective Chief Minister of Bombay. I suppose we shall have to find another place for him.

2. Desai, the Home Minister of Bombay, lost the Bulsar-Chikhli seat to a Socialist by 19 votes and Kumaraswami Raja was unseated by an Independent at Srivilliputtur by a margin of 118 votes.

On the other hand in Bombay city and to large extent in Bombay province, our success has been far greater than expected.<sup>3</sup> Ambedkar has been dropped out.<sup>4</sup>

The Socialists have not done well at all.<sup>5</sup> The Communists, or rather a group with Communist leadership has done much better than expected.<sup>6</sup> No other party, except the Congress, has made much of a mark. Then there are a number of Independents who have crept in.

As this election has progressed it has almost become a personal attack on me from all the other groups. Our chief opponents in North India are the Hindu and Sikh communal groups. I am the butt and target of their attack. The surprising and distressful part of it is that all kinds of unprincipled alliances are taking place. Thus the Socialists combined with Ambedkar's Party,<sup>7</sup> and thereby lost their repute with the public. Ambedkar has combined with Hindu communalists. Kripalani's Party<sup>8</sup> has also made strange alliances with reactionary groups. In fact every kind of combination is taking place regardless of party or group principles. Everyone's object, outside the Congress has been to defeat the Congress by hook or crook and as I am supposed to give strength to the Congress, which is true, I am attacked bitterly and often indecently.

These reactionary communal groups have tried to make the Hindu Code Bill an issue and all kinds of lies have been circulated against it.<sup>9</sup> I am rather glad that this subject has come up in the elections in this way because that strengthens it during later stages.

It is difficult to prophesy but probably we shall have a considerable majority in the Lower House of Parliament. In some of the States we are not likely to have a majority though our Party will be the biggest. That is going to create difficulties because no other party is capable of carrying on by itself or even

3. The Congress Party won 269 seats out of 315 in the Bombay State Assembly.
4. Narayan Kajrolkar, Congress candidate from Bombay North Reserved Constituency, defeated Ambedkar of the All-India Scheduled Castes Federation by a margin of 14,000 votes. In Bombay Province the Federation had won just one seat. In the Lok Sabha out of 32 seats contested it won two and in the State Assemblies it won 12 seats out of 213.
5. In the Lok Sabha, the Socialists had won 12 of the 295 seats contested and in the State Assemblies they won 126 out of 1,793 seats contested.
6. The Communists and the allies contested for 70 Lok Sabha seats and won 27. They contested for 587 seats in the State Assemblies and won 181.
7. All India Scheduled Castes' Federation of India.
8. Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party.
9. For instance, in Gwalior, certain groups were spreading a rumour that under the Hindu Code Bill brothers and sisters would be permitted to marry each other. They were inciting people to take an oath in the name of Dharma by pouring Ganga water in support of candidates who opposed the Bill.



with unsteady alliance with others. All these problems will have to be faced as soon as the elections are over early in February....

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 26. To. F.R. Roy Bucher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1952

My dear Roy,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 13th January.

I have been rushing about all over India during my election tour which lasted about two-and-a-half months. This has been a great experience and I have addressed vast multitudes of people all over the country. This is over now and the elections are taking place all over India. The results of the elections are not always to our liking, but I must say that the people have shown remarkable discipline and often good sense.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. General Roy Bucher had been Commander-in-Chief in India in 1948-49.

## 27. To A. Soekarno<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1952

My dear Soekarno,<sup>2</sup>

... We have been having general elections on a colossal basis. The number of voters on the rolls were 180 millions. This has been a tremendous experiment

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Ahmed Sukarno was President of Indonesia.



in democracy. On the whole, I have been surprised at the discipline and good sense of the voters.

The election has naturally led to new problems which we shall have to face in the near future....

Yours ever,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 28. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear Krishna,

For two and a half months, I was almost continuously moving about all over India, addressing vast audiences. It was a colossal undertaking. What good it did to the people I spoke to—and they number, I think, at least 35 millions in all, if not more—I cannot easily measure. But this touring did me a lot of good and gave me a fairly intimate picture of conditions in India. That picture, necessarily, could not be a detailed one and I may be wrong in many particulars. But I think that, in its broad aspects, it was true. Apart from any intellectual appreciation of the present position, it brought an emotional awareness. Perhaps this was mutual on both sides. Anyhow, after being more or less cut off for some years, I was brought into intimate touch with vast numbers of the Indian people. The reaction on me was good.

2. The results of the elections are coming in daily. Not all of them are to my liking and some are likely to cause us difficulties, more particularly some individual cases. But, taking it all in all, these elections show an awareness and appreciation by the people of the various issues. There can be no doubt that this general election has served as a powerful factor in developing political consciousness in the people. My own long speeches, they were really personal talks, dealt little with elections as such and much more with all kinds of broader problems. I have little doubt that my tour made a considerable difference.

3. On the whole, the elections were efficiently organized and no major trouble occurred. Most of the complaints have come to us from certain jagirdari areas in Rajasthan and Saurashtra. The people too behaved generally in a very

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

disciplined way. All in all, the elections, quite apart from the results, can be said to have been a success and a justification of adult suffrage.

4. But they have produced difficult situations in the sense largely that it will not be easy to have stable ministries in some Provinces.<sup>2</sup> We shall have to face these difficulties as well as many other headaches. So far as the Central Parliament is concerned, there is little doubt that there will be a big majority for the Congress. It may be that the opposition numbers anything from 150 to 175.<sup>3</sup> Even so, the majority will be considerable. But, at the same time, the opposition, though consisting of several groups, would be much stronger than in the past.

5. During my speeches, I laid special stress on the opposition of the communalists and the reactionaries like the jagirdars etc. I did not say very much about other groups, except to criticize them for their strange and unprincipled alliances, sometimes with the obviously reactionary groups. The Socialists and the K.M.P. and even the Communists did not hesitate in places to ally themselves with zamindars, communalists and the like. They fought against the Congress only because that was considered the strongest opponent. As a matter of fact this injured the Socialists and the K.M.P. a good deal.

6. The Socialists have had a shock. But they are so lacking in intelligent appreciation of events that I doubt if they will profit by it. The K.M.P. is a mixed horde with no particular policy except cursing the Congress and the Government. Indeed the entire programme of most parties opposed to the Congress was a negative one of crushing the Congress and the Government. The Communists were somewhat more intelligent and concentrated on local issues, chiefly food. In the South, especially Madras and Travancore-Cochin, there was much feeling against the Ministries and I think that some of the feeling is perfectly justified. There was also the conflict between Cochin and Travancore. In Madras there was the Andhra question as well as the conflict between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. The Communists sided with the old Justice Party.

7. All this of course was rather confusing and has produced confusing results. It is wrong to think that Communists, as such, have returned all the candidates that may bear their labels or that all their voters voted for communism. In Travancore and elsewhere, the most orthodox people voted for a Communist candidate in sheer disgust with the Ministry.

2. For example, in Madras, the Congress Party could not get an absolute majority and six Ministers including the Chief Minister were defeated. In Bombay, the defeat of Morarji Desai created a leadership crisis. A similar situation had arisen also in Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan due to the defeat of the present and prospective Chief Ministers Takhtmal Jain and Jainarain Vyas respectively. In Travancore-Cochin the Congress Party was defeated.

3. The Congress won 363 of the 489 seats it contested, while the Opposition groups won 126 seats.



8. I must await the full results of the elections. The final result will not be out till the end of February, as some of the U.P. hill areas will vote only about the middle of February. But I imagine that the picture will be clear enough about the middle of February. Some of the new Assemblies will have to meet in March to pass votes on account. The State Legislatures, which have a second Chamber, will have to wait for the election of that Chamber. Generally speaking, second Chambers should be elected by the end of March. Then will come the Presidential election, which is likely to be contested. The new Parliament cannot meet before the end of April or the beginning of May.

9. I am writing all this to you to give you some idea of how things are likely to shape themselves in the course of the next three months. A great burden falls upon me, from both the governmental and the Congress point of view. It is clear that the Congress has to undergo changes. Congressmen have also had many shocks. Whether they will profit by them or not, I am not clear. But I think that they are in some mood to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. We have to work with the material we have got.

10. I have written to you suggesting that you might come here some time in March. I have not indicated any particular date. Our Parliament (the old one) is meeting on the 5th February and is likely to last a month. A good time for you to come would be just about the time when Parliament is ending, that is, the first week or the second week of March. You have yourself not indicated to me what you intend doing about coming here. I can well understand that many things that have happened have pained you. It is frightfully difficult to explain, because I cannot put before you easily the difficulties I have to face here and the whole background of the country. Whatever failings I may have, and they are many, I have a certain appreciation and awareness of conditions in India. I understand the people to some extent and hence they respond to me more than to any other person. In this whole election, practically speaking, every party opposed to us has made me its target of attack—the communal parties, the Socialists, the K.M.P.P., the Communists and the rest. Often enough, these entirely different groups have combined against us, meaning, generally speaking, against me personally. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they think that I am the chief obstruction in the way of their putting an end to their chief opponent, the Congress. Perhaps they are right, because without me, the Congress would have suffered greatly. It is also true that without me in the Congress, there would have been no stable Government in any State or in the Centre and a process of disruption would have set in. Most of our people still think in theoretical terms, quite divorced from reality. They imagine that there is some kind of a continuation of the Pax Britannica, which held the country together, and so they can indulge in all kinds of experiments without fear of the break up of the country into bits. That is far from true. The disruptive forces in India are strong. Indeed we are disruptive by nature,



if I may say so, and only an emergency brings us together. There is even a tendency in the South to resent the North. I suppose all this is derived from our caste divisions and our habit in thinking in terms of small groups rather than the country or some larger issue. We are not quite so bad as Nepal, but it is, by no means, impossible that the fate of Nepal might befall us. Few people think of the Army, Navy and Air Force. They take them for granted. Our Defence Services are good and loyal. But if any sudden changes took place in India, nobody can say what the Defence Services might do.

11. To come back to your coming to India. I suppose you are very annoyed with me and imagine that I do not give you enough protection against attacks, or even that I encourage them. You should know, without my telling you repeatedly, what my feelings are about you. I have been deeply pained and upset at many things that have happened here, but I must confess that you have made it exceedingly difficult for me or for anyone to deal with the situation as that arises. Part of the attacks on you are really meant to be attacks on me and you come only incidentally into the picture. I cannot brush them aside or stifle criticism. I wonder if you have any idea of the vicious criticism and attacks that are continually being made upon me and all those connected with me here, whoever they might be, including Indira. It is difficult enough to deal with them normally. It became still more difficult in election time. Everything is called a scandal. Often one is tempted to go to a law court about it. But then one hesitates because that would be a great nuisance and would add to one's troubles. Newspapers, even more or less friendly ones, continually throw out dark hints and demand investigations and enquiries. Because of this poisonous air, which has some justification in regard to some of our States and even some of our Ministries, I have declared repeatedly that I am prepared to have an enquiry into any serious charge. I have had several enquiries.

12. Because of this background, whenever any charge is made or any information demanded in regard to India House, I have had to address you on the subject, whether I liked it or not. So far as I am concerned, there has been no question of my doubting your integrity and it has pained me to refer these matters to you. It may be that there were occasional errors of judgment which any person can make. Most of these matters have become so complicated that I am wholly unable to understand them. What I want to make clear is that I am functioning in an atmosphere which, though in some ways very favourable to me, so far as large masses of people are concerned, is essentially a hostile atmosphere trying to pull me and my friends down. So far as I am concerned, this does not worry me in the least. I am thick-skinned and I have had and have enough of goodwill and even adulation to last me many life-times. But it does irritate me when my friends are attacked in this way and I am helpless

to protect them. All I can do is to follow the general principle I have laid down.

13. I have written to you fairly frankly on previous occasions and told you that I had come to the conclusion, for a large variety of reasons, that it was neither good for you nor for me or you to continue as High Commissioner in London. You have been there now for four and a half years, a fairly lengthy period, and you have done wonderful work. I am sure that you can do equally good work in future. But I also feel that these entanglements will grow and affect your work and mine and it is, therefore, desirable to have a period of change. Because of this, I came to the conclusion I have referred to above. The more I think of it, the more right it seems to me. That will mean that our work in London will suffer. I realize that. Even so, I see no better alternative.

14. Although my mind is clear about this, there are many consequences of this about which it is not clear. I am anxious, therefore, that you should come to India about the end of the first week of March or thereabouts and spend some time here. You should come here on leave, which may be extended later or otherwise dealt with. Do not be in a hurry to go back because you could be of great help to me here. I am not at all sure how things will shape themselves.

15. You are a very sensitive person and I am always a little afraid of saying or doing anything which would hurt you or upset you. And yet not to say it or do it itself leads to subsequent hurt and, what is worse, misunderstanding. Life is difficult enough. It does little good for us to make it more difficult. I hope, therefore, that you will consider what I have written calmly and think of the wider context in which I have had to function and how we can make the best use of our opportunities, such as they are.

16. Indira is still electioneering in the villages of Allahabad and Rae Bareli Districts. She has worked terribly hard during the last two or three months and is on the verge of a serious breakdown. But she moves about in spite of fever and will not be restrained. Anyhow, this will end by the end of this month.

Love

Yours,  
Jawaharlal







# THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS

## II. The Election Campaign



## 1. The Congress and the Consolidation of Freedom<sup>1</sup>

...The problem of India, though it has many aspects, political, economic, social and psychological, ultimately dissolves itself into a problem of 350 million people; or to put it another way, it is one of the 350 million problems in this country and not one. So while people imagine that I am frightfully concerned with elections and in my talks I speak of elections, nevertheless in my mind, I think of the young children who must be the first priority as they constitute the wealth of the nation and of the 350 million people of India and how their burdens can be eased and how opportunities can be provided for them to improve their standards of life. Though I do not wish for a soft life for the people, because a soft life always results in deterioration, I want to provide the necessities of life and sufficient opportunities for those who have the capacity to grow. It was a well-known fact that people progress only to the extent of their capacity to progress and all the programmes and policies in the world will not take them further if they are not prepared to look after themselves and are ready to stand on their own feet and do things with their own hands....

The main difficulty is too much preoccupation with 'isms'. I do not deny they are important because they help us to think. But they are dangerous if instead of helping us to think they prevent us from thinking and that is what they have done today.

The fact of the matter is that no problem, no national problem just repeats itself. What we had in the 17th, 18th and 19th century England is an important phase to study, to learn from. Historically what happened in the French Revolution is important for us today. What happened in the Russian Revolution is essential for us to understand the fresh set of forces we have to face. But to think we will repeat the England of the 17th, 18th and 19th century or the French Revolution or the Russian Revolution in India, right now, is nothing but to pursue the wrong track. We have to learn a great deal from them, but we have to find a solution to our problems in common. But there is a great deal of difference too in the whole background between the different countries, scientifically, historically, culturally, intellectually and so on and so forth. Therefore we have to solve our problems ourselves. In solving them we can learn a great deal from other people.

1. Speech at a public meeting in Thiruvananthapuram, 26 November 1951. From *The Hindu*, 27 November 1951. Extracts. Nehru gave, during his election campaign, a large number of speeches in various parts of the country. Only some representative extracts are published here.



as one who fought with you and others in the struggle for freedom, and one who in spite of his hundred failings will carry on that struggle to the bitter end. So far as I am concerned the struggle is not over with the coming of political independence, that was only one stage, one journey ended, but the real journey never ends for a nation and even for us the journey is not ended because there is so much in this country which has got to be changed, and uprooted. None of us can sit down and say that we have arrived at the end of the journey, and how can I and how can anyone, who has been given this enormous love and affection by the people of India, sit at home quietly and say, now the time for rest has come. There is no rest for me and there is no rest for any person feeling that way — till the final rest comes and we can work no more. There is no journey's end to a nation's pilgrimage, there is a journey's end, for you and me, but till that time comes, till we have not fulfilled the pledges we have taken, there should be no resting for us. So I went as a Congress worker, as a Congress volunteer, in search of those faces that I knew of old and in search for new faces that perhaps could look me straight in the eyes, and feel the way I was feeling. The idea came into my head because some people, often write in their newspapers and periodicals that the Congress is dead or dying and I just laughed. But when I saw those mighty crowds coming to me, I wondered who all these people were, who talked about the Congress being dead or dying? I wondered if they had any touch with the Indian people, if they knew anything about the people they dare to speak about. For the Congress is not an electioneering device, the Congress is not a mushroom party to run for an election. Elections will come and elections will go, but the Congress will go on because the Congress has its roots in generations of work and service, and trouble and travail — because the Congress has its roots in the hearts of millions of people....

I therefore came to the conclusion after long and painful thought that the Congress has a further mission, and even though the Congress may have fallen into wrong ways here and there, even though, in many local places, it was in the hands of cliques and groups, even though factions had grown in the Congress which had weakened it, even though many Congressmen had become lazy and were not doing much and expected favours, yet, in spite of all this, I feel that the Congress still had a historical mission to fulfil. Therefore, I give my time and energy to it. I do so because of two reasons, one is the positive reason that I feel, as I said, that the Congress has that mission to fulfil, and the other is a negative reason, that there is nobody else but the Congress which could fulfil that mission. Now, I have no grievance against most of the other parties in India. I just do not see why other parties should not exist. Certainly they are welcome. It is dangerous for the Congress or for any organization to have it all its way. There must be opposition, there must be struggle, life is struggle, life is not ease. Any organization, not only an



individual, that has an easy time is corrupted by it. Therefore, I like opposition, I like parties to grow up to oppose the Congress. Therefore, it is not in any spirit that I want it all in my own way. I just do not see today any group, any party in India capable of shouldering the heavy burdens of India, except the Congress....

I read in the newspapers that the Socialist Party has embraced Dr Ambedkar and his group and they have declared in a big rally in the city of Bombay that Mr Asoka Mehta and Dr Ambedkar more or less have two bodies but one mind and one heart. They have said loudly that their alliance is not an opportunist alliance, is not a temporary alliance, it is an alliance because they stand for the same things. Quite extraordinary what discoveries people make on the eve of elections. Now I am interested in many things about this alliance. Dr Ambedkar, ever since he shunned, shall I say, the office, or let us say, left the Government of India, has expressed himself in strong language about the foreign policy of India.<sup>3</sup> He has every right to do so, of course, and it is a mere, shall I say, incidental happening that he had not done so all the four years he was in Government of India. However, he has every right to do so, but what I am interested in is this, in this union of heart and soul between Mr Asoka Mehta and Dr Ambedkar. Has the Socialist Party adopted the foreign policy of Dr Ambedkar? Has the Socialist Party discarded their great international constitutional expert Dr Lohia in favour of Dr Ambedkar? Thus far, we had been told, how foreign policy should be run, by Dr Rammanohar Lohia. Now, it is evident that there are two stars on the firmament of foreign policy in the Socialist Party — Dr Lohia and Dr Ambedkar. Well, I hope the two Doctors will meet and decide exactly what should be done. I am sorry, I do not wish to say a single word which is, if I may say so, disrespectful to any individual. For, in many of these parties, say the Socialist Party, certainly in the K.M.P., even in the Communist Party, I have friends or people who are my intimate friends and I respect them. I do not run away from them or their parties as some of you might. Nowadays I find in India, some people get frightened if the word communism is uttered before them. Well, I am not frightened, I can tell you, and it is no good getting frightened by anything. Some people in other parts of the world also get pulverised by the mention of the word communism, and thereby become less effective in dealing with it because surely, if you want to deal with a danger or what you consider a menace, that is just a reason, why you should think about it rather calmly

3. On 11 October 1951, Ambedkar criticized Nehru in Parliament for being too friendly with China and for being not friendly enough with the U.S.A. The wrong foreign policy, he said in a public meeting in November, had made more enemies than friends for India. India had to spend Rs. 108 crores out of Rs. 350 crores of her revenue on the Army because she had no friends to depend upon in case of emergency.

and dispassionately and not get excited about it. However, there is nothing personal about my feeling because I have the greatest affection and respect for many of the people in the Socialist Party, in the K.M.P.—they were colleagues sometime ago, and I hope they will be colleagues again sometime later.

I do feel that somehow, these elections in India, as perhaps elections elsewhere in the world, have a strange, benumbing effect on people. Benumbing in many ways and their normal standards somehow do not function then. This applies, let us be clear about it, as much to the Congress as to others. Fortunately, if I may with all humility say so, they do not have that effect on me. I do not get excited about elections in the slightest, and whether I win or lose does not cause me the least concern. What I like about elections or anything else is a good fight, and I give a good fight. But for the rest, it does not very much matter to me. I have bigger fights in view. Why should I exhaust my mind and the rest of me in thinking about an election? Anyhow, my point is that the coming of these elections have agitated people all over India, so much that while we talk about high principles and policies, in effect the only dominant urge left is how to win. For a party, the dominant urge is how should a party win, for the individual, his urge is how shall he win. And so, we see large numbers, multitudes of persons all wanting to stand for elections, an astonishing number everywhere. Everybody is convinced that the nation can only be properly served by his being returned to the legislature...

The Congress can change its policy. Let us think about it and change it, if necessary. If we think that is good for the country, let us change the Constitution. I can understand all that, let us do it. But whatever is done and whatever plan is made, must be based on a realistic survey of our resources and what we can do with the material we have got. It is just no good at all talking about communism and socialism and all that unless you show me that, if I take this step, either legal or any other step or even if you like violent insurrection—I am not afraid of the word insurrection or rebellion—but show me that the result will be this or that, and the chances of our attaining our objective are much greater that way. Well, I am prepared to consider it, but it is childish nonsense not to think out these things, and to talk about them vaguely. So that is my grievance. Some leader of the Socialist Party says that the Congress has become a conservative party, and Jawaharlal Nehru is its Winston Churchill.<sup>4</sup>... It is quite conceivably possible that compared to the leaders of the Socialist Party, I may be called conservative. I do not know, one cannot judge oneself. It is equally possible. I think that a certain

4. Speaking at a public meeting at Patna on 23 October 1951, Jayaprakash Narayan said that under Nehru's leadership the Congress Party was now behaving like the Conservative Party of England and the Congress of pre-independence days was long dead.



turn of events may make me more radical than them, because, old as I am—well I am sixty-two—but I still think, I have some sparks of the old fire left in me and in spite of four or five years of taming process in the secretariat of Delhi, I can sometimes feel as I felt ten or twenty years ago. And during the last four or five days I have been progressively feeling like that more and more, and therefore, I have been rather forgetting the elections in the elation of feeling that I have been experiencing of late. Because, I have felt that after all India's problems are not going to be solved merely by this election or that. There are big problems and we have to get moving in a big way. If we have to move in a big way, as we have got to, I think we must have organizational backing for moving in a big way.

I welcome other organizations, Socialist Party and other parties, provided they function peacefully and in a constitutional way. I would not mind the Communist Party functioning as they like, provided they also function peacefully, and not as they have been doing in a subversive way. I do not mind expression of any ideas, whatever they are, however radical, however revolutionary they are, provided the approach is peaceful. But I will not tolerate and no government can tolerate a violent approach. So I do not mind propagation of ideas as I want people to think. Anyhow, if we have to achieve big things in this country, then as far as I can see, these will have to be initiated and pushed forward by the Congress.

The major problem that I have had in my mind in recent days as I sat in that Election Committee selecting candidates during that three or four weeks process of looking at the lists of Congress candidates from various States, I got some insight into the Congress organization in the country which I did not possess because I have been cut off from it for sometime. Now, I am convinced more and more that we have to take up the business of the reorganization of the Congress from the bottom, not just superficially here and there. I had that in mind, of course, at the last session of the Congress also, and you will remember that we passed a resolution authorizing the All India Congress Committee even to change the Congress Constitution...<sup>5</sup>

The pace of progress has been slow, I agree with the socialists if they criticize me that the pace has been slow. It has been slow. The reason for that partly is, what I told you at the beginning, the initial troubles usual in the first year or two, and partly I think due to the lack of enough people to take responsibility to work out the details of administration. Mind you, I think,

5. The 57th Session of the Congress held on 18 and 19 October 1951, passed a resolution amending the Congress Constitution (Article XXVIII). The resolution said the Constitution could be amended, altered or added to only by a session of the Congress. The A.I.C.C. would have authority to amend, alter or add to the Constitution when the Congress was not in session by a majority of two-thirds of the members present and voting at a meeting held specially for this purpose.

our record can compare favourably with any Government's record anywhere. During the past four of five years, we have, of course, made mistakes and we are going to make more mistakes. That is a different matter, but taking everything into account, and the circumstances i.e. all the circumstances, our achievements, though they may not have been particularly impressive yet they are solid and they are such on which we can build, perhaps, much more speedily in the future. Anyhow, we have got to build in the future, and build fast, and for that I am quite convinced that even the best government in the world cannot do much unless it has public cooperation on a big scale and has an organizational support to do it effectively.

### 3. The Congress and National Regeneration<sup>1</sup>

...Even now, as I stand before you after a long interval here in Allahabad, I cannot bring myself to say that I am standing for Parliament and that you should vote for me or that if you don't I will leave you. If you want to vote for me, do so. If you do not, you need not. I have no objection. I have not come here to beg for votes. Please understand this quite clearly. Whether it is in Allahabad or anywhere else, I am not prepared to defend myself or plead for your votes. It is absurd when I have spent a life-time in public service during which it is quite clear that I have done some good work and committed some mistakes too. Now that there are a few years left to me why should I make empty promises?

It is certainly my desire to try to fulfil some of my dreams in the few years that are left to me. We took up the glowing torch of freedom years ago and tried to perform our duties with dignity. So I want to be able to say at least that my hand never flagged while holding that torch aloft and when my time is over I wish to hand it over to the younger generation who will carry it forward. That torch can never be allowed to go out....

Apart from the other internal problems of our country, my special responsibility is to decide what our relationship with other nations ought to be. What should be our foreign policy? What am I to say about that? It is a big question. My personal opinion is that, leaving aside the smaller issues, the path we have followed so far is the right one and we should continue to

1. Speech at a public meeting in Allahabad, 12 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.



follow it. It is my view also that that policy has been very advantageous to our country and I have no doubt whatsoever that we have earned the respect of the world and our stature has been raised. Often, my friends who have been sceptical about our foreign policy, when they come back after visiting abroad return with quite different views. They admit that our foreign policy is very effective and a number of countries look to India and also that respect for India has gone up in the world. So this is a matter of evaluating the merits of our foreign policy from a wider perspective. It is absurd to sit here and write long articles or pass resolutions. I am fully convinced that the fundamental principles of our foreign policy — apart from, as I said, our small mistakes — have proved extremely successful in every way — successful from the point of our country, and from another angle too, which is that it helps a little in preventing the situation in the world from deteriorating....

Nowadays as you know I often refer to the problem of communalism, etc. People often complain — among them are some old friends and colleagues — that by talking of communalism, Jawaharlal wishes to hide his weaknesses and failures and tries to sweep the real problem, the economic problem of the country, under the carpet. I would like to point out very respectfully that it is a totally unjustified criticism because I entirely agree that the most important question before us is the economic problem and to remove poverty from the country, from whichever angle we may look at it — whether it is from the point of view of the country, because we have to strengthen our country, or from the personal angle, of trying to alleviate the suffering of our downtrodden brethren, whichever way you look at it, the foremost question is to remove poverty from the country to make her better off and to uplift the millions in the country. This is the only important problem before which everything else becomes rather insignificant. So, therefore, when I refer to communalism, it is because it creates obstacles in the way of solving the basic problem of removal of poverty....

The individual who is communal-minded is a small man with a narrow mind who cannot undertake anything big; and nations based on petty principles also become small. We had become great intellectually because Mahatma Gandhi came and raised the stature of our country and widened our horizon. But, there are others who come and talk of communalism whether the word 'communal' is used or not, the result is that we immediately shrink in size and our country also shrinks. How can you hope to solve any problem, when the communal-minded cannot understand the problem itself? Everyone is prepared to give an answer without knowing what the question is. Therefore I lay stress on this. I am amazed when I see in certain newspapers statements and speeches, specially from our communalist organizations like the Hindu Mahasabha, Ram Rajya Parishad, Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. They hotly deny that they are communal organizations. Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee denies very forcibly that the R.S.S. and the Jan Sangh are communal. What can I say



in reply for it has not been put down on paper nor will anyone be foolish enough to shout from the roof tops that he is communal. But people are recognized by their activities and traditions. If there is a communal organization in India today, it is the Jan Sangh, which is not only communal, but is utterly reactionary in every way. I am saying this from my personal knowledge. It is no secret that the most reactionary people in India today are the princes and jagirdars and others, who, I think, should be labelled 'backward classes' and all of them are behind the Jan Sangh. They throw money lavishly. You may wonder why I am mentioning money. The Congress is a very big organization but, as far as I could make out, other parties are spending ten times as much as we are in these elections. They are spending enormous sums because the coffers of the capitalists are open to them.

So, communalism opens up an old wound and keeps it festering and therefore it is very dangerous. We must remedy that by changing our social fabric so that this malaise may be removed as also the factors which increase it and put India in a terrible situation. This is not a Hindu-Muslim question, or it is only partly so. Pakistan was created because of the communalism of the Muslim League and, as a result, there were terrible riots in August-September in 1947. Please remember that the moment you open the doors to it, it spreads very fast as it has among the Sikhs and the Hindus in the Punjab, among the Brahmins and non-Brahmins in the south, etc. There are all sorts of castes, Lingayats in Karnataka, Bhumihars and Kayasthas in Bihar and there is constant fighting among them. It is a strange situation and you must realize how dangerous it is. If we do not suppress it and fight against it or give it any scope whatsoever, it will pull India from her roots. I am convinced of that. We must understand where its roots are and strike at them. Political communalism is a superficial thing....

The communal organizations are doing a great deal of damage by constantly spreading ill-feeling. This is not open to argument. If my argument is right, then they are causing harm not only to the entire national cause but also to their own narrow cause because the Hindus cannot hope to make progress through the Jan Sangh or the Hindu Mahasabha and want the others in India to be left behind. It is a childish thought because not only the others but the Hindus will also be left behind. Similarly, the Sikhs are a brave people and have shown great courage wherever they have gone, and are very capable and hardworking. But I am amazed at the way some of their leaders work almost as if they are prepared to take on the rest of India as their enemy. What is all this? If I lay stress on the dangers of communalism, what is wrong in that? It is a fundamental question. If we follow a narrow, petty path in every matter how can India progress? The moment you become a little lax, the disease would spread everywhere. Now that the elections are round the corner, you hear of the big parties but behind every one of them, there are considerations

of caste and sub-caste till the whole thing becomes a maze. Is this a nation? I cannot understand it. Until we bring this under control, how can we become a nation? This is why I lay stress on this. But apart from this, the way communalism is growing, especially the demand of its votaries that Pakistan should be attacked and their accusations that I try to appease Pakistan and I show weakness and there should be a confrontation on the Kashmir issue, etc., is extremely dangerous.<sup>2</sup> What can I say in my defence? The word 'appease' has become a sort of an abuse in India and elsewhere too and perhaps people feel I am prepared at all times to appease. I am neither ashamed nor scared of this word. I say it openly and shall say it ten times. I agree that if something which is against the honour and national interest of India, is done, it is absolutely wrong. But keeping in mind India's honour and her national interest, we must at all times try to appease every country in the world. I say it quite openly. And do they mean it when they wish us to hurl these childish threats of military attacks, etc.? As a matter of fact, it has become a habit with these people to start abusing when they make speeches and they think they are showing their strength.... I had said, and I shall repeat this, that the conspiracy to kill Mahatma Gandhi had been hatched in Gwalior and that the Hindu Mahasabha had a big hand in it. There is one thing more. Since then the Hindu Mahasabha has repeatedly mentioned Godse's name and praised him, and passed resolutions congratulating him. How can the Hindu Mahasabha think that under such circumstances I can respect their party even a little? I can tell you quite honestly that I consider them as traitors....

Therefore, taking all this into account I came to the conclusion that the Congress has to go on, in spite of the weaknesses and defects which creep into an organization that has tasted success. I do not see any other organization capable of carrying on the process of consolidation and undertaking the economic tasks successfully. Having realized this fact I threw myself heart and soul into the task of reorganizing the Congress. But the elections intervened and they have to be seen through. The other matters will have to be taken up seriously after the elections. Let us see what happens. People complain that there is a 'one party' rule in India. They complain that we want to suppress others and do not want others to come in. There should be an opposition but we are trying to prevent them. This is a strange complaint for I am fully convinced that there should be a strong opposition. I am fully in agreement with that. But I do not want a dummy opposition. When we oppose someone, they object, perhaps in the hope that we may step down. It is our duty to

2. On 21 October 1951, Syama Prasad Mookerjee declared that there was no communalism in India except "the new policy of Muslim-appeasement which had been started by Mr Nehru and his friends for winning their votes..... The cry of communalism raised by Mr Nehru is to sidetrack the real issues now before the nation."



oppose those who oppose us on grounds of ideology and principles, however friendly they may be. The idea is to make political education possible in the country through these elections. We have to educate millions and though it may not be of a very high standard, there will be some education. So I do not really like unopposed returns. I want that there should be a great deal of debate though in a proper way. I cannot understand this hooliganism and do not consider it to be political education. So there should be opposition but the right kind of opposition.

Now, many of our old colleagues and friends are in different parties and I have regard and affection for them. Shri Jayaprakash is in the Socialist Party and Narendra Deva too. They are among my old friends and I respect them. So I do not wish to criticize them. I believe in socialism and so feel close to the Socialist Party. Shri Kripalani was with us till recently and has been our President and Secretary and colleague for years and so I do not wish to oppose him. He has the right to present his arguments but I feel that he is constantly angry and his arguments are invariably acrimonious which is not right. I want a friendly atmosphere during the elections. I do not want use of violent language or show of bad temper. The fight should be only on principles. There is no objection to your pointing out my shortcomings or those of the Congress. But if we slip from good behaviour, the atmosphere gets vitiated and there is no scope for political education as we want.

I also want to draw your attention to the fact that, as far as I know, the Congress is the only organization in the country at the moment which has made no election pact with any other organization. It stands alone. The other, smaller organizations, it is obvious have all sorts of permutations and combinations and you need a high class mathematician to understand them. It is indeed strange. I am not talking about their top leaders. They can do what they think is proper. But I was amazed to see what was going on in the places that I toured. There are all sorts of agreements between various parties, obviously opposed to their all India party objectives. These are being done much lower down, only to defeat the Congress. There is only one goal before them and for that they are willing even to give up their principles. I would congratulate them if they stood by their principles and won because of them. I have no objection to that. We should have a fair contest and let the best man win. But there are no principles anywhere.... So in such circumstances, I shall advise you very strongly to vote for the Congress candidates because from the point of view of consolidation, this spirit of disruption is bad. These parties have become terribly disruptive in India at a time when there is a tremendous need for consolidation. Anyhow, I have given you my advice and I hope you will consider it.

Yes, there is one other matter that I want to talk to you about specially, and that is that I have heard that in the constituency from where I am standing



in Allahabad, there are some candidates who are opposing me and one of them is Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari. I have not met him earlier and if I had, I have forgotten. But from what I have heard, he is a very good man and I have no complaint of any sort. He has issued a statement that he is opposing me only for one reason and that is the Hindu Code Bill. He has also said that if Jawaharlal gives an assurance that he will give up the Hindu Code Bill, he will withdraw his candidature. Well, what he has said is very fair and I have no complaint. He has selected one point and expressed his opinion though I have heard that he observes silence and communicates only by writing. But he has the right to say what he likes and to test public opinion on the issue of the Hindu Code Bill. I want to say that not only is this acceptable to me, but I am happy that he has raised this issue because it brings to the fore what had been somewhat in the background so far. I want all of you to think about this problem and give your views. I want to put my views on the Hindu Code Bill very clearly before you. There are certain principles behind the Hindu Code Bill and many details are involved. I am in complete agreement with its broad principle. The details have to be examined carefully and we are doing this. But I am certainly in agreement with its broad principles—and not only in agreement but consider them extremely necessary. It is obvious that I cannot argue with Shri Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari on matters of the *Shastras*. But whatever I have read and written and from the little that I know of Indian culture and philosophy, I have understood first of all that what is known as Hindu Law is largely a matter of tradition. It is not something rigid but consists largely of traditions. In fact, if you travel all over the country, you will find them being observed in their various forms. Even now there are completely opposite forms of Hindu law in various parts of the country. If you go to Malabar, you will find such high class Brahmins that they consider the other Brahmins inferior. You will find laws of inheritance and marriage which are totally opposed to what you find here. So what I mean to say is that Hindu law is largely a matter of tradition and in a sense it is a good thing in my opinion because a growing society is able to change itself through its traditions and not by binding itself with a rigid code. When the British came, they could not understand traditions and so they tried to write down the law with the help of some old pundits and then there were court decisions and so the Hindu society began to be bound by them. It is strange that the Hindu society should have been tied down by the coming of people who presumably did not wish to bind them down. It was a coincidence but with the coming of the British, Hindu society stopped changing through its traditions. Now if we wish to make any changes, we cannot change the traditions and so we have to change them by law. So it becomes necessary to change the law in our Assemblies and Parliament. I cannot understand it when an individual says that something in the Hindu Code is against the fundamental principles of the

Hindu religion because I can point out the various forms of the Hindu Code which are practised all over India. So we must sift the principles from the overlapping traditions. This is one thing that I want you to understand.

Secondly, I think it is very essential to uplift the women of India because both legally and traditionally their condition has been bad in this country. I think a country can be judged by the status of its women. It has been my effort, as you know, to ensure the participation of women in everything, whether it is in elections or anything else. But I feel sad that our efforts have not been completely successful. We are helpless. The influence of men is still very powerful in this country. I think that the laws and traditions in this country suppress women and do not allow them to rise. This is wrong and should be removed and that can be done only by changing the laws. Now, the Hindu Code Bill will be left unchanged up to the extent of 80% or 90% and the rest is only being put in a legal form. There are very few differences, the main ones being in the inheritance of women, widow remarriage, etc. Bigamy will be illegal but widow remarriage permitted. In some of the provinces of India—I think in Bombay and perhaps Madras—bigamy is prohibited. Nobody protested about the prohibition in Bombay, Madras and Baroda. So we want to introduce it all over India. There was a loud protest that Hindu religion was being destroyed. I cannot understand it at all because in my view, instead of destroying it, this will do a special service to Hindu religion, which will progress; otherwise the Hindu society will become weak....

The new session of Parliament will be held after three to four months. So I am trying to have the Hindu Code Bill completely examined, and if possible, to split it into different parts and take it up for examination, so that when the new Parliament meets, it can be presented, after making the necessary alterations. I consider this very important and I want you to vote on it, so that we know what you want.

One other problem is tied up with all this — the economic problem of the country—which is seldom mentioned by these communal organizations. There is no special political problem in our country. What I mean is that the only political question in an independent country is, in a sense, foreign relations. The communal organizations have no special programme except to abuse and criticize the Government or the Congress or talk about religion. Now ours is a secular State. What does it mean? This word has come into vogue, but, as a matter of fact, the majority of the countries in the world are run on secular lines, that is, giving full freedom to all religions to follow their own path and no religion tries to suppress the others. The Government also recognizes and respects all religions equally and does not give importance to any particular religion. This is what is meant by a secular State. There is no particular religion of the State which is given so much importance that it harms the others.



#### 4. Build the Foundations of New India<sup>1</sup>

...Our country is a land of pilgrimages. People often travel to sacred places of worship. There is one famous place of pilgrimage here in Jagannath Puri where thousands of people come every year. I am a pilgrim too but I do not visit old temples. I have been on a pilgrimage for years and enjoyed it too. The place of worship is my heart and my deity is the people of India and I pray for their welfare. There was a picture of India in my mind and I have travelled all over the country carrying that image with me for twenty to thirty years. In the last four to five years I have not had much time to travel because I had got stuck in Delhi and found it difficult to get away. So I travelled less and my contacts with the people also grew less which perturbed me. I had become accustomed to visiting the various parts of the country and meeting my colleagues and the people and drawing strength from them. After all, whatever little strength I possess comes from the people of India. The little strength that I possess of mind, body and heart would not have taken me far but I have drawn enormous strength from the abundant love that the people gave me....

So, now I have come to you and I remember the occasions in the past when I had come here and those old memories have revived. Orissa is a small province, compared to the others, and is very beautiful also. It has a tremendous capacity to go ahead. But just now Orissa is poor, the people here are poor—I think poorer than in other States—which is sad. We need to work very hard and make progress. Perhaps the State of Orissa has been neglected by the Government of India in the past. But India cannot progress if any part of her remains backward. The whole country has to progress evenly. Now in our freedom struggle, we did not leave out any State. It was a national struggle and the movement spread throughout India. The questions which we face now also concern the whole of India and not merely one province or State....

You live in Orissa, in Cuttack. But you are not the citizens of Orissa or Cuttack. You are the citizens of India, of the Republic of India. It is a big responsibility. We must always remember this because only then can we realize that our progress depends only on India's progress. We cannot isolate ourselves. To understand this picture, we must know the situation in the world and in the country i.e., the political, economic and social conditions. We cannot draw

1. Speech at a public meeting in Cuttack, 14 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.



up a plan for India without understanding the broader picture because we will otherwise be misled....

Please remember that so long as we are involved in caste differences, and such petty matters, there can be no unity or progress. If we continue to indulge in provincialism, there can be no unity. So we must foster unity for it is by being united that we have achieved swaraj and can hope to make progress in the future too. I am not saying anything new. Everyone knows about these matters, but I stress them so that you may understand them well. There can be no progress otherwise. As I said right at the beginning the main question before us is economic progress, and uplift of the masses. Communalism is not an issue at all—it is merely an obstruction, something which spreads poison and prevents us from moving forward. Therefore I refer to these dangers.

before us is economic progress, and uplift of the masses. Communalism is not an issue at all—it is merely an obstruction, something which spreads poison and prevents us from moving forward. Therefore I refer to these dangers. These are the questions we are faced with. How are we to solve these economic problems? There are many facets of them. They cannot be solved by merely passing a resolution or a law that poverty and unemployment should be removed from the country. We have to plan now for their removal and work hard....

It is all very well to pass laws but mere laws cannot solve any problem. All of us must work in an organized way towards a particular goal as we did during the freedom struggle. Therefore, it becomes necessary to organize the people into a mass force—not as a legal or a governmental organization which is different—but something like the Congress which we should strengthen. I feel that the Congress is the only Party which is truly national and can serve us well....

Now, there are some people who often criticize our foreign policy. They are of two types. One consists of those who say that we must lean towards the United States. Others say that we have leaned so far towards the British and the Americans and that we have sold our freedom. Now this is indeed strange. Our Communist brethren are forever saying that India is not free yet because we are still under American or British pressure and all that. In the opinion of the Communists there can be no freedom in any country unless their party is in power. I regret to say that our Communist comrades will never see that kind of freedom in this country when they shall hold the reins of power. What does this mean?... Our Communist friends should know that the freedom with which our country is functioning in the world today is unique. It is stupid to malign the country all the time and say that we are still slaves. The entire world knows that there are very few countries in the world which participate in world affairs today in a completely independent manner and put forth their views so fearlessly as India does. Our Communist brethren are good people but their minds are so closed that they cannot observe anything impartially. They go about wearing blinkers. This is not the way for any country to function. They seem to repeat their own ways when they indulge in rioting and shouting slogans as if this kind of hooliganism will lead to the

country's progress. I am really amazed at these things. I can understand that we should respect the large communist countries of the world and learn from them. But I am not prepared to copy any country of the world blindly or to change our policies under pressure from anyone. Why should we change them? After all, our country is by no means small or negligible. India is a great country and we have to formulate our policies with a full awareness of what is going on all around us. It is not necessary for us to follow any policy unwillingly—we can formulate new ones or do what we like, but the decision ultimately has to be taken by the people of India, after taking her national interests into account. We cannot do as the Communists do with our sights fixed on one thing, just because they have learnt their lessons from others. I am amazed that any individual should say such things. There are very good points in communism and we can learn from the great countries which are following it.... We can have socialism or communism. But I cannot tolerate certain things and shall always oppose them. One is that our country's policies should be against our national interest or in favour of some other country; or that we should look for guidance to others. Secondly, I cannot tolerate violence and hooliganism in this country because I know very well that once you open the door to such hooliganism, the country will rapidly go downhill....

I want you to think if any government which holds the reins of power can tolerate violence and hooliganism and rebellion in the country? We are told that we are suppressing the civil liberties or that we are unnecessarily arresting Communists and others and putting them in jails. I am prepared to argue with anyone in the world if he has a well-thought-out argument. But I cannot accept the accusation that we are suppressing civil liberties of the Communists when it is well known that the communist ideology does not permit any civil liberties at all. No citizen is free under communism. No one dares to raise his voice against authority in a communist regime. This is a fact. I am certainly prepared to accept this argument from the Socialists. But what right do Communists have to talk about civil liberties when fundamentally, their ideology does not recognize civil liberties and in fact, suppresses them. It is strange that they rise in revolt against their own country and government and then talk about civil liberties. I cannot say that everything that has happened is right. I do not say that there have been no mistakes or that the wrong people have been arrested or deny that there may have been some police atrocities. All these things are entirely possible because ours is a very large country. But at the same time I shall also say that if you look at India today, you will see to what extent freedom of speech and civil liberties prevail in this country. There is a great deal of freedom. Perhaps there is no other country in which so much is written in newspapers in criticism of the government as it is in ours. Any other government would certainly restrict such writing. But



I do not stop anyone from writing what they wish. I do not know if you see the newspapers. The papers from Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta publish utter lies about people and the government and the officers and I am amazed that so much publicity is given to them. Now are we to take the matter to court? We can only deny some of the rumours. But by and large we give full freedom because it is better that whatever feelings are there in people's minds should come out in the open....

So all such developments are taking place. I would like to say that whether it is Shri Kripalani or anyone else, if instead of speaking in riddles,<sup>2</sup> they would substantiate their charges with concrete evidence, I will have the matter examined immediately and if the charges are proved, action can be taken. We have as you know the problem of our court procedures which are very complicated. The result is that many cases are dismissed by default and we are made to look foolish. Anyhow, Shri Kripalani may be able to advise us better and we shall make an effort to follow it. But to keep saying constantly that our country is full of dishonest people is unseemly and does not help....

We embarked on a long journey together and reached one destination when we attained swaraj. I was not alone on this journey. The country and the people travelled together. But the journey is not over. Only a destination was reached. We have to go on for the country goes on forever. We have to work for the country's progress together. It is a good thing if some of us want to move faster. I do not wish to stop them. In fact, I myself wish to move faster. But I do not want to do anything which will spoil our work or cause harm for the task is big. If I were alone I would be prepared even to run. But if I run and my colleagues fall back, what would be the use of my running? We are travellers together and so we must march together. Let millions of Indians march together. It is no use if just a handful of us go ahead. Some of us can show the way....

Please try to understand and think about these matters, for after all, this is a big responsibility on you and the people. It is not merely the responsibility of a few leaders. Ultimately it is my wish that in the few years left to me to work, I should see the country making some progress. India will progress whether I am there or not. I want the people to prepare themselves for the tasks ahead. I want especially our youth, the young boys and girls who are in colleges and universities today to prepare themselves to bear the responsibilities of free India. I feel sad and ashamed when I hear that our boys and girls are indulging in acts of hooliganism instead of acquiring good education in schools

2. Speaking at a public meeting in Allahabad on 11 December 1951, Kripalani had said that "the KMP Party would not repeat the mistakes committed by the Congress which has not only failed to check corruption but had deliberately indulged in excesses."

and colleges. Indiscipline is rampant and they are wasting their time. Can they not realize the tremendous responsibilities that are going to devolve upon them in the future? We are here for a short time. My generation will pass on in a few years more. So many of my colleagues have gone and so will I very soon. Do the youngsters of today have the spirit and strength to bear India's burdens? Can they hope to do so by shouting and being undisciplined? What will be the impact on the country if our youth is not prepared to shoulder the burdens of tomorrow? The responsibilities of a free nation are tremendous and we need strong hands and stout hearts to shoulder them. Unity is extremely important, and if our young men and women do not realize that, they cannot hope to achieve anything by shouting slogans or passing laws. This is why I am anxious to explain all this to you and to our young men and women. I do not say that they must always accept my views. But they must understand the big problems which confront the world and India today and realize that they cannot achieve anything by merely shouting slogans or fomenting trouble. They must understand the problems and if they have the courage and wisdom to be able to shoulder the responsibilities that will fall upon them, to that extent they will succeed in solving those problems.

## 5. Total Uplift—the Congress Goal<sup>1</sup>

...Now whether there is ability in me or not, I have at least come very close to the millions of people of India and not merely by right but I have received their love and confidence in great abundance and a very close relationship has been established between us. So my mind is constantly searching for ways to repay their abundant love and confidence and to fulfil my duty towards them. There may be numerous defects in me and I may make mistakes, but I do not want to make the mistake of betraying the confidence of the people.

So there is a special bond between the people and me which I cannot describe or write about. My mind and heart are influenced by their thinking and feelings and I understand them a little more and draw strength from them because when I speak, it is not as Jawaharlal, but I speak in the voice of the

1. Speech at a public meeting in Hyderabad, 15 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.



millions of Indians. So I am once again engaged in my wanderings, trying to refresh myself and draw fresh strength from the people. I do not say that my mind is absolutely clear, but it is certainly clearer than before....

The task of consolidating India, politically and economically, has been accomplished. But ultimately what is very essential is the integration of minds and hearts. Moreover, the history of India is full of examples of bravery, intellect and greatness and yet, in spite of all these qualities, we have had this habit of fighting among ourselves. The greatest weakness among Indians is their strange capacity to fight among themselves and create dissensions, forgetting the more important things, forgetting even their country. The result is that time and again, enemies have taken advantage of this weakness and conquered us. So we must put an end to that and learn a lesson from history.

Secondly, we thought that with the coming of freedom, the poison of communalism which had resulted in the creation of Pakistan, would have been removed. But unfortunately it is still here. Most of the Muslim communalists have gone to Pakistan and some who are left pose no danger. But communalism is now spreading rapidly among the Hindus as well as among the Sikhs which is very strange. In our view we had made a great sacrifice in accepting the partition. We did so thinking that it would put an end to the virus of communalism in the country and we could live in unity and perhaps even come to an agreement with Pakistan later. Instead, we are achieving just the opposite result and communalism is sprouting new shoots....

Many people complain that I am trying to deceive the people and relegating the real problems into the background by harping constantly upon communalism. That is absolutely wrong. Communalism is not an issue, the important issue in India is her poverty. India's poverty and unemployment, or in short, her economic problems, are the main questions before us since independence. We must make plans to solve these problems. Communalism and disunity are not problems but obstacles and brakes in the path of progress. Therefore we must think about them and understand that such things which come in the way of the nation's consolidation and create narrow-mindedness must be removed. Ours is a great country and we have had hopes and dreams that we will go very far. But a country can become great only if her people have a great vision. It cannot be done by narrow-minded people who are constantly engrossed in petty quarrels. Therefore, when these communal parties started spreading the poison of bitterness and hatred once again, I felt it was my duty to raise my voice against them and to warn the people. I am warning you because it has no recognizable form. I do not know if it has a branch here, but a new party called the Bharatiya Jan Sangh has been established. When I said that it was a communal organization, its President objected violently and said that we

should look at its constitution. No one puts down these things in their constitution. But I have seen enough of their members and President and their followers as well as their methods of working, and I can say with complete confidence and clarity that the Bharatiya Jan Sangh is a staunchly communal organization and hence extremely harmful for the country. I cannot tolerate it when I see our young boys and girls being led astray by such parties in the name of religion and Indian culture. Generally you will find that those who talk loudly of Indian culture have really nothing to do with any culture in the world, Indian or otherwise. Those who talk of Indian civilization are in fact completely uncivilized. It is absurd to shout about culture and civilization from the roof-tops. They are quite different. Indian culture has been so glorious in the past because it has not followed such communal methods.

Anyhow, we have to consolidate and strengthen India, and in that process, whatever acts as obstacles, like communalism, must be removed. There are two things which act as brakes. One is provincialism, that is, people of different provinces thinking of themselves in separate compartments and harbouring bitterness and hatred against the others. This is to be found in most parts of the country and is extremely dangerous. We have to combat this and remember that ours is a vast country. You are welcome to take pride in your being citizens of Hyderabad or Bengal. I have no objection to that, but ultimately you must remember that you are citizens not merely of Hyderabad or Bengal or Calcutta. All of us are the citizens of India, of the Republic of India, and therefore we must look at everything from that point of view. If we think only of our own province and city and district and regard the others as outsiders, we can never make India great, nor can we grow in stature. Provincialism is a bad thing and we must suppress it if we wish to go far. The second thing, as I mentioned, is casteism which leads people to incite others in the name of religion and caste. This is a weakness which has come down from ancient times and has always kept India in compartments. It is possible that in ancient times, when this social system was thought of, it may have had some value. In my view, in those times, it was a very good thing and helped to organize the society. But I am also convinced that later on it began to go wrong and has become completely useless today and weakens our society and creates disunity....

You cannot suddenly pass a law imposing socialism on a man who has no previous experience or contact with these concepts and ideas. This will not work, especially in the villages. If we try to build something without proper foundations, it will collapse. I said that it is my desire to take the country along the path of socialism as quickly as possible. I accept it. We have to discuss the ways and means of doing it. I am even prepared to accept more drastic measures if I were convinced that that will bring about more rapid



progress. But I am fully convinced that instead of hastening progress, it will delay matters and will cause damage. For one thing, it will mean the end of an era and its people, which is a great responsibility I am not prepared to take on. Secondly, instead of ensuring rapid progress, it will cause delay. This is my objection. I have an objection not to socialism but to the fact that some people want to do things in great haste, without laying proper foundations....

Our Communist leaders are not familiar with the realities of India and do not understand these things properly. I am amazed at the way they talk. I think they are beginning to learn a little now. They stopped their activities when they were unsuccessful and saw that the people of India had turned against them. But it is our misfortune that in this country, the Communist leaders are not very intelligent. The problem is that even an intelligent man loses intelligence if he is constantly raising slogans and making noise. How can a man think if he surrounds himself constantly with such meaningless things? Please remember that there are many aspects of the communist ideology about which I have read a great deal and they are extremely good and I have been impressed by them. But what happens is that certain arguments are learnt by rote and trotted out on all occasions precluding a real debate. Moreover, those arguments were really relevant to nineteenth century Europe or perhaps in the beginning of the twentieth century.

The world changes, India is not Europe, and we are in the middle of the twentieth century, but all these things do not seem to affect our Communist friends. They keep repeating their worn-out cliches. I cannot understand this strange obstinacy. Anyhow, they are welcome to it but when it leads them to incite the people to rioting and violence and killing innocent people, then it is obvious that we have to combat and suppress such activities. Please believe me, if there is an enemy of real communism in India today, it is undoubtedly the Communist Party of India.... According to them, the policy of our government should be based on the views and policies of some other country. Now how can we tolerate such things? We must certainly take into consideration the situation in other countries when determining our own policies. But ultimately we have to decide according to the situation in our own country, taking into consideration our national interests. It is certainly wrong if any party or individual decides this issue by looking to the situation in other countries for it cannot work. At least the Communists have often failed in other countries for precisely this reason, that they owe loyalty and allegiance to a country other than their own and they behave as strangers in their own land. So this is the situation....

I have come to you, not because elections are round the corner, but with the thought that my voice may help to heal a little the wounded and sore hearts of the people of Hyderabad for we have great tasks before us.

We have to get rid of our old habits of internecine feud and disunity. I am not talking to you as the Prime Minister, I am talking to you merely as a Congressman or as Jawaharlal. I can therefore speak with greater freedom than I can as a Prime Minister. But whether I speak in the capacity of Jawaharlal or the Prime Minister, I want to tell you that I consider Hyderabad to be a test and a challenge for my government and the country, and we shall succeed to the extent that we succeed in Hyderabad. Success in what sense? I do not mean superficial success for that we have already achieved. I want to succeed emotionally and capture your hearts and bring about a fusion of minds. That is how we can progress in Hyderabad and in India.

There is one thing more which I think of. Often voices are raised here for the partition of Hyderabad into various parts. I want to tell you quite clearly that I do not like this idea at all. It is obvious that the ultimate decision rests with the people of Hyderabad. I cannot give any orders. But I want to tell you that whatever the decision may be, it should be postponed. There are many reasons for that. For one thing, in the delicate situation which prevails in India today, any attempt at break-up of any kind will lead to all kinds of results. I have become scared after seeing the havoc caused by the partition, though that was different. This will be an internal matter. But I have become scared and more wary of any kind of break-up. When we are more stabilized, we can take up the matter of linguistic provinces. Even that is not a rigid principle of any sort. Wherever it can be done with the people's consent, we will do it.

But please remember that if you bring up this matter just now, other consequences will follow rapidly. There is no doubt that the progress of the country will come to a standstill for years to come. Expenditure will go up, progress will halt and all sorts of consequences will follow. But if any part of India wishes to go ahead with it willingly, I shall not stop it. The difficulties in doing so in Hyderabad are numerous. There is no doubt about it that if you try to break up something that has existed for a long time, even if it is done with the full consent of the people, there is bound to be so much upheaval that the entire life of Hyderabad will come to a standstill, progress will come to a halt, and the expenditure involved will be enormous, and the surrounding States will also be affected similarly. It is not a small thing to cause a major upheaval in roughly half of India. When the world is in turmoil and there are strange rumours of war and there are economic problems of such tremendous magnitude before us, it is absolutely unwise to raise this issue just now for the result will be that we shall remain backward. Therefore, I want that whatever decision is taken in the future, just now this issue should be set aside completely. It should not even be mentioned till the wounds are healed completely and the people regain their emotional and mental equilibrium. We



must first engage ourselves in the great tasks before us and stabilize the country before this issue is taken up.

Let me tell you one thing more in this connection. You have a university in Hyderabad—the Osmania University—which is a grand university. One of my many desires and of which I shall give you a hint, has been that it should be a special centre for the propagation of unity in the country. I think there is no such centre in the South. There are many problems before us, one of which is of the national language. This university can propagate Hindi because there is a special need for it in the South. So the university can perform this great task and become a special centre for the whole country. I want to see it making progress and developing into a famous institution. This is what I have in mind. I do not want that it should be disturbed by any talk of break-up and such things.

I have taken up a great deal of your time by putting some of my thoughts before you. It is my constant effort to share my thoughts with the people of India because we are all travelling together on this long journey towards progress and the goal is distant. If we fail to understand one another and are distant in thought and emotion, how can we hope to progress? Therefore, I try constantly to make people understand as far as possible because if you concur with me without understanding, it will be of no use. I have taken up a great deal of your time for which you must forgive me.

## 6. The Danger of Communalism<sup>1</sup>

...For thousands of years now, there have been different religions in India and yet we are all Indians. The majority of us are Hindus, and Muslims are in great numbers, as also are Sikhs, Christians, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and many others. This has been going on for thousands of years. All these religions have made India their home. India does not belong to any one of them alone. There has never been a question of one religion trying to suppress the others. If anyone tries to do it now, he will be very foolish and will cause great damage to the country. India can progress in only one way and that is when all Indians, irrespective of their professions, province or religion, live in

1. Speech at a public meeting in Amritsar, 22 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.

harmony with one another and march together. They may hold different views and opinions, but they must not live in compartments politically or otherwise.

You have gathered here in great numbers and perhaps most of you live in Amritsar. Almost all of you must be Punjabis. But you are not merely the citizens of Amritsar or of the Punjab—you are first and foremost the citizens of India. And as the citizens of the Republic of India, you have certain rights and at the same time some responsibilities too, because there can be no rights without responsibilities. You must remember that. A country in bondage has neither rights nor responsibilities. But the moment you become independent, you get extremely valuable rights and along with them, tremendous responsibilities too. The most important responsibility is to defend and protect our freedom, to maintain unity and ensure that the country makes progress. All these burdens are upon us. The first step towards fulfilling our responsibilities is to learn the lesson of unity. This is something that even a child can understand but I have to repeat it again and again because there are some people who lose even their basic intelligence when they grow up. I do not understand how they get carried away. Therefore I repeat this. Why is it that in spite of all our bitter experience of the past, these communal organizations raise their heads in our country and create problems and tension? What is the matter? It is something for us to consider. I can understand difference of opinion amongst us, on political or economic matters. I understand and accept the difference in ideologies of the various parties like the Communist or Socialist Party. There can be different ways of looking at the problems of a country. But I simply cannot understand communalism in politics and it simply shows that we are forgetting all our past experiences in India and in the Punjab. Communalism has done incalculable harm in the past. The Muslim League, an intensely communal party, spread a bitter poison throughout the country and did great damage. But somehow it was removed from here and it is no longer powerful at least in India. We thought that we were at last rid of this terrible disease. But it is our misfortune that the disease is spreading once again in a different form, among the new communal organizations of the Hindus and the Sikhs. It is strange that we have not been able to learn a lesson even now. Can any intelligent man in Punjab think that there can be progress made here if there is constant tension between the Hindus and the Sikhs? You must think about this. Both will bring ruin upon themselves. And I cannot understand what there is to quarrel about? All their problems can be very easily solved. But the fundamental thing is that the Punjab can progress only if all the citizens of the Punjab whether they are Hindus, Sikhs or Christians learn to live together in harmony and do not isolate themselves into separate compartments. This is a broad fact and it applies to the whole of India. India cannot achieve progress if there is no unity among her people. If you go to the South, you find a great big quarrel among the Brahmins and the



non-Brahmins, the Lingayats and non-Lingayats. If you go to Bihar, there are different castes like the Rajputs, the Bhumihars and the Kayasthas and what not—I do not even know all the names properly. It is indeed strange how a country can live in separate compartments like this. We are like frogs in a well and think that we are the whole world and the rest are of no consequence. We have to put an end to this in our country. Only then can we build a new India and a new Punjab.

So we have to change our mental attitudes somewhat and get rid of these communal notions. It has ruined us in the past and lowered us in the eyes of the world. What is the sense in getting into the same old rut once again at a time when we have just won freedom and got an opportunity to progress. What is this foolishness? So I am laying stress on this repeatedly because we have to put an end to it. Everyone in India—whether he is a Muslim or a Hindu or Sikh or Christian—has the right to follow his own religion and traditions peacefully. All religions are worthy of respect and there should be no obstacles in the way of anyone. But if you try to bring religion into politics and try to create barriers, then you are following an extremely dangerous path. Religion is a sacred subject and if you try to drag it into the mire, you will be degrading both religion and politics....

I have put some of our broad principles before you. It is almost time for me to go. You would have seen that though this is an election tour, I have not said very much about the elections because there is a surfeit of ideas in my mind and I feel that that time is running out. My life is almost nearing its end and in the few years left to me, I want to do something for you and make you also do something. I do not want to relax in these last few years nor will I let you rest. We dreamt many dreams and some of them have come true, but others remain dreams still. Let us work together to create a new India and a new Punjab. Remember that when individuals or nations are engaged in big tasks, they too grow in stature. I am by no means a big man. I am an ordinary Indian, with an ordinary education and some intelligence. What sacrifice have I made which has not been made over and again by innumerable people in the Punjab and all over the country? Then how did I or the others grow? We grew because of two or three factors. Firstly, we came under the shadow of a great man like Mahtma Gandhi and some of his greatness got rubbed on us. Secondly, we were engaged in a mighty task and that also added to our stature. Those who hold their heads high and gaze at the stars naturally grow taller. This is the case with nations too. You will find that periods of greatness in the history of any country always coincide with their being engaged in some mighty effort and not when they were busy in petty squabbles.

So we grew, and now once again we have an opportunity to grow. To try to make the condition of thirty-five crores of people better is a mighty task. We can do it if all of us work together and each one of us stands on his own

feet and does his duty. It will take time and means hard work, great toil and sweat and tears. But it is not impossible. So I put all these thoughts of mine and make an effort to see that everyone marches in step. Ultimately, the best of governments cannot do anything unless the people are willing to cooperate. People can cooperate by being an organized force. We had created such an organized force long years ago in the form of the Congress Party. It was a tremendous organization and we forged it into a weapon of freedom. Weaknesses have now crept into it and the main difficulty is that so long as there was a challenge to be faced, people remained strong and tough. The moment we succeeded, we are inclined to relax, thinking that our task is over. This is what happens when success comes....

I want to say one thing more which is not connected with this. I read in the newspapers yesterday evening that an old friend and colleague of mine, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan is touring the Punjab. It is a very good thing and if he comes here, I advise you to go and listen to him. Hear him and try to understand what he says. I may not agree with him on certain things. But he is an excellent man and what he says is very sensible. You must listen to the others and try to understand all the arguments and then decide for yourselves. I have not come here to give orders. I have come merely to explain a few things to you. Nor am I here to beg for votes. I merely ask for your understanding and affection. If you can give me those, my task will be over. Then we can march forward together. I would also like to tell you in this connection that I have heard that some officers in the Punjab try to put pressure and take sides. This is very wrong. I do not want any government officer to take sides. They must do their work with honesty and not take any sides in the coming elections. If they do, it is obvious that it will affect their work and will become a bad precedent for the future too. How can we entrust any responsibility to an individual who is not impartial? Therefore all the officers should work with honesty and integrity and impartiality. We have even made it an offence legally for an officer to be partial.

I was talking to you about Jayaprakashji. I read yesterday that he has said many things. Well, it is his right. How can I stop him? But one of the things that he said hurt me very much. According to the newspapers at least, he is supposed to have said that in the last four years since independence, our Government has caused more harm to India than a hundred years of British rule did.<sup>2</sup> Now the responsibility for whatever has happened in the last four years is, above all, mine. It is obvious that I cannot look to every small detail

2. Speaking at Jalandhar on 20 December 1951, Jayaprakash Narayan said "In the last four-and-a-half years of Congress rule the cup of misery of the people has become full. We have fallen to the lowest depths of degradation and frustration as we never did before, even in the centuries-old rule of the British."



of administration but since you have made me the Prime Minister, the responsibility is mine, and I am the culprit. There is no doubt that if what Jayaprakashji says is true, I am the one who is guilty. How can I defend myself? You have the right at all times to punish me if you think I have done wrong. Though I do not wish to defend myself in any way, Jayaprakashji seems to be saying all this in anger. We cannot run our country in this way by getting angry and abusing one another. I want that if not today, at least in the future, all of us must try to work together. We want everyone to participate in the plans that we have drawn up for India. I do not want any kind of bitterness and poison to spread among us....

## 7. Pledge to Build a New India<sup>1</sup>

...I do not say that everyone should agree with me. Each individual is entitled to his own opinion. But their opinions should be open to debate. The ways of these communal parties are truly strange. They have no views on political, economic or social issues. Their beliefs will strike at the root of our national existence and hence prove dangerous. In the hour of independence, we had the misfortune to witness the partition of the country and Pakistan came into being. Therefore the most urgent priority before us immediately after independence was to strengthen national unity and forge every one of the links into a strong national bond which would not snap at the hint of a crisis. We are faced with the task of consolidating the country....

Since I have brought up the subject I would like to present my replies to the four questions which Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee had posed to me in a statement to a Calcutta newspaper yesterday.<sup>2</sup>

The first question that he posed was what are our views about the one crore Hindus who are in East Bengal, and how we propose to help them. Now I would like to tell you first of all that it is pretty obvious that the Hindus of East Bengal are living there under conditions of great stress. The reports that come in from there grieve me deeply, and we must do our duty to them. Not that any of the Hindus of East Bengal are any longer citizens of India. They

1. Speech at a public meeting in Calcutta, 1 January 1952. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.
2. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* of 30 December 1951 had reported these questions which Mookerjee raised at an election meeting in South Calcutta on 29 December 1951.

# THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS



MAP SHOWING THE PLACES NEHRU VISITED DURING HIS ELECTION TOUR FROM 15 NOVEMBER 1951 TO 21 JANUARY 1952





WITH EUGENE BLACK, PRESIDENT OF THE WORLD BANK, FEBRUARY 1952

are Pakistani citizens and it is the duty of the Government of Pakistan to help them. But whenever we hear of untoward inhuman happenings, these affect us. Even when something like this happens in far distant South Africa, it has an impact on the people of our country. So when it is East Bengal, the repercussions are bound to be more severe. We have our brethren, relatives and friends there. But the question is what we can do to stop this and whether we can take any steps. This is our dilemma. The fact of the matter is that we cannot do anything in a hurry, no matter what our inclination might be. There are the normal diplomatic channels of dealing with such issues which are available between two independent nations. Talks can be held between our two governments and efforts can be made to explain the situation, to put some pressure on them to take necessary steps.

The other method, which is the ultimate weapon, is for the two countries to go to war. There is no third alternative. These are the only two methods. Now we cannot opt for the second alternative. I am quite clear in my mind about this. Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee has said again and again in Parliament that we should be clear in our minds about this. There are many things that one does not like. But it would not be proper to take a wrong step in anger because we do not like what is happening. It would benefit no one. I feel that it is absolutely wrong to talk of war. I cannot say what might happen in the future or what constraints there may be. But generally speaking I am quite convinced that a war resolves nothing. You must have heard a few months ago how Pakistan had started talking of war and *jihad* and what not. So we felt that we must not take any risks and we sent our forces to the Punjab border to be in readiness. We did not want to go to war but if Pakistan were to attack then we had to be fully prepared to meet the challenge.

So we have made a distinction between these two things. One, we will defend our country and certainly fight if anybody attacks. Secondly, we, on our part, will not go to war because by going to war we will not be helping the people of East Bengal. On the contrary, it will spell ruin for them and for others as well. We may be able to boast about our powers later on. That is a different matter. But we cannot do any good to anyone, nor can we protect them. Therefore whatever we do should be through diplomatic channels, by putting pressure on them.

Let me give you another example which I have talked about elsewhere too, one name which all of you know well. Among the handful of great personalities of the days of our freedom struggle was Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. He was an intrepid human being, his courage was unmatched in India. And yet he fought for India's freedom in a nonviolent manner and played a vital role in our movement, for which very few parallels are to be found. You may not be fully aware of his role in history. You glorify us with great big garlands, but his sacrifice was ten times more than what we did.



This brave warrior has been languishing in a Pakistani jail for the last three years and we are helpless. We are prepared to sacrifice our very lives for this great leader and dearly beloved friend and brother and yet we are helpless. Can we mount an attack? I am telling you this now. But my dilemma is that my mentioning this could lead to more atrocities being committed on him. They can accuse him of conspiring because Jawaharlal has said this. This is the great dilemma I have faced for a long time and so I have held my peace. But how long can one keep quiet? My heart does not permit me to keep quiet. There is a constant nagging pain which sometimes finds expression in words. I have given you this example to show you that many things happen in this world which are beyond our control. We are powerless in the face of the grim realities of this world. We have to put up with many things. It would not be a very wise thing to take a wrong step which would harm us, harm our people and may not bring any spectacular gains.

Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee's second question was what we are going to do about the fact that one-third of Kashmir is in Pakistan's possession. You may remember that a few days ago Dr Mookerjee had accused me of having entered into a secret pact with Kashmir. It was not proper for him to have said this. He could have asked me directly. I denied it publicly as it was absolutely wrong. Even after that he said that though Jawaharlal has denied I still say that there is a secret pact. Now what is to be done about that? How long can we continue like this, with his making allegations and my denying them?

But the broad fact is that if I did have a secret pact with Pakistan, how long would it remain a secret? It is bound to come out, if not today, tomorrow or the day after. Then how would you respect me if what I deny turned out to be true. I would be proved a liar forever. Who would repose confidence in me thereafter? It is absurd to think that anyone would think of entering into secret pacts and what not.

Anyhow, let us leave that aside. He wants to know what we are going to do about the one-third of Kashmir which is under Pakistani control. Let me explain first of all, Kashmir is not the property of either Pakistan or India. Kashmir belongs to its people. The people of Kashmir have acceded to India of their own free will and we accepted gladly. Even then we have made it clear that once the war was over, we would hold a plebiscite to allow the people of Kashmir the right to express their views about the accession. If then, the people of Kashmir tell us to get out, we will do so. We will not stay there by force. We did not conquer the territory. We went in with our forces because the tribals had crossed over from the Pakistan side, wreaking havoc and ruin in their wake. So we received a call for help from the people of Kashmir and thus our relationship was established. We sent in our forces and stopped the advance of the Pakistani forces. Fighting went on for nearly a year and a half.

Therefore ultimately the fate of Kashmir will be decided by the people of Kashmir and not by India or Pakistan. Yes, it is true that we have very close relations with the people of Kashmir which dates back twenty years, from the days of our freedom struggle. As far as the people of Pakistan are concerned, as you know, they took no part in the freedom struggle. On the other hand, our links with Kashmir are of long standing and we consult one another continuously. But ultimately it is the people of Kashmir who have to decide for themselves, not because the matter is in the United Nations but because it has been our policy that we shall not try to annex territories or attempt aggrandizement. If the people do not wish it, we cannot hold on to their territory by force.

As you know, the Kashmir issue has become even more complicated because it has been referred to the United Nations. So we must take steps only after careful consideration. We cannot do anything to spoil our case. Let me tell you something about the Jan Sangh which poses itself as the champion of Kashmir, and also about its ally the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. They are spread out in Kashmir and Jammu. Do you know what their propaganda in Jammu is? They have been doing propaganda against the Shaikh Abdullah Government and demanding that the erstwhile Maharaja should be reinstalled. As you know, the old Maharaja has abdicated; his son, the prince, is there. He is a good man but he has no powers. The powers vest only with the responsible government.

Now these Hindu communal parties like the Jan Sangh and Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and another party called the Praja Parishad in Jammu have launched an agitation against the Shaikh Abdullah Government. They abuse him and want the old Maharaja to come back. Now you can imagine what this means. At the moment, it is Shaikh Abdullah who is completely opposed to Pakistan. There is no doubt about it that he is the leader of the people of Kashmir, a very great leader. If tomorrow Shaikh Abdullah wanted Kashmir to join Pakistan, neither I nor all the forces of India would be able to stop it because if the leader decides, it will happen. So what the Jan Sangh and the Swayamsevak Sangh are doing is to play into the hands of Pakistan. Pakistan too wants to topple the Shaikh Abdullah Government and the Jan Sangh wants to do the same. You will find the speeches and statements made by the leaders of Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh being quoted at great length in Pakistani newspapers with bold headlines and long articles and editorials are being written about them. In short, Pakistan wants to take advantage of the propaganda against Shaikh Abdullah. See how foolish the whole thing is. After all, the Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh do not love Pakistan. But it is obvious that if they continue to make such statements, they will be helping Pakistan and doing harm to India.

Take the Kashmir issue. What is the basic issue involved in Kashmir? It



is a battle for Kashmir but also over a principle for which we have always fought. We do not accept the two-nation theory propounded by the Muslim League. We believe that people of all religions, Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians who live in India are its citizens with equal rights. We will not make any distinction in that. You must remember that Pakistan came into being on the basis of the two-nation theory. Before partition, the Muslim League leaders including Mr Jinnah went to Kashmir<sup>3</sup> and tried with all their might to bring the Muslims of Kashmir, who are in a majority there, into the Muslim League. But they did not succeed because the Muslims of Kashmir said that they wanted freedom for India and wondered why should there be fight between them and the Hindus as they had been living in amity. Why should they join the Muslim League? So they shunned Jinnah and the Muslim League. I am talking about what happened eleven to twelve years ago. They told the Muslim League bluntly not to bring the two-nation theory to Kashmir. The Muslim League was extremely annoyed and one of the results of their anger was that later they turned Kashmir into a testing ground for the two-nation theory. Eighty per cent of the population of Kashmir consists of Muslims. It is not a conflict between Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir. There it is a tussle among the Muslims themselves, the Muslims of Pakistan and the Muslims of Kashmir and the latter are on India's side in this conflict. You can see that there can be no greater vindication than this of our secular policies, our Constitution, that we have drawn the people of Kashmir towards us. But just imagine what would have happened in Kashmir if the Jan Sangh or any other communal party had been at the helm of affairs. The people of Kashmir say that they are fed up with this communalism. Why should they live in a country where the Jan Sangh and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh are constantly beleaguering them? They will go elsewhere and they will not stay with us.

The facts are pretty clear. What I mean is that these people talk of an undivided India but as a matter of fact, India will be fragmented into a thousand pieces if they were in power. The country will be in ruins and there will be no progress. Anyhow, I was stating to you what our policy regarding Kashmir is. For one thing, if anything is clear, it is that we do not wish to start a war on our part. Not because we do not have the right to do so. It is they who attacked and are now sitting in possession of one-third of Kashmir. But we do not wish to go to war to assert our right. For one thing, as far as possible, we do not wish to resolve our problems through wars because they are bad and only escalate the conflict. Secondly, since the matter has been referred to the United Nations, we have given our word of honour that we shall abide by their decision. India's pledge is no small matter and we shall stick by it in the eyes of the world.

3. In May 1944, M.A. Jinnah visited Kashmir and stayed there for two months.

Thirdly, right from the start we have said that we shall leave the decision to the people and a plebiscite or referendum may be held. Fourthly, if Pakistan attacks Kashmir again we shall stop them. But we have also made it abundantly clear that if Pakistan takes any such steps, there will be a full scale war between India and Pakistan. It will then not remain confined to Kashmir alone. We have made this clear. We have stationed our troops on the borders for the last five months though the fighting ceased last year. So, though we would be within our rights to occupy the one-third of Kashmir in Pakistani possession, we shall not do so. We shall leave it to the people to decide when the time comes. If, however, Pakistan attacks, then there will certainly be war. There is no question of consultation with Khwaja Nazimuddin Sahab<sup>4</sup> on entering into any pacts. I do not remember having any talks or exchange of letters with the government of Pakistan during the last seven to eight months. There may have been some routine formalities, I do not remember because there has been some activity through the representatives of the United Nations or the Security Council.

The third question was why the thirty lakhs of refugees from East Bengal have not been given Indian citizenship. I am amazed that such questions should be asked. We had already settled the dates for these elections and accordingly we decided upon a cut-off date for giving citizenship. We had to have a date after which citizenship would not be awarded because otherwise it would not be possible to make the electoral rolls. The date is over and the refugees who came thereafter continued to importune us for citizenship. We told the Election Commissioner that if he could do something, he should do so. He said that if the electoral rolls had to be extended or changed, he would have to postpone the elections by six months. That was not acceptable to us. You may remember that we have been accused of not wanting to permit the elections to be held because we wish to hold on to our offices. Once when the elections were postponed by just a few months, there was a great hue and cry that we are dishonest and that we are breaking our promise. Therefore we did not wish to postpone the elections and in any case, in our opinion elections should be held so that things could be settled. Until then everything remains unsettled.

Therefore we decided that since the elections could not be postponed, we would have to stick to the cut-off date. On that date those who had turned 21 could vote. But if it is extended even by a month, many more lakhs would have to be added to the electoral rolls. This would be a never-ending process and so a line has to be drawn up somewhere.

The fourth question was about the boundary adjustment of West Bengal. There is some dispute between Bihar and Bengal or perhaps there is a demand

4. Prime Minister of Pakistan.



by the people of Bengal that a part of Bihar should be given to them.<sup>5</sup> I will not go into the right and wrong of the issue. There is no doubt about it that there is a Bengali-speaking population living in a corner of Bihar. But in these matters we need to work on some principles. I told you right in the beginning that provincialism is a dangerous thing which is pretty widespread in India. A province should be considered only as an administrative arrangement. It is no doubt true that Bengali is a famous language and wherever there is a Bengali-speaking population they have the right to be educated in their mother tongue. I realize all that. But I am concerned about administrative arrangements. It would be extremely dangerous if we begin to think of each province as a separate entity. The boundary adjustments can be made peacefully and by mutual consent. It cannot be done by a confrontationist approach or coercion and force. We have always maintained that only what is decided by mutual agreement would be acceptable to us and we shall not use coercion in these matters. There are great challenges ahead and instead of meeting them, if we squabble over Bengal and Bihar with all the attendant bitterness, the harm that would be caused will be far more than the benefits that would accrue from such an adjustment.

So, as you can see, the questions that Dr Mookerjee has put are all divisive in nature. Those are his methods, I did not want to bring up the subject but I had to go into them....

5. The question was raised by B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal in August 1951 when he urged that some adjoining areas of Bihar should be added to West Bengal not only for settlement of East Bengal refugees but also for the administrative and economic welfare of the State. The issue was finally settled in 1956.

## 8. Congress—the Most Progressive Force<sup>1</sup>

...Dr Mookerjee has started another canard that I had ordered a referendum in the North West Frontier Province of undivided India and thereby jeopardized the position of Dr Khan Sahib's ministry there. First, Dr Mookerjee has no right to talk about the Khan brothers or the N.W.F.P. with whom he has no relations. Secondly, Dr Mookerjee's contention is patently absurd and contrary to historical facts. What is one to do if people even try to distort historical facts?

1. Speech at a public meeting in New Delhi, 5 January 1952. From the *National Herald*, 6 and 7 January 1952. Extracts.

Dr Mookerjee has also started saying that the economy of India under the Congress Government has gone to pieces. Dr Mookerjee, however, forgot that the key ministry in India's economy was under the charge of this very gentleman for quite a long time. While Dr Mookerjee was in the Cabinet, he never uttered a word of criticism, and never felt that India's economy was going to pieces.

The Congress is the only organized and most progressive force in the country today which can effectively tackle the pressing problems of the day.... The Congress represents the biggest progressive force in the country because of its organization and the support it enjoys from the people. The Congress alone as an organization has the wherewithal to lead the people towards progress. It is for this reason that all forces opposed to progress are trying their level best to undermine the influence of the Congress. In whatever garb they may come or whatever they may say, the reactionary elements in India are aiming by any and every means to disrupt the Congress. But I have seen during my recent tours of the country, during which I have addressed about two crores of people, that the people are still behind the Congress. The enthusiasm of the people for the Congress gave the lie direct to all the detractors of the Congress, who had started saying that the Congress is withering away and had become a lifeless body waiting to be consigned to flames....

India is facing a test today and the whole world is watching how India emerges out of these elections. The test is how we fight the elections, in strikingly peaceful way or not, and what political forces emerge out of the elections. It is very necessary that Parliament and the legislatures should have stable majorities to run stable governments. It is for this reason that I stress repeatedly that the Congress candidates should be returned, because the Congress alone can provide the stable majority in all legislatures and keep the country united.

None of the other parties has set up candidates in all constituencies as the Congress has done. There is now little point in their shouting that people should not vote for the Congress. I cannot understand how Mr Kripalani is time and again repeating that if the Congress is voted back to power there would be a bloody revolution in the country.<sup>2</sup> It is clear in these circumstances that they cannot form the government in every State. What is the point in holding out the threat then that if the Congress is returned there would be bloody revolution?...

2. Speaking in his Faizabad constituency in U.P. on 8 December 1951, Kripalani said that four years of Congress rule had brought nothing but misery and suffering to the people. "If the Congress wins the election this time, there is bound to be a bloody revolution."



## 9. Facts about India<sup>1</sup>

I have been touring all over India during the last two months and, during this time, I have covered vast distances and visited practically every corner of the country. India is a huge country and it is not possible to visit every single place. But even so, I have gone to many places and met millions of people wherever I have gone. I have seen them, talked to them, listened to what they have to say. In this way, I have come into close contact with the people of India, and gradually a picture of the country began to form in my mind. I returned to Delhi a couple of days ago and heard that the election fever is mounting. I have read the reports and statements and newspapers and formed an idea of what is going on in Delhi and elsewhere in the country. I have been able to form an idea of the kind of bargaining and horse-trading that is taking place between various parties.

As you know, there is no other example of general elections on such a vast scale as they are going to take place in India. It is a matter of courage to hold these elections, to make the necessary arrangements and let the people in their millions decide the fate of this country. It is a good thing that people have been forced to think about the problems which beset the country. The party workers have shaken off their lethargy and come out to work. It is a good thing to educate public opinion on political issues. I feel that the country has undoubtedly been benefited by this on the one hand but on the other a suspicion rears its head when I hear all those speeches and statements of other political parties as to what connection they could have with educating public opinion when they are so often full of abuses. I have seldom found any serious thinking about important national issues. Such extraordinary things are said that I am often amazed how any thinking individual who understands the circumstances or conditions in India could say them. Then there is so much noise and commotion. Does it not show narrowness of mind? Elections no doubt generate some interest on national issues. But it is our duty to think about the country's problems with calm minds, and ask ourselves whether noise and falsehoods and rumours and slander help?...

I would have liked our election meetings to take place in an atmosphere of calm and peace which would enable people to think about the national and international issues. That is the only way to throw some light on these matters, not by indulging in slanging matches. Therefore, on the one hand, elections are useful, but on the other, the atmosphere of heightened tensions

1. Speech at a public meeting in New Delhi, 13 January 1952. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi). Extracts.

and noise is harmful and prevents people from thinking. Even otherwise, most of us are engaged in our petty preoccupations of day-to-day living and it is seldom that larger issues trouble us.

Anyhow, it is not possible to think calmly about anything in the din of electioneering. I do not know if the real issues of the nation have come before you. We must not get carried away in a momentary passion or allow undue pressures to be exerted upon us by considerations of family, friendship, caste or community, when voting, and forget the important national issues. I was reading some of the statements made by some people during the last few days. I have written down some of the points to read out to you. I was amazed at some of the things that have been said. I have always tried my best during my election tour to put issues calmly before the millions of people who have come to my meetings in the last two months, avoiding, as far as possible references to personalities. I am concerned with principles and ideals and want others to do the same. Most of my speeches have been about the large national issues, aimed at making people understand the problems that beset India....

I do refer to other parties but only on questions of principle. I do not look at them from the point of view of personalities. The trend among the leaders of other parties has, however been different. Most of them have more complaints against the Congress and the Government than anything concrete to say about policies or India's problems. Their habit is to curse the Congress and say that it has led India to ruin. I am also frequently the target of their attack and rightly so, for it is obvious that I am responsible for whatever the Government and to a large extent the Congress does. I do not want to shirk my responsibility. It is obvious that I do not do everything myself and there are thousands of cogs in the wheel—but the ultimate responsibility is mine. When you put me in a position of great responsibility, how can I hide behind a curtain and deny it? I am prepared to take on the responsibility for everything, good or bad, that the Government has done in India or the Congress of which I am the President, has done. If, as some of our comrades say, the Congress and the Government have indeed ruined India, it is obvious that the biggest responsibility for that tragedy is mine. I am the biggest culprit and what can be a bigger crime in a position of such great responsibility, than to repay the trust and affection given to me by the people by ruining the country? There is no punishment big enough to fit this crime.

All of us must think about these issues. The elections are going to be held and you have the right to vote as you like. I cannot order you to vote in any way. I can only put my own views before you. But I often wonder how far our erstwhile comrades are right in accusing us of having led the country to ruin in four years. If they are right, then I should be punished and the people of India have the right to do so. I have spent long years in the service



of my country and received in great abundance the love of the people. They have overwhelmed me by showering their affection on me. So they have the right to punish me whenever they wish, I have no objection. But leaving aside personal views, I would like you to think if the accusation is right. After all, what is it that those of us who are in government have done. Forgetting our long years of training have we, steeped up in pride, ignored what was the best for the country and the people? Have we gone on our own way and furthered our own interests? If it is right, then it is extremely bad. But as I said, leaving aside personal views you should try to judge the case on merits and see whether we have been disloyal to the country.... There is no doubt about it that we have made mistakes and must not repeat them. But after calm reflection, I feel that it would not be wrong to say that what this Government has been able to achieve in the last four years is praiseworthy. We have managed, inspite of our mistakes and failures, to lay the firm foundations for future progress. You can compare this with any other country without any sense of shame. Look at the events of the past few years in various countries all around us and their economic condition now. I do not say that we are in any way superior. But if you compare India with other countries, you will find that there are very few who have faced their problems squarely as we in India have done or laid such firm foundations of progress in future. It is for you to judge if this is a fact or not. If it is a fact, how can it be true to say that the Congress Government betrayed the people and led the country to ruin? You often hear it being said that India cannot prosper unless the Congress Government is thrown out. It is upto you to judge who is right after a careful consideration of facts.

I am not here to go into all that has happened during the last four years or the plans that have been drawn up for the country's progress. But I would like to point out that ultimately the economic progress of a nation cannot be brought about by passing laws. Laws can certainly help. Economic progress implies increase in production of national wealth. It also implies an equitable distribution of the wealth so that it does not remain concentrated in the hands of a few rich people. India is a poor country. There is no hidden wealth anywhere to be distributed among the people. At the moment we can only distribute poverty. India can progress only by producing new wealth. You must understand that wealth does not mean gold or silver but essential consumer goods which are produced from land and industries, cottage and village industries, etc....

Then the question of the means to increase production arises. This has to be considered very seriously. If we had unlimited resources at our disposal we would invest them in various ways. But that is not the case. Our resources are extremely limited and we are not able to save anything because whatever we produce in the country is rapidly consumed by the growing population and

even then, it is not enough. I am referring not only to foodgrains but all consumer goods. Everything that is produced is consumed. So there is nothing left to invest in the fields which would lead to progress. It is only by saving something that there can be progress just as it is in an individual's private life. If an individual spends everything he will have no savings to invest. Similarly, a nation has to save in order to progress. But how can we save when what we produce is not enough for our needs?...

When you think of India's present situation, you should compare that with the rest of the world. It is difficult to believe that the world is full of fools except for the few intelligent leaders in the Jan Sangh or Praja Socialist Party. It is far more probable that these leaders are labouring under a misapprehension and have failed to understand the problem. After all, there must be some attempt to understand the situation in the world and India. Instead, the only thing that they can think of is that the Congress has ruined the country. I can claim with authority that the Congress has saved India. When I say Congress, I am not referring to myself but to the people of the country.

Let me give you another example. In my view, this Government has a great achievement to its credit which has won acclaim in the world. It is something unique and unparalleled in the world. I am referring to the millions of refugees who poured in after partition. I do not know if such a great burden has ever fallen upon a single nation in the world. In Hitler's time refugees fled in large numbers to the rest of Europe. Three years ago, nine lakh people were thrown out of Palestine. So the European countries are familiar with the problem of refugees. They tried their best with the help of the United Nations and unlimited funds from America to solve the problem. But ten or fifteen years have gone by and even now, the refugees are living in camps and no proper arrangements for their rehabilitation have been made. You must remember that this is inspite of unlimited resources and a great many intelligent people who are in charge of the arrangements. Compare that with what we have done. We have been able to look after and rehabilitate fifty to sixty lakh people and provided job opportunities for them. Schools and hospitals have been built for them and new townships have come up. Delhi is the best example of how we have solved the problem of the refugees. I would like you to find another example of this. People who come from outside, experienced people, have been greatly impressed by what they have seen here. They said that they had learnt a great deal from us. Please remember that we have not had any monetary help from other countries or the United Nations. We have done this entirely on our own.

Anyhow, it is often claimed by the opposition that we have not looked after the refugees properly though it is one of the biggest tasks which the Government has handled in the last three to four years. There is no doubt



about it that even now there are large numbers of people in distress who ought to be helped. It will go on. I do not claim the entire credit for the Government. The fact is that though the government did help, the refugees from the Punjab, Sindh and Bengal, inspite of their great hardships, faced the situation with courage, and have learnt to stand on their own feet. We helped but they helped themselves too and so we have succeeded. If they had been absolutely helpless, as it happened in some cases, the Government could not have helped them. After all, the Government does not command the resources to help millions of people. It can merely pave the way by giving some help. But the refugees have come up on their own steam and contributed to India's strength....

Pakistan has been created. History will decide later whether it was a wise decision or not. But there is no doubt about it that it came into being with our concurrence. I am prepared to admit my responsibility. But there were many others who today raise their voice against the partition who were responsible for it. It was certainly a bitter pill to swallow and nobody really liked the idea. But the events which led to it had spread so much poison in the country that we were afraid it would annihilate the nation's very existence. The atmosphere of bitterness and tension and feud had spread like wild fire and freedom was receding further and further while we became weaker. We were fed up and so decided to accept partition. Those who are raising objections now, like the leaders of the Akali Dal or the Jan Sangh, also accepted it with us or you might say, even before we did, though they now deny it. Master Tara Singhji said here in Delhi just two or three days ago<sup>2</sup> that there is no greater liar and coward than Jawaharlal in this world. What can I say to that?... Similarly, Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee also accused me of telling lies when I said he had accepted partition. Now he claims that he was trying to save half of Bengal. That is wrong. I can give you the exact date when partition was accepted. As I told you, talks went on during the months of March and April, and the decision was arrived at on the 1st of June. Lord Mountbatten had invited everyone to come here. The subject was formally discussed from about the middle of May, not before that. Even on the 1st of June, it was not finally accepted but there was a hint of acceptance on that date. When the question of partition came up, the leaders of Bengal also agreed to it. But partition of Bengal or Punjab would have meant partition of the country.

Anyhow, we accepted it and the country was divided. I would like to refer to another accusation made by Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee which is that Jawaharlal has come to a secret pact with Pakistan about Kashmir. I deny it absolutely. But he has repeated it again. Any denial on my part will only

2. On 8 January 1952.

lead to bickering. Now he has accused me of forcing a plebiscite on the border province. This is once again a product of his fragile memory. It is all part of recorded history for everyone to see. He has also made a statement that I had betrayed Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr Khan Sahib. There is no one who is an older or dearer friend of mine in India than Dr Khan Sahib. I have known him very well since 1906 for more than 45 years. That is a long period. He is one of my dearest friends. He was studying in England when I was there and we became comrades thereafter. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is one of India's greatest men and it is absurd that Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee who has nothing to do with the border or with the brave Pathans who live there or with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr Khan Sahib, should accuse me of betraying them. It does not matter. But I would like to tell you that amidst the hundreds of problems which confront me every day, the one thing that bothers me constantly is the fact that great freedom fighters like Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr Khan Sahib should be lying in jail for the last three years while we call ourselves independent. The problem is that we are helpless. If I express sympathy, that too is likely to be misconstrued against him that he is trying to side with India.

Master Tara Singh says repeatedly that we should immediately declare war against Pakistan. I have got the English version of his speech.<sup>3</sup> He must have spoken in Urdu. I am referring to the English translation published in the newspapers. We want an immediate war with Pakistan. We should immediately attack Pakistan. Pandit Nehru is a coward and tells so many lies, etc.. If you want to finish Pakistan, you must finish Congress and for finishing Congress you must finish Nehru.

All this is absolutely logical. Anyhow, what can I say in reply? All of us in India are facing great problems. The eyes of the world are upon us and it hopes for something from India. Whether the world looks to us or not, the millions in India certainly do. That is a tremendous responsibility. How can we hope to discharge that responsibility by making false accusations and wrangling in a meaningless fashion? I am not complaining. but I am truly amazed. I have had twenty years experience of this kind of thing but this is something unique. The Akali leaders have achieved the impossible, of never saying anything but the wrong thing. It is indeed a feat. I have nothing to say against their obvious courage and bravery. But they have achieved the feat of never saying the right thing, and secondly of never learning from their mistakes. I invite any of you to tell me one thing done by them in the last twenty

3. For example, addressing a public meeting at Sharifpura in East Punjab on 12 December 1951, Tara Singh talked about the inevitability of war between India and Pakistan, as he felt convinced that Pakistan was already cracking. He wanted Hindus and Sikhs to unite and bend Pakistan.



years which may have benefited the Sikhs or the Punjab or India. They have done great harm to the Sikhs by their mistakes. I would like to tell you that this is not my opinion alone but that of other leaders in the country who are concerned about the Sikhs. They are a brave people and Punjab occupies a special place in the history of India. Why is it then that the Akali leadership has always taken the wrong direction? It is so narrow-minded that it invariably takes the wrong step without thinking of the consequences.

Master Tara Singh is talking of marching on Pakistan today. How many times have the Akali leaders tried to come to an agreement with the Muslim League in the past? Some of them joined the Congress for a while and then left it. Giani Kartar Singh has been in and out of the Congress many times. He left it once again two months ago. It has become a joke. There is no principle behind it. I do not know how many attempts the Akalis have made to side with the Muslim League before the partition in an effort to suppress the Congress. We are all undoubtedly responsible but the greatest responsibility for the partition lies with the policy followed by the Akali Dal in the Punjab.

I am referring to the question of acceptance and non-acceptance. The result of that partition was that the Punjab was weakened. All of us were to blame for that, I agree, for the policy of sowing dissension among the people. But in my opinion, it is the Akali Dal which was the most to blame because it was not a stable organization and could not be trusted. Its views would change day by day.

All right, listen to what Master Tara Singh has said in praise of the secular State. He said that it is a state of atheists. You will forgive me if I point out very humbly to him that he should look up an English dictionary. The word atheist has nothing to do with secularism as he very well knows. Master Tara Singh has said another interesting thing and that is if he cannot win by votes, he will overthrow the Government by force. This shows the pessimism among them about winning by democratic methods and so he uses threats. Are we a nation of immature adolescents or responsible adults? People come from various parties and make irresponsible speeches. Where are they taking the country by such antics? They are bent upon bringing ruin upon the country. They did not participate in the freedom struggle or even if they did, it was more for show, and now that we have got freedom, they are trying to break it.

They talk of undivided India. By this one activity alone, the Jan Sangh will see to it that India is divided into petty little parts. Disunity and fragmentation have been old vices in India. The habit of living in compartments and putting one's community, religion and village before the nation dies hard. We accepted the creation of Pakistan so that the poison of communalism spread by the Muslim League might be rooted out and we may live in unity. But unfortunately, the poisonous roots of communalism seem to have multiplied and it is now rearing its head in the name of the Jan Sangh and the Hindu

Mahasabha, the Akali Dal and what not. These organizations speak in exactly the same voice of threats as the Muslim League did. Is this some kind of a joke? we must bear in mind that communalism and narrow-mindedness cannot be the basis of a great nation like ours. India needs broad-minded people....

I would like to make one thing quite clear. When I say that the Jan Sangh is a communal organization, its President gets annoyed and points to the fact that there are Muslims in their party. After a great deal of search, they have discovered a bearded *maulvi* whom they parade about the place. Well, they are most welcome to do so. I have no objection. The Ram Rajya Parishad has a *maulvi* for its candidate in Uttar Pradesh and the Akali Dal has chosen the Nawab of Malerkotla.<sup>4</sup> All this is being done merely for purposes of show. You must be careful in your choice. Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee is of the view that there is no one else except Jawaharlal who is communal in his outlook. The Jan Sangh is rigidly communal in its way of thinking and the kind of people who support it....

I mentioned the need for political education. There can be no political education when everyone has a foot in two camps. Then there are independents who have every right to stand for election. Every one of the 36 crores of people in India has the right. But I feel that in a western style democracy, an independent candidate, no matter how able, cannot do very much. It is a sort of a waste. It is a sign of a backward nation when there are many independents.

Election is something new for us. People without experience are standing as candidates. Many of the independent candidates are those who have failed to get a Congress ticket. Alternatively they have taken refuge in the Praja Party. As you can imagine, I have no objection to anyone joining any party of their choice. But when an individual applies for a Congress ticket, it implies that if he fails to get one, he should not contest at all. They have to take a pledge. That does not mean that the Congress is guilty of a crime by rejecting someone's application. It is completely unprincipled of anyone to break his word and join the Praja Party or stand as an independent candidate. It lowers the standard of politics in the country, and is utterly contemptible. It is not a question of good or bad. It is utterly contemptible. Such lack of discipline cannot be tolerated. These are the people who are standing as independent candidates and a few have been taken in by the Praja Party. Others who have not formally become members have come to a tacit understanding and attend meetings, etc. I am amazed that our politics should fall so low. It is wrong and must not be permitted.

4. Mohammad Iftikhar Ali Khan (b. 1904); played a prominent role in the formation of Pepsu, and member, Pepsu Legislative Assembly, 1952-57.



Well, anyhow, the election results will soon become known. Elections will of course come and go. This one has a special significance because the eyes of the world are upon us. These elections will show which road India will take, the road to stability or fragmentation and disunity as has happened again and again in our history. It will prove to the world whether we choose to live in our narrow compartments of casteism and weaken one another or march in step in unity as one nation. If we believe in nationalism there can be no room for communalism for every single individual who lives in India, irrespective of religion, has an equal share in that nationalism.

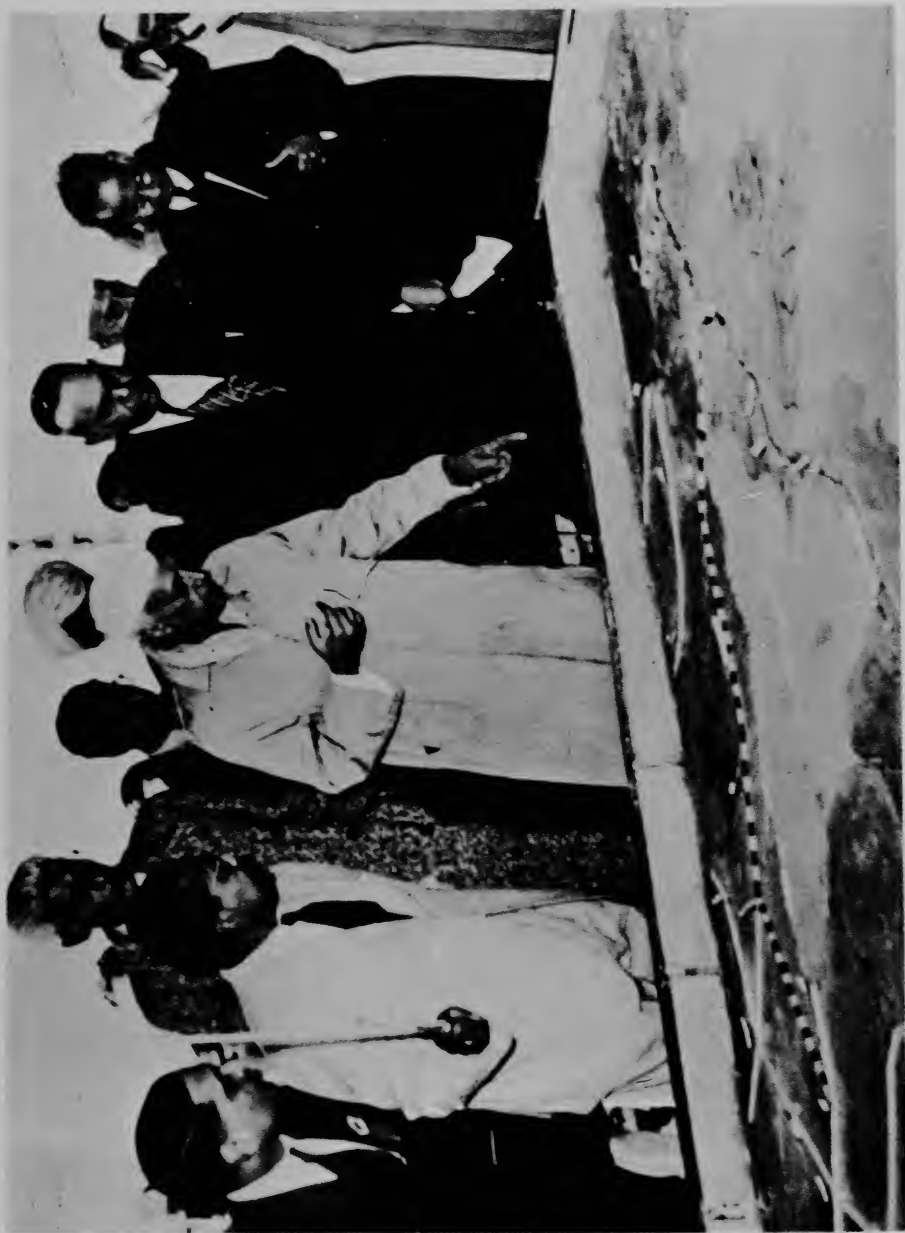
So the problem before us now is to progress towards a new future. We have embarked upon a great journey towards economic progress and betterment of the people. These problems can be tackled successfully only through mutual cooperation. We have to build a new India, where the people are prosperous and get rid of poverty and unemployment. We can succeed in these tasks only by mutual cooperation and unity, not by disunity and narrow-mindedness. As far as these elections are concerned, they are a test which will show what the people think. I hope you will prove to the world that you are interested in the larger goals. The city of Delhi has a special significance, obviously because it is the capital of India as well as being one of the oldest cities in the country. What happens here will have an impact on the rest of the country and the world. Ambassadors from all over the world live here in Delhi. We must therefore conduct ourselves with dignity and show to the world that we are capable of working unitedly. The fact is that the Congress is the only party which can lead the country towards progress. If you feel that the pace is not fast enough it is up to you to change that. After all, it is not the private domain of mine or Brahm Perkashji<sup>5</sup> or someone else. The Congress has been moulded by millions of human beings in India over the last sixty to seventy years through incessant effort and blood, sweat and tears. Some weaknesses have crept into it and must be removed. But how can we give it up in favour of splinter groups and parties which have no principles or platform and constantly have one foot in the other camp. How can a nation function like this?...

5. Chaudhary Brahm Perkash (1918-1993); participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned several times; President, Delhi P.C.C., 1951-1952 and 1966-67; first Chief Minister, Delhi State, 1952-55; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-70 and 1977-80; joined Janta Party, 1977; Central Minister for Agriculture and Irrigation, July 1979-January 1980.



AT KAMAGATA MARU MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA, 1 JANUARY 1952





AT KANDLA PORT, 10 JANUARY 1952

**THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS****III. After the Elections**





## 1. To U.S. Malliah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 21, 1952

Dear Comrade,<sup>2</sup>

I should like to have from you by the end of this month an appraisal of the situation resulting from the general elections. I want to have this in time for the Working Committee meeting, which is going to be held on February 2nd. I realise that all the results will not be complete by then. Therefore a provisional reply can be sent to me by that date. A fuller reply can follow later.

I should like to have your views about the reasons for the success or failure of Congress candidates; the state of Congress organization as seen in the course of these elections and what changes you think are necessary. Also your views as to what should be done in your State as a result of these elections.

We have also to consider the question of the second chamber soon and I should like to have your suggestions about that.

One fact appears clear to me that our organisation, as it exists at present, is not very suitable for elections or indeed for any solid work among the people. We have not developed leadership at the lower levels and we have relied too much on top committees. This has to be remedied.

You will remember that the last Congress session authorized the A.I.C.C. to amend the constitution. We shall have to consider this soon with the experience gained from the elections. It must be realized that speedy action is necessary after the elections. We must not allow a gap period which will make further action more difficult.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. G-54/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. U. Srinivasa Malliah (1903-1965); participated in the freedom movement and was imprisoned for two years in 1925; President, South Kanara, D.C.C., 1937-50; Vice-President, Karnataka P.C.C. for several years from 1947; member, Constituent Assembly; General Secretary of Congress, 1951-54; and Chief Whip of Congress in Lok Sabha, 1952-65.



## 2. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Dickie,

I came back last night after completing my election tour. Today, the U.P., our biggest State, is going to the polls. Except for some hill areas, which are snow-bound at present, elections will be over by the end of this month. The complete results, however, will not reach us till sometime later. We should, however, have a fairly reliable picture by the first week of February.

These elections have been, as you know, on a colossal scale. Many people were afraid of trouble during these elections. As a matter of fact they have passed off remarkably peacefully. That is a tribute to the efficiency and organization of our Election Commission. Hundreds of thousands of persons were engaged as polling officers and in other capacities. The police had also a tough job. There have been two or three unfortunate incidents. In Rajasthan some of the jagirdars have given a lot of trouble and have terrorized people and prevented them from voting in many places. In Saurashtra a dacoit gang, which is rather closely associated with the jagirdars, fired at a Congress election meeting and killed some people.

The results of the elections have brought a number of surprises. The communal parties have, on the whole, not done well.<sup>2</sup> The Socialist Party has also rather faded out. Next to the Congress comes a varied assortment of independents. The bigger group, apart from the Congress, is some kind of a Leftist Front group under the leadership of Communists. This is specially so in Madras, Travancore and Hyderabad. Thus, the Communist-led elements come into the picture much more than was thought probable. This naturally raises new problems. At any rate, this means that the Communists will give up their wild tactics, but they will be troublesome enough in other ways.

So far as the central Parliament is concerned, the probability is that we shall have a substantial majority. The total membership is nearly five hundred. Out of these at the most from 100 to 150 may go to the various opposition groups.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In the elections to the Lok Sabha the Hindu Mahasabha had contested 30 seats and won 4, the Jan Sangh contested 94 seats and won 3, the Ram Rajya Parishad contested 57 seats and won 3 and the Akali Dal won 4 seats. In the State Assemblies the Hindu Mahasabha had contested 206 seats and won 20, the Jan Sangh 732 seats and won 35, the Ram Rajya Parishad contested 304 seats and won 32 and the Akalis won 32 seats.

The elections have been a tremendous experience for hundreds of millions in the country. They have taken a very active interest in them. On the whole, large numbers have voted, including women, who often came in their fineries, especially the village women. We have learnt many lessons from these elections, notably the necessity for effective local leadership in villages and small towns.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Krishna,

...I returned last night after finishing my election tour. These elections, as you will appreciate, have given rise to any number of new problems and we shall have to deal with them in the course of the next month. Quite apart from the results of the elections, one fact stands out. This is the remarkable success of the arrangements for these colossal elections. They have passed off peacefully and the intricate and extensive organization has worked with remarkable efficiency and fairness. There have, of course, been petty complaints of unfairness here and there, but it is widely recognized that the elections have been fairly conducted. There has been some trouble in Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Pepsu. In Rajasthan the jagirdars terrorized people a good deal and prevented them from coming to vote. This was not difficult as the population is widely scattered and two or three jagirdars' men with guns in a village were enough to keep many people away from the polling booths. In Saurashtra there has been a case of firing on a Congress election meeting, resulting in some deaths. There is a big gang at work there indirectly helped by the jagirdars.<sup>2</sup>

The U.P. elections have begun today.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. At an election meeting in Kharachia in Upleta constituency of U.N. Dhebar, on 22 January 1952, an armed anti-Congress gang fired at people assembled, killing nine persons and seriously injuring twelve.



#### 4. To Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 25, 1952

My dear Lal Bahadur,

I hope you are not overdoing things and are trying to look after yourself to some extent.

I am rather worried about two matters. One is that attention has been largely paid to my election and not Sri Prakasa's. The other is the expenses in my election. There are so many people working that these must be mounting up. I hope you and others will remember that there are certain rules and regulations governing election expenses. Also that proper accounts have to be kept.

I am writing to Mridula<sup>2</sup> also on this subject, because she has a tendency to be extravagant.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. PG-25/1954, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Mridula Sarabhai.

#### 5. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 26, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I have just received your letter of the 25th January.

It is true that there is a widespread impression in many parts of India that some of the big industrial concerns in India have helped opponents of the Congress. Of course, to some extent, this is true. One of the Bombay magnates opposed the President of the I.N.T.U.C. in Gujarat and was publicly supported by a very large section of the business community in Bombay. I know also that in Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and U.P., this kind of thing is done. We have of course no right to object to it.

When this happens, a common impression grows and even the good man suffers from it. I know that Ghanshyamdas Birla<sup>2</sup> was out of the country for

1. J.N. Collection.
2. A leading industrialist who was close to the Congress.

the greater part of the elections. In his absence, his brother gave some help to the Congress and on G.D. Birla's returning, he also gave some help. I have no reason to think that he has personally done anything against the Congress. But it is true that the managers of his concerns have in some cases definitely ranged themselves against the Congress and in fact stood as candidates. In Delhi, for instance, the manager of his mills was a candidate, who wanted a Congress ticket, and not getting it, opposed the Congress. The methods he adopted, according to information received by me, were not proper. I know a good deal about happenings in Delhi, because Indira and many others were canvassing from morning till night. It is to some extent natural, though unfortunate, that the activity of such managers and employees should reflect on the proprietors.

I am sorry if G.D. Birla's name is dragged into the picture, because so far as I know, he had personally nothing to do with it. I do not know what I can do about it. There can be no doubt that there is a widespread feeling in the country against industrial and business magnates. Indeed the elections generally have shown that the monied people are not popular with the electorate. Our strongest candidates have been young men with only work and enthusiasm to their credit.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 6. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 26, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

My lengthy tour throughout India, as well as the result of the elections, has put a multitude of impressions and ideas in my head. They are not very precise, but there is a very strong feeling that we have to pull ourselves up, both in Government and in Congress.

2. From the purely democratic point of view, the elections have been, I think, a remarkable success, except perhaps in Rajasthan and partly in Saurashtra, where there has been a good deal of intimidation on the part of

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. Union Minister for Finance at this time.



the jagirdars. I am not referring to the results of the elections but rather to the manner they were conducted. The people generally have reacted intelligently and voted for their choice. There has not been very much of sheep voting. An attempt has been made by them to understand and to choose. They may have chosen wrongly, according to our thinking.

3. Take Delhi. The State elections here have been very significant. The Congress has generally won,<sup>3</sup> largely because, I think, the Delhi Congress consists of young and energetic people of leftist tendencies. The older people were pushed out to some extent some time ago. A few seats have been lost. Every one of these was of a person who was not wholly desirable and whom we had selected after some hesitation.

4. I cannot speak with equal knowledge of the large numbers of other candidates elsewhere. But, generally, the rich man chosen for his influence or money has fared badly and a person with enthusiasm and what might be called advanced ideas, has won, even though he was not particularly well-known in the constituency. Candidates, including Ministers, who had a bad reputation, have usually lost. Both in Travancore-Cochin and Madras, there can be little doubt that the Ministries were highly unpopular and grave charges had been brought against some Ministers.

5. The Socialists suffered a good deal because of their alliances, which made them appear to be opportunists. The Jan Sangh in the Punjab, which was fairly strong, grew suddenly weak because of their alliance with the Akalis.<sup>4</sup> Opportunism did not pay with the public.

6. Of course there were many causes for our defeats in Travancore-Cochin and Madras. Food scarcity was one of them especially in Madras. There was the Andhra question, the Cochin-Travancore conflict, the Brahmin-non-Brahmin issue, etc. The so-called "Toilers" parties often represented just one caste group. The Communists exploited sometimes caste differences.

7. One can analyse all these petty reasons. In the main, however, I have the definite feeling that the Congress suffered because it was supposed to be too conservative in economic matters. It did not represent the growing leftism in the country. These are vague words of course, but they indicate tendencies. The Socialists, though talking big, were adventurist and had no ballast. The Communists concentrated on specific issues like food in Madras.

8. I need not write at length on these matters. When the elections are over however, we shall have to give careful thought to every aspect, but more particularly, to the main trends. That main trend appears to me to be a

3. In Delhi, the Congress won 39 of the 48 seats in the Assembly.

4. A noteworthy feature of the election to the East Punjab Assembly was the defeat of all sixty-five candidates of the Jan Sangh. The Akali Dal won 13 seats. In the Pepsu Assembly the Jan Sangh won 2 seats and the Akalis 19 seats.

reaction against our slow progress and a belief that we are tied up with the more conservative sections of the community. I have little doubt that but for my tremendous tour, the result of the elections would have been much worse for the Congress. During this tour, I gave no specific promises. Nevertheless I created a sensation that things would be done. If things are not done with some speed, then a big reaction will follow.

9. It is difficult to prophesy about the final result of the elections. I suppose that in the House of the People, we shall have a substantial majority, but there will be a solid opposition which may amount to anything upto 175. In this opposition there is likely to be well-knit Communist group of 25 or 30.<sup>5</sup> We shall have thus to face a situation when our policies are continually under fire and results are demanded. We cannot merely make promises or promise results in the somewhat distant future.

10. I think that we shall have to think over our Five Year Plan and connected matters in view of these new developments. I do not mean that the five-year programme will have to be scrapped. It has been drawn up on a sound basis. But it has had to face certain definite limitations. How far we can function within those limitations, I do not know. Those limitations are going to be attacked by others.

11. One very urgent demand everywhere was for radical land reform. Our Zamindari Abolition Bills in the U.P. and Bihar have now been hung up for years. I hope they will be finalized within a month or so. We are waiting for the Supreme Court judgment.<sup>6</sup> They have been delayed so long that all grace has gone from them and in some measure they are out of date.

12. Of one thing, I am quite sure: that we can get a positive and widespread response from the people for work, even work entailing hardship, provided we can touch their minds and hearts and offer them something that is worthwhile or promise worthwhile results. It was extraordinary how people were hankering for something to do and felt frustrated because they did not know what to do. Young men and young women especially were eagerly waiting for some kind of a lead which would give them an opportunity. I do not know if Gulzari Lal

5. Of the total number of 489 seats contested for the Lok Sabha, the Congress secured 363 seats. The Communists and their allies with 27 seats were the largest opposition group.
6. On 2 May 1952, the Supreme Court held the Bihar Land Reforms Act of 1950 valid. The Act had been held unconstitutional by the Patna High Court and the State Government appealed to the Supreme Court against that decision. The U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act received the assent of the President on 24 January 1951. Its enactment was, however, delayed until 5 May 1952 when the Supreme Court held the Act valid against the contention of the zamindars.



Nanda's Bharat Seva Sangh<sup>7</sup> is adequate for this purpose. Even that has been hung up for a long time and nothing seems to happen.

13. That leads me to the difficulty and delays in getting things done through the normal governmental machinery in the States or the Centre. How can we get over this? At any rate, in any new schemes, whether they are to push ahead the Indo-American projects or others, I should like to strike out some new and more effective line of work.

14. In Bengal, the Government is perhaps more conservative than anywhere in India. But the Chief Minister, Dr B.C. Roy, is a big man and if he wants something done, it is done with remarkable speed. I admire him for that. I wish we could function in that way elsewhere also. The tempo of the Government of India, and indeed of the State Governments also, is astonishingly slow.

15. So far as the Congress is concerned, I think that we shall have to change our constitution in many respects and somehow get out of the ruts, cliques and bossdom that we have developed. There is hardly any room for an enthusiastic young worker in the Congress today. Some of them came because of the elections. But they came almost entirely because of personal associations and not so much for the Congress as such. They ask me: what are we to do now and, for the present I have no answer. We have to find scope for them and build up local leadership....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. The Sangh which was finally named the Bharat Sewak Samaj was inaugurated by Nehru in October 1952. A non-political social organization with a youth wing and constructive service as its main function, it aimed at mobilizing people's support, besides cooperating and participating in plans for relief, reconstruction, social welfare activities, and community farms in cities and villages.

## 7. An Appraisal of the Elections<sup>1</sup>

A full appraisal of the general elections will have to be made later. They are not over yet and many surprises may still be in store for us. Any party

1. Note to the Congress Working Committee, 31 January 1952. File No. G-43/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

contesting elections must make a full examination of the forces at work during the elections and the causes of success and failure. Any working of democracy requires that. The examination must be as objective and impartial as possible. An attempt to hush up things or to ignore something that is not palatable, will lead to wrong conclusions and future disaster.

2. While a full appraisal and examination must come later, some immediate steps have to be taken and we cannot afford to wait. These steps are not only in relation to the governments to be formed but also in regard to the Congress organization. Nothing could be more foolish, from the point of view of our organization, than for us to relapse into passivity.

3. The elections already held are full of lessons for us. Both our successes and our failures are remarkable and significant. I think that it can truly be said that these elections are a fair index of the mind of the voters at the time they gave the vote. On the whole there have been fair elections and the voter has had an opportunity to do what he wanted to. There have of course been many unfair forces at play but, in the balance, they can be ignored. It would be utterly wrong for us to find reasons for our defeat in many places in some trivial occurrence. Where we have won, we have won squarely. Where we have been defeated, that has also been a straight defeat. I am not referring to some individual elections but rather to the picture as a whole.

4. The electorate has taken a great deal of interest in the elections and has tried to understand some of the issues. It has discriminated and expressed its mind with force. It has behaved as a politically conscious electorate. Of course local factors have played a great part as they always must do. I think that adult suffrage has abundantly justified itself, even though we may not like all the results. My respect for the average voter in India has gone up greatly.

5. This election has been a powerful medium for political education. That education could not go far. But it showed that the electorate was receptive and could learn if properly told. Essentially, the defeat of the Congress in the South is due to the non-functioning of the Congress organization and the functioning of our opponents. The inertia and slackness that had crept into the Congress organization could not be removed suddenly, and had to produce the results they did. I think that we would be justified in presuming that wherever we have lost rather heavily, the Congress organization was not functioning and the Congress leadership was bad. Indeed reports confirmed this conclusion. In Andhra there was practically no Congress organization. In many parts of Tamil Nad no Congress work had been done or was being done.

6. The defeat of Congress Ministers in bulk also demonstrates the great unpopularity of their Government. It is proof of their failure not merely in the elections but in the art of democratic government.

7. My tours all over the country had undoubtedly a powerful effect. I am



inclined to think that but for those tours, we would have suffered far greater defeats. But the momentary excitement caused by the tours could not take the place of continuous and effective work. In some provinces, even in the later stages of election, far too much reliance was placed on the general prestige of Congress or my touring or the general press support of the Congress. Real propaganda of any kind was hardly undertaken. Indeed some of our candidates were rather afraid of facing an audience and much more so of canvassing. This kind of attitude is bound to and should lead to defeat.

8. On the other hand, we have won resounding victories in places where the Congress position was very weak and there were strong candidates opposed to us. We won them by persistent, continuous and aggressive hard work. Wherever I went there was some complaint of the Congress organization or sometimes of individuals in charge of it. I laid stress on the major issues before us and told them that they could change the individuals and reform the organization, but they must not allow personal feelings to come in the way of great issues. Sometimes my argument carried conviction, at other times it did not. In any event, I was told that this reform must come and they told me that they would hold me by my word.

9. One obvious conclusion of these elections is that the Congress organization as it is today must be shaken up completely and reformed throughout. Any passive or static attitude to this problem means progressive disintegration of the Congress. On the other hand a really active, intelligent and fairly aggressive approach to this problem will certainly yield good results.

10. Those who had left the Congress and were functioning in the K.M.P.P. or other groups were our open opponents. But there were many people within the Congress, including some of our candidates, who functioned strangely and sometimes undermined the position of another Congress candidate. Sometimes private encouragement and help was given to independent candidates or, what was as bad, our candidates did not pull together and each worked for his own success.

11. Where there were really unpopular candidates, no amount of Congress prestige could save them. Candidates who were little known in the constituency often got through, but anyone who had a bad reputation with the public had to face massive public disapproval. Many a time our workers were told that we will vote for the Congress but not for this particular candidate who was considered to have a bad record. The time for putting up anybody as a candidate in any constituency is long past. More particularly, no one who has a bad reputation can make a good candidate.

12. It has often been said that the Congress organization has lost touch with the people. The election proved this in many places. Indeed the structure of the organization today is itself such as not to encourage these contacts. We function in superior committees, chiefly through the Pradesh committees and

to some extent through district committees. There may also be tahsil or taluk committees which seldom function. Even the tahsil is much too big a unit for proper work. The unit must not be bigger than one comprising say about 25 to 30 villages. In the U.P. there used to be mandal committees of this kind and they were very successful. Why they were abolished I do not know, but I am sure that this injured and weakened the Congress greatly in the U.P.

13. Democratic politics and electioneering encourage, to some extent, what are known as boss-politics. Leadership is necessary but the leadership should not encourage too much of bossing. Real leadership that counts in an election or in a big organization is the lower level leadership. Where there is a big boss at the top, this lower level leadership does not develop. Only those who pay court to the big boss can flourish. The result is a weakening of the organization. So long as there is no effective opposition it can carry on. But as soon as this opposition appears, it tends to crumble up.

14. It is this lower level leadership that has been singularly lacking in the Congress. This has not only resulted in the weakening of the Congress but has driven away effective and worthwhile people into other organizations. We have therefore to develop this leadership at the lower levels, which is in constant touch with the individual voter.

15. I think it is fortunate for the Congress, having regard to all the circumstances, to have succeeded in the elections to the extent that it has done. It might well have fared much worse. We have now the chance to learn from experience and make ourselves active and vital again. Naturally vitality can only come with a worthwhile programme and hard work to attain it. It cannot merely come by thinking of elections alone. Whatever its other activities, the Congress must function as a definite political party with a definite programme. It cannot continue to be, as Dr Ambedkar once called it, a Dharmshala for all and sundry.

16. During the last five years, all kinds of inner changes were taking place under the surface of Indian politics. Most Congressmen were almost unaware of them. They were either busy quarrelling amongst themselves or were not trained to observe these social forces at work. The elections have suddenly brought out these forces to the surface. As a result, new parties and groups have emerged and some existing parties have more or less collapsed. It is a credit to the Congress that it has withstood the impact of these new conditions and new forces to the extent that it has done.

17. The various parties might be divided up into a number of groups: (1) those professing advanced economic programmes like the Socialists, Communists and other so-called Leftists; (2) the communal parties, whether Hindu, Sikh, Muslim or other (the other includes caste groupings); (3) the social reactionary parties like the jagirdars, zamindars, etc.



18. There are other odd groups like the K.M.P.P. which do not fit into any picture. They are just dissidents angry with the world and more specially with the Congress. Where they have won, they have done so because of personal reasons. As a party they do not count and will fade away.

19. The Socialists have also proved completely ineffectual, although they had every chance to make good. Their leadership was and is feeble in the extreme. They have also received a hard knock in the elections and are not likely to progress much, unless some great change comes over them. Probably part of their membership will drift to other parties.

20. The purely communal parties like the Hindu Mahasabha, the Jan Sangh, the Ram Rajya Parishad, the Akali Dal and the like have also suffered considerably. Where they have succeeded, they have done so by an alliance with the jagirdars, etc., or for some personal reason. These parties are not likely to grow in strength. But, representing as they do a failing of our nature, they will flourish in a limited way.

21. Another aspect of communalism, i.e. the caste complex is however dangerous and will no doubt continue to affect elections and our politics generally.

22. We then come to what are called the Democratic Leftist Fronts which are generally under the leadership of the Communists. It is these groups that have emerged from the elections and have established themselves. I do not know the exact content of these groups. Probably there are some in them who may later break away from communist leadership, if they are given a chance. But in the main they may be taken to be pro-communist, if not actually communist.

23. The major parties, therefore, that emerged from these elections are the Congress and these Leftists' Fronts. This is so chiefly in the South. In the North, Communists and Leftists' Fronts have not succeeded to any extent. But it must be remembered that Parliament is likely to have a fairly strong and well-knit Communist or pro-Communist groups.

24. The growth of these Leftist Fronts indicates certain powerful trends in the country. It does not indicate communism as such except to a small extent. It does indicate that there is a strong demand for economic change and progress and no party that ignores this can have much of a future.

25. In Rajasthan we might have the peculiar phenomenon of a strong jagirdari feudal group, perhaps even in a majority. That is a throw-back which will have to be dealt with separately as it does not affect the larger picture of India.

26. The conclusion to be drawn from this analysis is that the Congress has still a very important historical role to fulfil, which no other group or party can take up. Every other group, even if given a long rope, is likely to lead to the growth of disruption and disintegration in India. The Congress can

check this provided it has the energy, vitality and the good sense. I have little doubt that it can meet the challenge that has been thrown to it, but it will have to work hard and to get out of the rut it has got into. This means an effective policy, a programme of work, and a well-knit organization with its roots in the people.

27. So far as policy is concerned, vaguely speaking, we have a good policy but it is too vague. It has to be a little more specific and precise. The first part of this policy to which effect has to be given with speed is that relating to land and the abolition of jagirdari, zamindari etc. There is no real opposition to this anywhere except for the law's delay. Opposition will no doubt come in Rajasthan from the jagirdari element. But that will not weaken the Congress. On the contrary it will strengthen it if it works properly.

28. I shall not indicate here what else might be done in regard to policy and programme. The real thing is not what we talk about but what we do. The five year plan is being tightened up and I hope improved. We have to take this up in right earnest.

29. We must remember that the Leftist groups will be continually bringing forward proposals of far-reaching economic change. We cannot meet them just negatively. We must have a positive answer.

30. For the Congress the most important thing is our organizational set up. This has to be coordinated with elections and constituencies. Thus our District might well be the Parliamentary constituency. Our lower committee should be the Assembly constituency. Lower than that there should be, as I have said above, a small group of villages not exceeding as a rule 30 in number. That should be our primary committee.

31. I think we should fit in our elected members to our committees. There must be close coordination between them. Even before any constitutional change takes place we can call upon our provincial and district committees to co-opt these members for purposes of work.

32. The elections have drawn a number of people into the sphere of our work. Many of these had no opportunity to work with the Congress and were not inclined that way previously. It would be a pity to allow these people, or the good ones among them, to drift away. We must keep them and utilize them. Any delay in this would be bad and therefore an immediate step should be taken to take some work in hand in which they can engage themselves.

33. It would be desirable to have a meeting of the All India Congress Committee fairly soon, probably about the middle of March to consider the situation and more particularly to consider changes in the Congress constitution. That meeting might not finalize these changes because some more time would be necessary for that. But it may give some general directions which can be



acted upon immediately. A later meeting of the A.I.C.C. should be held fairly soon after finalizing the changes in the constitution.

34. I think it would be worthwhile for the Working Committee to appoint a small committee to report on the elections and to recommend changes in the Congress constitution.

## 8. Formation of State Governments<sup>1</sup>

As soon as the elections are over, and indeed from now onwards, we have to think of the formation of Ministries etc. Each case will naturally have to be considered separately.

2. Apart from this, we have to consider how our candidates for the Council of State and the Upper Houses in the States are to be selected.

3. The question also arises as to whether there should be one single Congress Party in a legislature having two Houses or two such parties. If two, will they have one leader or two? If they have two leaders, then presumably one of them will be the overall leader of both.

4. Where the Congress has got a clear majority, the question is of the selection of the leader who will be Chief Minister as well as the selection of his other ministers in consultation with him.

5. Where the Congress has not got a clear majority and yet is the largest party, the situation is more difficult and has to be very carefully considered. No impression should be given that Congress wants to stick on to office by hook or crook. It will be far better if Congress is not in office and allows others to shoulder the burden, i.e. if they can manage to do so. If they cannot make a stable Government, then the alternatives are President's rule, fresh elections or possibly the Congress getting a majority to carry on effectively. Fresh elections soon after the general elections must be ruled out. Therefore, as a rule, it would be better in such cases for the other groups to be given a chance to form a Ministry. If they fail, then the time comes for the Congress to do so with the help of some other groups that may align themselves with

1. Note to Congress Working Committee, 31 January 1952. File No. G-43/1952. A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

it. But this attempt should not be made till the others have been given a chance.

6. Special consideration has to be paid to Bombay, Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad.

7. In four of these, namely, Bombay, Madras, Madhya Bharat and Hyderabad, the present or prospective Chief Ministers have not been elected.<sup>2</sup> In Bombay the situation is very peculiar because the Congress has got a thundering majority<sup>3</sup> and Shri Morarji Desai lost by a narrow margin, chiefly because he did not pay much attention to his election. In Madras the margin was also fairly narrow, but the party's defeat was a big one. In Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan the margins are fairly big. In Madhya Bharat there is a Congress majority.<sup>4</sup> In Rajasthan this is doubtful.<sup>5</sup> In Hyderabad there is a Congress majority<sup>6</sup> but there are other factors which make the situation difficult.<sup>7</sup>

2. They were Morarji Desai, P.S. Kumaraswami Raja, Takhtmal Jain and M.K. Vellodi respectively. Vellodi, a civil servant, did not contest.
3. In the Bombay Assembly, Congress secured 269 out of 315 seats.
4. In the Madhya Bharat Assembly of ninety-nine members, Congress won seventy-five seats and Hindu Mahasabha became the second largest party by securing eleven seats.
5. Congress secured a narrow majority of eighty-one seats in the one hundred and sixty-member Rajasthan Assembly. Jainarain Vyas was defeated in both constituencies from which he contested.
6. In the one hundred and seventy-five member Hyderabad Assembly, Congress had emerged as the largest single party with ninety-three members.
7. In Hyderabad differences arose over allocation of portfolios and the State Congress leadership intervened to avert a crisis and paved the way for a ministry headed by B. Ramakrishna Rao to be sworn in on 6 March 1952. The same day, M.K. Vellodi, I.C.S. and a former nominated Chief Minister was appointed as the State Counsellor.

## 9. Formation of Congress Ministries in States<sup>1</sup>

1. Bombay—Here the question is a simple one. It arises from Shri Morarji Desai's defeat by a narrow margin although the Congress has won the great majority of seats in the State. It appears essential that Shri Morarji Desai should be the next Chief Minister in Bombay. The question is how this should be done.

1. Note for circulation to members of Congress Working Committee and Central Parliamentary Committee, 1 February 1952. J.N. Collection.



He can be elected leader of the legislature party. But it appears undesirable for him to be summoned by the Governor and asked to form a ministry unless he is a member of the legislature. He can without much difficulty get elected to the Assembly but this will take at least two months after the resignation of a person who has recently been elected.

A legal question has arisen as to whether a person so elected can resign at all till a new Speaker has been elected. There is a difference of viewpoint. It is desirable to remove any doubt on this subject by a President's Order about resignations of this kind. It would be desirable for Shri Morarji Desai to be elected to the Legislative Council of Bombay and at the same time stand for election for the Assembly. The moment he is elected to the Assembly he will resign from the Council.

While this may be done to get over a present difficulty, it should become a recognized convention that Chief Ministers should belong to the Lower House, i.e. the Assembly.

2. Madhya Bharat—Here also the present and prospective Chief Minister, Shri Takhtmal Jain,<sup>2</sup> was defeated though the Congress party has gained a substantial majority. It is considered necessary that Shri Takhtmal Jain should be the Chief Minister. There is no suitable alternative.

There is no Upper House in Madhya Bharat and it will be undesirable for him to be called upon to form a Ministry till he gets elected to the Madhya Bharat Assembly. Steps should immediately be taken to get him so elected by arranging for a resignation from a suitable constituency. But this new election will take two months or so and meanwhile the new Assembly will meet. Therefore the only course appears to be that someone else should temporarily fill the place of Chief Minister and to resign on Shri Takhtmal Jain being elected.

(i) The procedure suggested is that Shri Takhtmal Jain should resign from the Chief Ministership and seek election to the Madhya Bharat Assembly.

(ii) The Madhya Bharat Assembly Party should meet and pass a resolution expressing their confidence in Takhtmal Jain as their leader and request him to seek re-election as soon as possible so that he can function as their leader in the Assembly. They may (a) either elect him as leader then and there and also elect a Deputy Leader or (b) keep the post of leader vacant and elect a Deputy Leader who will function as the leader till such time as Takhtmal comes back. It is very necessary that these resolutions of the Madhya Bharat Assembly Party should be passed by an overwhelming majority.

2. (1895-1976); practised at the State Bar, 1913-43; Chief Minister, Madhya Bharat, 1950-52 and April 1955 to October 1956; Minister, Commerce, Industry and Agriculture, Madhya Pradesh, November 1956 to August 1958 and General Secretary, A.I.C.C., 1958-60.

Whether Takhtmal Jain is elected leader at this meeting or the place is kept vacant, in either event it is the Deputy Leader who will become the Chief Minister and remain so till such time as Takhtmal Jain comes back after election.<sup>3</sup> This should be clearly understood.

It is essential from the public interest that the member who vacates his seat in favour of Takhtmal Jain should not be rewarded in any way whatsoever, e.g. by his being given a seat in the Upper House in Delhi or otherwise. This member's resignation should be purely voluntary without any expectation of return.

3. Madras—The issue here is rather complicated because of the possible consequences that flow from any step that we might take. The Madras Ministry as well as the Congress Party there have suffered a very heavy and rather shattering defeat.<sup>4</sup> The fact that the party is still the biggest party in the new Assembly does not lessen the full extent of this defeat. It is *prima facie* improper for a Government that has been defeated in this way to continue in office. At the same time no obvious alternative Government is available.<sup>5</sup> As Madras has a Second Chamber, the legislature will not be fully constituted till the end of March or thereabouts. We have thus to consider the period till the end of March and later when the new Assembly begins to function.

During the first period, i.e. till the end of March, the possibilities are:

- (a) the present Ministry continuing as it is;
- (b) the Ministry resigning en bloc and President's rule for this period at least.
- (c) the defeated Ministers resigning while the others carry on. These others however are not capable of carrying on by themselves. None of them can possibly be Chief Minister. Therefore there is a possibility of the present Chief Minister continuing while the other defeated Ministers resign. This would mean a small caretaker Ministry consisting of the present Chief Minister and his three other colleagues.

The first course mentioned above should, I think, be ruled out. It is lacking in propriety and constitutional decorum. What is more important still, it might have adverse reactions on the public and thus weaken the Congress position

- 3. Finally, on 3 March, a new Congress Ministry headed by Mishrilal Gangwal took office.
- 4. In the Madras Assembly the Congress won 152 seats out of 375, thirty-six short of an absolute majority and the Communists won sixty-two seats and became the next biggest party. Six of the Cabinet Ministers including the Chief Minister lost their seats.
- 5. The Madras Government resigned on 8 February but at the request of the Governor, Kumaraswami Raja formed a Caretaker Government excluding the five defeated ministers.



in future. Also, it is possible that some of the Ministers might not function as caretakers and might indulge in activities which are severely criticized. They might come into conflict with the new Opposition, the Communists and their allies, who will no doubt create friction and difficulties. Thus the Ministry will have to face continuous tension, criticism and difficult situations.

Course (c) might also lead to the conflicts and difficulties mentioned above in course (a) but they will be minimized considerably by the fact that some defeated and presumably unpopular Ministers have gone and the Ministry is functioning as only a caretaker one for this relatively brief period.

In the event of President's rule, it would be desirable to have a new Governor.<sup>6</sup> In any event there has to be a new Governor at the end of March or early in April, because the present Governor does not desire to continue. It is desirable, therefore, to appoint a new Governor as early as possible and before the new legislature starts functioning.

It may be possible for the Congress Party to gain the support of some Independents and others and thus get a bare majority. This is a risky business because probably that majority<sup>7</sup> will not be a stable one. It will be fiercely attacked all the time and will lead to a hand-to-mouth existence. The defeat of Government after a brief existence would weaken the Congress cause for the future.

One must presume that the present Government in Madras has lost its hold and is definitely unpopular. It is likely that many people who voted against the Congress because of their dislike of the present Government, are regretting the step they took and might, on a later occasion, reverse it. But if the present Ministry continues to be thrust upon them against their wishes, the process of recovery will be checked. It is more important that we should think of the future and how to build up Congress strength than take a round step to overcome a present difficulty. The main objective must therefore be to gain public goodwill and to demonstrate that we are not anxious to stick on to office at any cost.

The two alternative courses thus are:

- (1) President's rule immediately, which will involve the sending of a senior and experienced officer to advise the Governor; and
- (2) the Chief Minister and other defeated Ministers resigning, the Governor accepting the resignation of the other Ministers but asking the Chief

6. Sri Prakasa was appointed Governor of Madras on 22 February 1952.

7. The Congress Party in the Madras Assembly secured the responsive cooperation of the Krishikar Lok Party, the Commonweal Party, the Tamilnad Toilers' Party and some Independents and formed a Government headed by C. Rajagopalachari on 10 April 1952. The new Cabinet had 14 ministers from Congress and one from the Commonweal Party.

Minister to continue to function with his remaining colleagues as a caretaker Ministry in the peculiar circumstances of the case and because there is no alternative and he is averse to recommending President's rule if he can avoid it.

In either course a new Governor has to go to Madras.

What step should be taken at the end of March when the new legislature is ready to function, will have to be decided later in the light of the then prevailing circumstances.

4. Travancore-Cochin—The present Ministers have been re-elected but the Congress Party has suffered a grave defeat.<sup>8</sup> I think it would be correct to say that the present Ministers, or most of them, have become unpopular with the people. For them therefore to continue appears to be difficult. They will have to face very strong opposition not only in the Assembly but also in the State. Serious problems will arise and they may not be in a position to cope with such a situation. If they take strong measures, this will add to their unpopularity and the situation will worsen from the point of view of the Congress. The normal reaction after the election in favour of the Congress will be checked and the Opposition parties will gain thereby.

This kind of thing should be avoided.

There is no Second Chamber in Travancore-Cochin and therefore the new Assembly can meet fairly early. The intervening period from now to then is not too long, probably it is about four or five weeks.

It is conceivable that the Congress Party might get the support of the Tamil Nad Congress Party in the State. Even this will not give them a majority. It is clear that the Communists etc., cannot get a majority because neither the Socialists nor the Tamil Nad people will support them. The Congress Party might get a majority with the help of some Independents, etc. They cannot possibly rely upon the Socialists although the Socialists might normally oppose the Communists. The Communists will function with great vigour and carry on an offensive all the time on several fronts. They may well put forward many proposals which the Socialists are bound to support or at any rate which they cannot oppose. It is therefore difficult to imagine that the Congress can have a stable majority even if they gain some fresh adherents.

On the other hand the Opposition cannot have a majority at all, except possibly sometimes as to vote down Government. Thus the likelihood of a stable Government is not great and we may be forced to have President's rule to be followed by an election.

8. In the one hundred and eight member Travancore-Cochin Assembly Congress failed to secure a majority and won just forty-four seats and the United Front of Leftists won thirty-two seats and became the largest opposition party.



Here, as elsewhere, it is desirable not to appear to hanker after office too much as this will check public recovery in the right direction. I think we must assume that the present Ministry is not liked by the public. Even if there is a Congress Ministry, it should have some fresh blood.

A possible course appears to be for the present Chief Minister to offer the resignation of his Government, the Rajpramukh<sup>9</sup> asking him to carry on till he explores other possibilities, the Rajpramukh meeting leaders of other groups and discussing the situation with them and finding out that there is no possibility of a stable Ministry headed by the Communists, thereupon the Rajpramukh asking the present Ministry to carry on at least till the new legislature meets.

This postpones the issue for a month and we can watch developments during this month.

The alternative is the President taking over immediately. In that event it must be remembered that the present Rajpramukh cannot be shouldered with any responsibility and some adequate arrangements will have to be made. Travancore-Cochin being a Part B State, will anyhow have one or two senior advisers. Whatever the Ministry that may be formed, the Centre's supervision will have to be fairly thorough.<sup>10</sup>

5. Rajasthan—The elections are not over yet but the defeat of the Chief Minister has created a new situation. It does not seem desirable that he and his Government should continue. Probably no other party will have a straight majority.<sup>11</sup> The matter might be considered as soon as the elections are over in the light of the observations given above for other States.

6. Orissa—The situation is not clear yet but it is likely that the Congress will be in a position to form a Ministry with some outside support. Care will have to be taken about accepting outside support.<sup>12</sup>

7. In the Punjab and Mysore there will be substantial Congress majorities. But in both these places the question of Chief Minister has to be carefully

9. The Maharaja of Travancore.

10. The failure of both the Congress and the Left parties to secure a majority led to a political deadlock in the State. The Chief Minister, C. Kesavan, submitted his resignation on 10 February but at the request of the Rajpramukh formed a caretaker Government. Finally a Congress Ministry headed by A.T. John was sworn in on 12 March with the support of Independents and Socialists.

11. Finally Tika Ram Paliwal formed a Congress Ministry on 3 March.

12. In the one hundred and forty member Orissa State Assembly, Congress won sixty-eight seats and failed to secure a majority. But the decision of six Independents to join the Congress raised the Party's strength and enabled Nabakrushna Chaudhuri to form a new Government on 20 February.

considered.<sup>13</sup> In Hyderabad there is a Congress majority. Here also the question of Chief Minister has to be considered with care.

8. I think that it is undesirable, except in very special cases, for Ministers who have been defeated to be sent to the Upper Houses. In the case of Shri Morarji Desai, who lost by a very small margin under special circumstances, he must come back. Shri Kumaraswami Raja also lost by a relatively small margin and his case might be considered in its own context. Shri Takhtmal Jain can stand for re-election to the Assembly. So also Shri Jai Narain Vyas if he is fairly sure of getting in. But all these persons must be elected to the Assemblies.

The device of sending a defeated Minister to the Upper House must not be adopted. Ministers who have lost by big majorities should not be encouraged even to stand for election again, at least for some time.

There should be no bar for the Congress accepting the assistance of some other groups, provided that such an arrangement does not offend against any Congress principle and is stable. Arrangements that are unstable or which are made with unreliable people must be avoided.

Persons who asked for a Congress ticket and did not get it, and then subsequently so stood for election and won, cannot be taken back into the Congress Party. There may be hard cases but we must not relax our rule in this respect because this would mean a complete breakdown of discipline. We may possibly take other Independents if there is nothing objectionable.

13. In the one hundred and twenty-six member Punjab State Assembly, Congress secured ninety-eight seats and a Congress Ministry headed by Bhimsen Sachar as Chief Minister was sworn in on 17 April 1952. In the ninety-nine member Mysore State Assembly, Congress won seventy-four seats and a Congress Ministry headed by K. Hanumanthaiya was sworn in on 4 April.

## 10. Elections to Upper Houses<sup>1</sup>

Method of selection of Congress candidates for the Council of State election and the Legislative Councils for the States having bicameral legislatures. In the latter case there are those to be elected by the Assembly and those to be elected by the Local Boards, etc.

1. Note for the members of the Congress Working Committee, 1 February 1952. J.N. Collection.



2. Should there be a single Congress Party in a legislature having two Houses? Presumably there should be a single party but for routine purposes there may be two sections of this party, one for each House. There should be one leader with possibly two Deputy Leaders, one for the Upper House.

3. The dates for the next meeting of the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee should be fixed.

4. A Committee might be appointed to make recommendations for a revision of the Constitution. This Committee should bear in mind:

- (a) the Congress District should be the Parliamentary constituency;
- (b) the Assembly constituency should form a smaller unit below it;
- (c) the Congress Primary Committee should consist of a mandal or other grouping of about 25 to 30 villages.
- (d) Congress members of legislatures should be associated with their appropriate District or other Committees in an ex-officio capacity.

## 11. To Asaf Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 4, 1952

My dear Governor,

Thank you for your telegram No. 72 dated February 3rd.<sup>2</sup> Even before I got your telegram yesterday, we discussed the Orissa situation with your Chief Minister.<sup>3</sup> The information he gave us was more or less in line with what you have said.

In the circumstances we advised him that it would be desirable for the Congress to form a Ministry, although it is not likely to be a majority party. The other groups, however, can hardly function together and therefore there is every chance of the Congress Ministry continuing.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Asaf Ali wrote that though the strength of the Congress was less than that of the combined Opposition, the Congress would be in a position to form government as the Socialists and Communists were "most unlikely to combine with others except in opposition."

3. Nabakrushna Chaudhuri.

It is clear that we cannot accept any arrangement with the zamindars' group<sup>4</sup> on the basis of a policy favouring them and of virtual freezing of the Estates' Abolition Act. The one thing we are definitely committed to all over India is the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and the like. Generally speaking, therefore, our policy is likely to be leftist, though that term is very vague. It simply means that it should be an effective policy of economic reform.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Asaf Ali said that the zamindars' group wanted to negotiate with the Congress on certain terms like including two Ministers from their group and virtual freezing of the Estates Abolition Act.

## 12. To M. Harris<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1952

Dear Harris,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 28th January. As you say, this matter has to be dealt with by the Election Commission and he will, no doubt, pay attention to it. I am naturally interested in proper elections and some of the points you have raised are worthy of consideration. Indeed, in the course of these elections we discovered many lacunae in our rules and procedure. These will have to be remedied.

Considering everything, I think it is remarkable how this first attempt at adult suffrage in India on a colossal scale met with success.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Treasurer, Socialist Party (Bombay) and a member of the Party's Election Committee at this time.



### 13. Intimidation and Terrorization during the Elections<sup>1</sup>

The general elections are practically over. It is true that they have been a remarkable success from the point of view of general peace and order and discipline. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that there has been a fair amount of intimidation and terrorization in some areas, notably in Rajasthan and Saurashtra. Also, to some extent, in Madhya Bharat and Orissa. A rather different type of pressure was exercised in some other places.

2. Many questions arise:

- (i) We have, of course, to consider our election rules and remove objectionable features which have come out during the elections. This may take a little time. Among other things, it has to be seen how we can cheapen elections. It has been suggested that the period of six weeks should be curtailed to three weeks.
- (ii) A more important step, which I think should be taken very soon, is some kind of an enquiry into intimidation. I think this is necessary, especially in Rajasthan and Saurashtra, where many instances have been put forward. Whatever the result of the enquiry, the very fact of having an enquiry will have a good effect on the public. I am told that this intimidation is continuing in Rajasthan, that is to say people who have voted for the Congress are being harassed and punished by the jagirdari element. We have to deal with a combination of communal and feudal elements. Communalism as such had a setback in the greater part of India, though not casteism. In Rajasthan and to some extent in Saurashtra feudalism came under a communal guise. This is a typical approach of fascism masquerading in the name of democracy. This whole question should, I think, be examined as to how we can deal with election campaigns either on the fascist or the communist side, which really are opposed to our very Constitution.
- (iii) Then there is the question of the press. It is astounding how low our press has sunk in vulgarity, decency and falsehood. This includes, of course, the leaflets issued during the campaign which might well be examined in the investigation referred to in (ii).

3. Perhaps you know that we have long promised a Commission on the press. I think that we should take this up in its broader aspects, including this lowering of the standard of the press.

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs, 5 February 1952. J.N. Collection.

4. The immediate step that I suggest is some kind of an investigation into the charges of intimidation and terrorization in Rajasthan and Saurashtra, including the type of pamphlets and leaflets issued and the other propaganda carried on. I am enclosing a letter from the Chief Minister of Saurashtra which raises some of these points.

5. I am sending a copy of this note to the Minister for States and I suggest that you might have a talk with him on this subject.

#### 14. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 8, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

You are naturally worried about various developments. The elections have brought many shocks, but also some pleasant surprises. Generally speaking, the shocks are from the South and the pleasant surprises from the North. Anyway, we have to deal with the situation as it is to the best of our ability. I would be very grateful to you if you could kindly give thought to the question of Governors in the States. There is Madras of course, but there are others also. You know the position well and it would be of great help to me if you could advise me on this subject.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

#### 15. To Sukumar Sen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 9, 1952

My dear Sen,<sup>2</sup>

I have been receiving from time to time various complaints about the manner

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Chief Election Commissioner at this time.



in which elections have been carried on. A few were forwarded to you by my P.P.S.<sup>3</sup>; others I did not forward as I thought that you would have received them direct. Apart from this, it was not clear to me what you could do in the matter.

This morning I had a bunch of complaints about the U.P. and the charges were rather remarkable. For instance, it was said that at quite a number of places voting boxes had been changed or tampered with, that numbers of voting papers were found in a bunch as if they were put in together and so on and so forth.

I was told that in Aligarh some official, I think the Joint Magistrate, was found locked up with polling boxes for a considerable period and that this happened for two or three nights running. Also that without tampering with the seals it was possible to open boxes.

All this is very extraordinary. I can hardly give credit to it. I am anxious, however, that there should be no wide impression of unfair elections or tampering with voting papers and I am wondering what can be done about it, apart from subsequent enquiries, wherever necessary.

Probably you have received more complaints than I have. I do not know how you can deal with them. You cannot interfere with the executive or the police directly. But you could, I suppose, enquire. For instance, if an allegation is made about Aligarh, some competent man in your office could go and enquire and report to you. You could at least then know whether there was any substance at all in the allegations and whether any further enquiry was needed.

I am told that counting of votes is going to take place at Meerut and already all kinds of allegations are being made as to what has been done or is going to be done. Since we have received previous notice of this, it would be worthwhile for you to send one or more persons of some standing and repute to be present there and to watch what happens. They could report to you about the state of the boxes and any other matter that comes to their notice. I think it would be worthwhile for you to take this precautionary step. This may save us some trouble in future.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Bhagirath Nath Kaul was the Principal Private Secretary from 1951 to 1956.

## 16. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 9, 1952

My dear Pantji,

I have been receiving numerous complaints about the elections in the U.P. Normally I forward them to the Election Commissioner. Today I was harassed by fresh complaints and so I enquired from the Election Commissioner if he had received these and what he was doing about them. He told me that he had been troubled more by the U.P. elections than by those in any other State. But he did not know what he could do in the matter.

One remarkable fact was mentioned. In every State Godrej voting boxes had been given, but in the U.P. apparently this was not done and it is said that the U.P. Government itself provided the boxes made locally through cottage industries. These boxes, it was said, were not strong enough and there were some cases of the lid coming off. Many of the complaints to us were of the boxes going to pieces although the seal was intact. There were also complaints that in some boxes large number of voting papers were found in bunches, as if they had been put in together and not separately.

People in the Election Office here are rather worried about all this and I thought it worthwhile to inform you of this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. G.B. Pant Papers, N.A.I.

## 17. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,<sup>2</sup>

As the Congress party has already got a considerable majority in your State or is likely to get one, the question of electing a Leader and subsequently of

1. J.N. Collection.
2. This letter was sent to the Chief Ministers of Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, Bombay, Bihar, Saurashtra and Assam.



forming a Ministry will arise soon. Probably in a number of our States there will be no difficulty at all about electing the Leader. In any event it is highly desirable that this should be done, as far as possible, with unanimity. Whatever discussions are to take place should be conducted in private previously; the final decision at a Party meeting unanimously or nearly so. It is not desirable to give an exhibition of group voting. Where there is any difficulty I would be glad to help.

In regard to the formation of Ministries, no doubt care will have to be taken. We have to balance experienced hands with fresh blood. Both are necessary. Merely a repetition of old Ministries even where this is possible, is not desirable and produces a feeling of staleness. As a matter of fact a number of old Ministers have been defeated at the polls. I think it may be justly assumed that they were unpopular, whatever their other virtues might have been. Unpopularity should always be borne in mind in appointing any one as a Minister. Apart from this, it does seem to be necessary that some younger people should be given a chance. You will I hope keep me in touch with developments.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 18. The Lessons of the Elections<sup>1</sup>

The general elections are almost over and I suppose you will present a full report about these elections. Probably this will take some time. I should like you to send to the Government a preliminary report about them. I am not so much concerned with particular complaints or individual irregularities. These can be enquired into where necessary or dealt with by election tribunals.

2. What I am concerned with is the wider issue. What faults in our election procedure have been disclosed by these elections? On the whole, it is generally recognized that the elections have been remarkably successful. That is so, but I have no doubt that many facts have come to our notice which will require a change in our rules of procedure in order to make the elections simpler and more fool-proof.

1. Note to the Chief Election Commissioner, 17 February 1952. File No. 16 (7)/56-PMS.

3. In Parliament, a few days ago, a demand was made for some kind of an inquiry into the elections.<sup>2</sup> I do not think it is possible or desirable to hold an inquest of this kind in regard to any individual cases, unless there is some very special matter which has come to your notice which deserves such an inquest. But I think it would be desirable to hold some kind of a general inquiry to find out, from the lessons derived from the elections, what we can do to improve them and the procedure. It might be necessary to amend the Representation of the People Act,<sup>3</sup> as well as the rules made under it.

4. Having regard to the fact that these were our first elections, the percentage of voters who came to the polls is very satisfactory.<sup>4</sup> As a matter of fact, I am told that many persons came and waited and then went away without voting because they could wait no longer. It sometimes happened that there was some slight discrepancy in the name recorded or the father's name. Because of this either the voter could not vote or he was asked to wait and he did not choose to do so; having waited long enough already.

- (1) The first thing to do would be to revise carefully the electoral rolls from the experience gained recently.
- (2) Every attempt should be made to simplify the procedure, wherever this is possible.
- (3) The time taken by the elections as a whole should be shortened. It is far too long lasting as it does about three months or more.
- (4) What appears to me even more important is that there should be no interval, or very little interval, between the actual polling and the counting. Most of the complaints are due to the fact that there was some delay and allegations were made of tampering with ballot boxes.
- (5) I am told that wherever there was a re-poll, the percentage of voters voting was considerably greater than previously. This shows that as voters are getting used to this procedure, they are getting over their

2. In the debate between 6 to 11 February 1952 on the general elections, many of the Members complained of the infighting over nomination of candidates and corruption and malpractices during the elections, and suggested a general inquiry in the near future.
3. Passed in 1950 and amended later, the Act provided for: the conduct of elections to the Houses of Parliament and to the House or Houses of the Legislature of each State; the qualifications and disqualifications for membership of those Houses; the corrupt and illegal practices and other offences at or in connection with such elections; and the decisions on doubts and disputes arising out of or in connection with such elections.
4. The polling average was forty per cent in the towns and sixty per cent in the villages.



shyness and feeling of apprehension, where this existed. In any future general election or bye-election, the probability is that we shall have a much larger percentage of people voting. Although the next general elections are not likely to take place for some time, there is always a possibility of elections in a State taking place fairly soon. We should be prepared for them with corrected and revised electoral rolls. Also there are bound to be bye-elections frequently.

- (6) Some complaints have been made that the label containing the candidate's symbol was sometimes pulled out and another put in its place. If this kind of thing is done twice over in connection with the box this will not be caught and wrong voting will take place. In future, perhaps, care might be taken to make this impossible.
- (7) It has also come to my notice that the symbol on the labels was often not very clear and when gum or glue was applied to it, it became still less clear. It must be remembered that the average villager is not used to reading or using his eyes for this kind of purpose. He should be given symbols which clearly stand out.
- (8) It also appears to me that the first box in the row of boxes gains some advantage, as there are a number of persons who are too nervous to choose, and put their voting papers in the first box. I do not know what we can do about it. Perhaps, this could only be remedied by experience which the voter is rapidly acquiring. I might mention that in my own election a person (Chatterjee) stood against me.<sup>5</sup> Nobody had ever heard of him before. He announced that his opposition was symbolic only. He did not take the slightest trouble over the election and appointed no agents and did no canvassing. Nevertheless, he got about 27,000 votes. I presume this was largely due to the fact that his box was number one.
- (9) The system of double-member constituencies has certainly given rise to a great deal of confusion. Probably many of the invalid votes were due to this. Indeed, the large number of invalid votes itself puts us on enquiry.
- (10) I do not know if voting for both the Parliamentary and the Assembly seats, more or less at the same time, produces any confusion in the voter's mind.
- (11) One major fact has been pointed out to me as leading to many difficulties. This was the incorrectness of the electoral rolls. This led not only to delay and holding up voters, but to other mistakes also.

5. Krishna Kumar Chatterjee, a follower of Subhas Chandra Bose.

- (12) The identification paper given to the candidate was sometimes put in the box instead of the voting paper or with it. Evidently, the voter was confused.
- (13) There appears to be no adequate method of checking voters and stopping false impersonation. Any person who gives the right name and right particulars can vote, or the same person may come repeatedly with different names on the voters' list. This is a serious matter. Previously there was some check of some kind. Now there is practically none. In Bombay, I am told, many persons took advantage of this and impersonated others. When the real voter came, he could not vote and he had no remedy. Probably this kind of thing does not occur much in the rural areas where people are not clever enough for mischief of this kind. In towns it may be common. Some way out should be found.

5. I presume that you will ask your provincial Election Commissioners for reports. You might point out to them some types of general charges and complaints made (not individual cases in this connection) and ask them for their comments as to how far this kind of thing occurred to their knowledge. You should ask the Election Commissioner also if they have any suggestions to make for amending our present rules of procedure for elections so as to make them simpler and less liable to abuse.

6. I would suggest to you to address the principal parties in the elections also—those to whom you gave party symbols. Ask them for their suggestions about amending rules, etc. You might point out to them that this has nothing to do with individual cases of grievance, but to the type of grievances against which we should protect ourselves in future.





## CONGRESS PARTY MATTERS

### I. Congress Reorganization





1. To U.S. Malliah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 7, 1952

My dear Malliah,

I am sending you the draft of a letter<sup>2</sup> I want you to send to all Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees. I shall sign each letter.

This is a general letter. I want to follow it with certain rather more specific proposals. Before I do so, I should like to discuss them with you and Lal Bahadur.

One matter I should like you to consider is how far we can collect money now on the basis of the printed receipts we issued for the elections. As far as I can see, we can use those receipts even now. But, before we do so, we must have some kind of detailed information as to where these receipts have gone and what have been accounted for. All those to whom receipts were given must be immediately addressed.

I think that it should be possible to collect adequate sums of money through these receipts provided this matter is taken in hand immediately.

I have suggested in my letter that election workers should be kept together. This is an urgent problem. Delay will make us lose contact with them. These election workers should immediately undertake one work. This is the correction of the electoral rolls. Indeed each candidate, successful or unsuccessful, should interest himself in this. They have all got their electoral rolls and, in the course of the election, they have gained some knowledge of the mistakes in these rolls. If we organized a widespread campaign of correcting these rolls, this will be good education in itself. It will keep our workers employed and will bring them in contact with the people.

I understand that the Communist Party in the South has taken up this correction of electoral rolls for its own advantage of course. I suggest, therefore, that the A.I.C.C office might write immediately not only to Pradesh Congress Committees but every candidate we set up requesting him to undertake this work through his election workers.

Meanwhile we can put down what other work we should like people to do. Among them will of course be the sale of Congress fund receipts. But I should like to know the exact position of these receipts before we make any such appeal.

The important thing for us to consider is how to keep together our election workers and what relation they should bear to the local Congress committees.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. See the next item.



Many of these local committees are totally ineffective and they are likely to come in the way....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1952

Dear Comrade,

There are roughly 8,400 constituencies for the State Assemblies and the electoral colleges and assuming that on an average one hundred persons worked for the Congress candidates in each constituency, the total number of workers who must have worked during elections for the Congress would roughly come to thirty to forty lakhs. Majority of them must of course be old Congressmen but still a very large number must be new or at any rate not attached to any Congress organization. Even amongst the old Congressmen many are not at present officially associated with the Congress Committees. The question before us is how to keep such a large number of workers intact, to harness and divert their enthusiasm and energy into constructive channels. The preparation of any elaborate scheme for that purpose is bound to take time and the danger is that this delay might scare away many of them. Therefore, it is imperative that some interim scheme of work should be evolved at once to keep them together and occupied.

I have not had sufficient time to work out the scheme in detail but I am putting down on paper its rough outlines to give the Congress Presidents just an idea as to how my mind has been working.

I would like each State Assembly constituency to be divided into three or four zones according to convenience; each zone to have a small committee of five to nine workers or group leaders to direct and co-ordinate the activities of the workers in the zone. Each constituency shall have a central committee

1. File No. G-48/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

consisting of two or three representatives from each zone headed preferably by the Congress member of the Assembly from the constituency.

To begin with, each zonal committee shall prepare a list of workers in the zone who are willing to give a part of their time to work regularly in their respective or neighbouring villages. Full particulars and information regarding their views and their capacity for work should be supplied to the zonal committee. As a rule no worker should be associated with the work unless he is in general agreement with the policy and programme of the Congress, but we cannot afford to be hard and fast in the beginning. After the zonal committees have been set up and the list of workers prepared a preliminary meeting of the members of the zonal committees should be held and the central committee should be formed. The village and tahsil Congress committees will, I trust, encourage and cooperate in the setting up of these committees; but in any case they will not put any obstacles in their way. I do not know what name to give to these committees; but they may be designated as vigilance committees and the workers may be called "Lok-Sevaks".

I believe if a definite lead is given in the matter by the Congress President it should not be difficult to set up these committees by the first week of March. After which each worker should be required to do some work regularly and in a disciplined and organized way. For the first two or three weeks they may be required to take up the following works:

- a) correction of electoral rolls;
- b) collection of factual data regarding food crops, fallow land, extent of unemployment in their respective and neighbouring villages;
- c) full information regarding the difficulties and grievances of villagers;
- d) suggestions regarding improvement in villages by launching self-help and team work schemes, possibility of 'grow more food' in villages and cooperative movement;
- e) sale of Congress fund receipts — a part of the funds so raised should be allowed to be retained for village work. Such purchasers of the tickets as desire to enrol as Congress members should be permitted to do so on the presentation of the receipts within a fortnight at the Congress office.

After the aforesaid information has been collected and collated, the zonal and the central committees should hold joint sittings and formulate proposals for future work.

I suggest that at least one fortnight from 31st March to 13th April should be devoted to group work in villages where the repairs of village roads, excavation of tanks, repair of school and panchayat buildings should be undertaken in a number of villages in each zone. Squads may also be formed to assist farmers in harvest-reaping and in other ways.



I hope by May next we shall be in a position to judge and decide in the light of our experience as to how best to attract and employ new elements in the Congress.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Jugal Kishore<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1952

Dear Comrade,<sup>2</sup>

You will get separately a letter I am sending to all Pradesh Congress Committees.<sup>3</sup> I should like to add that I was severely disappointed, during my tour, with what I saw in some of our districts. I shall not mention many here. But, taking my own district and constituency, Allahabad, I was surprised to see the ineffectiveness of the Congress Committee there and the Congress workers. Of course there were some good workers but, as a whole, the effect was distressing. The real work was done by many outsiders who went there. We were fortunate in having Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri to organize this.

This applies to other districts also. In Rampur the prospect was truly amazing. The persons, who are in charge of the Congress Committee there, have about as much in common with the Congress as the man in the moon and they did precious little during the elections.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. P.E.C. 21(A)/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. He was the President of the U.P. Pradesh Congress Committee.

3. See the next item.

#### 4. To Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 8, 1952

Dear Comrade,

I have long been wanting to write to you about the impressions I have gathered during my extensive tours in India in connection with the general elections. As the tours proceeded, these impressions gathered in my mind and experience succeeded experience. The results of the elections added still further to my understanding of the Indian scene.

2. The Working Committee, which met recently, discussed briefly these elections and the forces that moulded them. These forces were there for a long time past, but they were covered up to a certain extent and were not so obvious. The elections removed the veil and forced us to attempt to make a true appraisal of the situation. I shall probably write to you more fully on this subject later. But I wish to indicate to you some matters which, I think, require urgent attention.

3. It is essential for us to make an objective and correct appraisal. We must not hesitate to see our own faults because, if we do so, that means that we hold on to them and do not profit by experience. All of us, and indeed the people of India as a whole, have had a tremendous experience during these elections. I think we might well congratulate ourselves on the great success of these elections. I am not referring to the results but rather to the organizational aspects and, more especially, to the way a hundred million of our people functioned. My regard and appreciation of our people has grown as a result of this experience. They have functioned with a measure of intelligence and discrimination, which is truly surprising. They have shown that, even though largely illiterate, they have a broad understanding of issues, if these are properly placed before them. Indeed, oddly enough the so-called illiterate voter has done probably better than many of the literates.

4. As I write this, the results of the elections are not fully known. But the general picture is sufficiently visible. We have had quite remarkable successes in some parts of the country, and we have had quite remarkable reverses in other parts. Suddenly we have realized what we are up against.<sup>2</sup>

1. File No. G-8(ii)/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Though the Congress Party secured an absolute majority in the Lok Sabha, in the four States of Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Pepsu and Orissa the party was returned as the largest single party but not with an absolute majority.



5. I think it would be true to say that the Congress organization, as such, has not usually played a satisfactory part in many States. I think that, on the whole, our central headquarters i.e., the A.I.C.C. office, has functioned effectively. I cannot speak of all the Pradesh Congress Committees. But I know that some of them did not function effectively. A large number of districts also did not function properly. Where we have lost, this was at least partly due to the non-functioning of the Congress organization. Where we have won, this was not always due to the Congress organization. Indeed the Congress organization, as a whole, rather failed in this test. What succeeded was an ad hoc organization in constituencies which conducted the election campaign. This ad hoc organization often had persons unconnected with the local Congress Executive. People came to it and helped in the election because, for some reason or other, they sympathized with the general Congress position or who were personally favourable to the candidate. Indeed I was amazed in some places to see the lack of any Congress organization or even of coordination between Congress candidates.

6. Our choice of candidates sometimes was not good. But that is a relatively small matter. It has importance, however, when the electorate is discriminating, as our electorate has shown itself to be. They do not vote for any candidate set up, even though they might generally approve of the Party. Hence it becomes important to set up candidates who have a good reputation and who are locally known.

7. The important thing, however, was the almost utter lack of discipline, both among Congress candidates and among Congressmen. Numerous cases have come to my notice where a Congress candidate played a lone hand or even furtively supported some non-Congress candidate and came to terms with him. No organization can function or survive in this way.

8. The success that has come to us is a matter of good fortune. The defeats that have faced us are a just punishment. Let us not find excuses and blame others. The fault was ours.

Some things stand out:

- 1) the need for discipline;
- 2) the need for continuous personal contacts with the people;
- 3) the need for hard work among and with the people;
- 4) the need to make our people understand our problems and our difficulties; and
- 5) the need to attract fresh blood and vital people to the Congress.

9. We have to function in future as a compact political party with a well-defined economic programme. We can no longer carry on in a loose and inchoate way accepting anybody and everybody as a Congress member or candidate. Let us have a broad enough basis, but a Congressman must believe

and act up to certain basic principles and policies. There must be a hallmark of a Congressman in regard to political and economic policies. In the old days we had certain distinguishing features. But, with the coming of independence, these have disappeared and many of us talk in a variety of languages and express a variety of opinions on important matters. Anybody can pose as a Congressman, whatever his views might be.

10. One good thing that has emerged from these elections is our straight fight and success against communalism. That success is significant and heartening. But it is by no means a complete success and we have to be wary about this. We have seen at last that we need not be afraid of communalism and we need not compromise with it as many Congressmen did for fear of consequences. Where we fight it in a straight and honest way, we win. Where we compromise with it, we lose.

11. While we have met the challenge of straight-forward communalism with success, we have seen the growth of casteism with all its narrow-minded and painful consequences. This has to be fought against.

12. It is perfectly clear to me that the Congress, as it is organized today, is a very feeble instrument for carrying out national work, more especially among the people. It has won elections, but that has been due to many causes. It has been due to old tradition, past reputation and to the weakness of others. It has also been due to the hard work put in by a number of people during the elections, with earnestness and vigour. They brought something of the old spirit in this contest and it was heartening not only to see their work but also the immediate reactions of the people to it.

It was disheartening to see office-bearers of Congress Committees and Executive Members functioning sometimes most inadequately and without any faith in the cause they represented.

13. The Working Committee has appointed a sub-committee for constitutional changes. I hope that this will lead to an improvement of our organization. But, even so, I do not think that is enough. Time passes and others are on the move. We cannot wait or argue indefinitely and thus get left behind. We have immediately to act.

14. One noticeable feature of the Congress organization in past years has been its lack of an appeal to the youth of the country. The type of young man or woman, who came to us in the past as worker or volunteer, and carried out the message of the Congress with zeal and enthusiasm, has not been coming to our organization. We become progressively elderly men with elderly ways, interested in small committees and reluctant to go to the people. The great problem, therefore, before us is how to bring in the youth of the country to work for the Congress and the cause for which it stands.

15. We did succeed in some measure in bringing them on our side in these elections. They were volunteers often unconnected with Congress



Committees. They did fine work. How are we to retain them and add to their number? Obviously, even if the Congress constitution is amended, they can hardly become members of our committees. As it is, those committees have often become close preserves, where entrance to others is prohibited. But even if the doors are open a little wider, this will not solve the problem. We have to devise some other method also.

16. I think that every Congress candidate, whether he has won or lost, must make every effort to keep together those young men and young women who have worked for him in these elections. We must not break up the organization we built up. Of course we cannot keep everyone tied up to it. But many may well remain if given opportunities of real work. I have been glad to notice that some of our candidates at least have done this already. There must be no delay in this, for delay means dispersal. Speedy and effective action is necessary.

17. The elections have shown that money does not go very far, though undoubtedly it makes some difference. It is the men and women that count. We have, therefore, to get the right type of men and women as our colleagues and comrades and, above all, we have to set an example of ourselves of what should be done. Every candidate, whether he has been successful or not, must maintain close and continuous contact with his constituency. He must visit his voters and speak to them from time to time on the problems that face us. It is necessary for us to give our workers talking points on these problems. I hope that the A.I.C.C. office will organize this. But each Pradesh Congress Committee must do likewise. We must treat our vast electorate in an intelligent way and pay them the tribute of intelligence and discrimination, which they have shown to a surprising extent.

18. On no account can faction and sectional groups in the Congress be tolerated in the future. We have to function as a disciplined army now with definite objectives and with continuous work to attain them.

19. I have put before you certain odd ideas of mine in a somewhat disjointed way. I want you to think about them and, what is more, act up to them. I should like you to have this letter of mine sent to your District and other Committees and ask them to report to you what they are doing in furtherance of the suggestions made herein.

20. I should like you also to address every candidate, both successful and unsuccessful, in your State, and point out to him what he has got to do and ask him to report about it.

21. My tour throughout India and my meeting millions of our people has been a tremendous emotional experience for me. It has exhilarated me and put new heart into me. At the same time it has made me terribly conscious of the burdens we carry and what the people expect us to do.

22. We must start a new chapter in the history of our organization and speed ahead. If some are weary in limb or slow of mind, they will fall back. They must not keep others from going ahead.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. The A.I.C.C. Office<sup>1</sup>

I suppose you are gradually reorganizing the office after the elections. Many people who had been employed for election work will not be necessary now. I do not think that you should suddenly revert to normal or pre-election period. We are likely to function in a bigger way in future than we did previously. Every really competent worker should be kept for the time being till we decide what else to do.

One particular activity, viz., the collection of news from the press, should be stopped. I do not think this did much good at any time. Certainly I could not read it. It was not done very intelligently and there was an odd assortment of selections from the press. There was far too much of it and no busy man could keep pace with it. In any event, there is no need for it and this should be stopped. This will mean some saving.

The *Congress Sandesh*,<sup>2</sup> however, must be carried on. I think it has served a very useful purpose and we should not stop it. We may think of how to make it more useful in existing conditions. I am sure that our Pradesh and other Committees have welcomed it and that you can get more subscribers for it. In fact some Congressmen have asked me about it and suggested subscribing to it. I suggest that you should address our Committees immediately and ask them how many copies they would like to subscribe.

1. Note to the General Secretary, A.I.C.C., 8 February 1952. File No. P-25/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. A weekly, published by the Congress Central Publicity Board, first appeared on 18 October 1951.



## 6. To Presidents of Pradesh Congress Committees<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 10, 1952

My dear Comrade,

We informed you some time ago of the decision of the Working Committee regarding the selection of candidates for the Provincial Legislative Councils and the Council of States. I should like to amplify that direction.

In regard to the Upper Houses in the States it was suggested that the selection might be made by the P.C.Cs in consultation with the leader of the Legislature Party. It has to be borne in mind however that the present Legislature Party is an outgoing party and in some cases even the leaders of these parties have been defeated. In other places they have not offered themselves for election. This makes it necessary that in making selections there should be a wider consultation. It would not be proper that new candidates should be chosen on some old basis. I suggest therefore that while the present leaders of the parties should certainly be consulted others whose opinion might count should also be consulted. Wherever necessary I should be happy to help if the matter is referred to me.

There is also the difficulty of States which have several P.C.Cs. It would not be right for some kind of proportional distribution among the P.C.Cs of the number of candidates to be consulted. The list should finally be a joint one. It has to be remembered also that the election will be by a single transferable vote and therefore only a certain number of candidates can get in. An attempt to get more in might even lead to failure.

In regard to the candidates of the Council of States the Working Committee has made some suggestions. This Council is a very important body and we must try to have our topmost men in it. Care should be taken that it is not filled by persons who have been merely left out of other places. It is desirable that in making recommendations to the Central Election Committee some additional names should be sent. Also that full particulars of names should be sent. The selection cannot be distributed on some regional basis in composite provinces. For instance in great cities like Calcutta or Bombay there would naturally be more persons of importance and knowledge and it would be improper to limit their representation to some small number according to population.

1. File No. G-8(ii)/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L. Copies were sent to members of the Congress Working Committee and leaders of Congress Legislature Parties in the State.

Therefore all P.C.Cs should send a number of names for us to choose from and pay particular attention to the quality of the candidate. He or she need not be confined to that area. It should be well understood that the Central Election Committee will be entitled to go outside the lists if it so chooses.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Congress Candidates in the General Elections<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1952

Dear Comrade,

I am addressing this letter to you as one of the candidates for election on behalf of the Congress in the recent general elections that have taken place in the country. I am sending this to every candidate for election, whether he met with success or not. We look naturally for success, but more important than success or failure is the work we do. Equally important are the lessons we learn provided we profit by them and fashion our future work accordingly.

2. These elections have been a great experience not only for all of us, who were directly concerned with them, but, if I may say so, for the hundreds of millions of our people. In addition to the actual election work, I had the unique experience of touring extensively throughout India and seeing vast multitudes of our countrymen and countrywomen wherever I went. This meeting with our people has been a tremendous emotional experience for me. It has exhilarated me and put new heart into me. At the same time it has made me terribly conscious of the burdens we carry and what the people expect us to do.

3. My tour was necessarily a hurried one and I sped from place to place without stopping too long anywhere. Nevertheless I gathered innumerable impressions of the state of the country and of the Congress organization. What good my touring did to others, I cannot measure. But for me it had a very great educational value and I am grateful for the opportunity that came to me to see our country and people again.

1. File No. G-41/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L. Also published in the *National Herald*, 16 February 1952.



4. The results of the elections are full of lessons for us and it is necessary that we should make an objective and correct appraisal. We must not worry too much as to what others have done or not done. But it is essential that we should see our own faults and shortcomings and try to remove them. I do not propose to write at length about these here, because we shall deal with this matter in many ways in the coming months. I shall only indicate some aspects of the problems that face us and our immediate duty. The elections have shown to us, if there was any doubt about it previously, that, as a whole, our electorate has intelligence and discrimination. They have functioned with remarkable discipline and shown, often enough, a broad understanding of issues, wherever these were properly placed before them. Indeed, the so-called illiterate voter has probably taken this election more seriously than many of the literates. My respect for him has gone up and whatever doubts I might have had about adult suffrage in India, have been removed completely. These elections have fully justified adult suffrage and the faith we put in our people. I do not mean to say that I have liked all the results of the elections. I am rather taking an overall view, apart from results, of the manner in which our people functioned.

5. It became clear to me, as I proceeded on my tour, that the Congress organization was not properly functioning. This became clearer as a result of the elections. Our central headquarters, the A.I.C.C. office, functioned, I think, more or less effectively. Some, not all, of the Pradesh Congress Committees did fairly well, though they might have done better. Very few of the District Committees functioned properly. Because of this weakness of the Congress organization, in many places ad hoc organizations for election purposes grew up. These ad hoc organizations often had persons unconnected with the local Congress committee. These persons did very good work indeed. Sometimes the main burden of work fell on them rather than on what might be called the official Congress members of the District.

6. Sometimes our choice of candidates was not very good. Often there was a complete lack of coordination between Congress candidates. Indeed, I have been informed of instances when Congress candidate even worked against each other. At the same time, I must say that a great deal of good and hard work was put in by our workers. Indeed, but for this hard work, we would not have succeeded in the measure we have done. The electorate generally sympathized with the Congress, but they were not prepared to accept anyone who was set up. This makes it important that we should take care to choose the right candidates. What is even more important is coordination and discipline.

7. We have to function as a compact political party with a well-defined economic programme. We can no longer carry on in a loose and inchoate way, accepting anybody and everybody as a Congress member or candidate. Let us have, by all means, a broad enough basis, but a Congressman must believe and act upto certain principles and policies. In a democracy, quantity

counts; but in a democracy, as in everything else, it is quality that tells in the end.

8. One good thing that has emerged from these elections is our straight fight and success against communalism. That success is significant and heartening but it is, by no means, a complete success and we have to be on our guard against it. There was a tendency in the past for some Congressmen to compromise with it or try to ignore it for fear of consequences. There should be no such compromise in future. Where we fight it in a straight and honest way, we win. Where we compromise with it, we lose.

9. While we have met the challenge of straightforward communalism with success, we have seen unfortunately the growth of casteism with all its narrow-minded and painful consequences. This has to be fought against, because it is the very negation of what the Congress has stood for and what the Constitution of India demands. I think that we should find some way to debar from Congress office any person who obviously encourages the growth of casteism or relies upon it.

10. We have to function now as a close-knit fellowship with intimate contacts with our people. Among the lessons we have learnt during these past months, some stand out:

- (1) the need for discipline;
- (2) the need for continuous personal contacts with the people;
- (3) the need for hard work among and with the people;
- (4) the need to make our people understand our problems and policies and our difficulties; and
- (5) the need to attract fresh blood and vital people to the Congress.

11. It is perfectly clear to me that the Congress, as it is organized today, is a feeble instrument for carrying out national work, more especially among the people. We have therefore to think hard as to what changes we should make in the constitution in order to make it a better instrument for this purpose. The Working Committee has appointed a small committee to consider this question. But that will take some time and, even so, a great big organization moves rather slowly. It falls into ruts and all kinds of personal vested interests grow up. The individual counts and must count. Leadership counts. But the strength of a democracy does not come from an odd leader; it comes rather from a higher standard in the lower ranks. I remember that thirty years ago we had a rule in the Congress of the United Provinces. This rule laid down that no person could be the President of any Congress committee, provincial, district or other, for more than one year at a time; and no person could be a Secretary of any such committee for more than two years running. This was a salutary rule which did much good to our organization and which trained many people in local leadership.



I think that it will be a good thing if this rule was adopted everywhere in the Congress organization.

12. Our work must lie to a large extent in the various Legislatures. But it is at least as important, and indeed more so, that we should work among the people. The two have to be coordinated. Members of Legislatures must keep in close touch with local Congress committees. I suggest, therefore, that, pending any change in the Constitution, every Member of the Central or a State Legislature should be associated with his district and taluqa or tahsil Congress committee. Thus he will keep in touch with his local Congress organization and with the people through it, apart from his direct contacts.

13. It is essential that every Member of a Legislature should visit his constituency periodically and as frequently as possible. Members of State Legislatures should endeavour to visit each polling area in their constituency every six months at least.

14. The Congress organization has, for some time past, functioned chiefly at the top. Hence, to some extent, it lost touch with the people. It seems to me that the basic unit of the organization should be a group of twenty or thirty villages. That group should function effectively and keep in constant touch with every family in that area. In the U.P., there used to be Mandal Committees like this and they were a great source of strength. For some reason, which I do not know, these were abolished, much to the disadvantage of the organization. I hope that some such unit will be formed in all our States and that it will be an active and working unit.

15. It has been suggested that our Congress, district and tahsil committees should be co-terminous with parliamentary or assembly constituencies. There is much to be said for it. But there are difficulties in the way also. The Congress does not and will not function merely as an election organization. It has other important work to do. This matter should be considered carefully and some satisfactory arrangement arrived at.

16. I have put some thoughts before you for your consideration. We must remember, however, that we cannot wait and have interminable debates about these matters. Time passes and, with it, goes opportunity. We have been given an opportunity to pull ourselves up and to function effectively and with something of the old spirit which made the Congress the vanguard of the Indian people in their onward march. We have to seize this opportunity immediately and not allow it to pass us by.

17. I suggest to you immediate action in this respect. I have referred above to the ad hoc committees of election workers which were formed for the purpose of these elections. These must not be allowed to fade away. Each Congress candidate for election, whether he has succeeded or not, must therefore keep these election workers together for other work now. Immediate steps

should be taken for this purpose. It may be that all of these election workers are not in a position to give much time. But there must be a considerable number who would welcome this opportunity. It should be made perfectly clear that all of them, whether they are formal members of the Congress or not, will be welcomed. For the moment, and till further ways and means are devised, they should form an ad hoc committee to work in that area. While they should work together, it is desirable to allot particular parts, like each polling area, to a small group of workers. They should make themselves responsible for these and they should report frequently about the work done by them and the needs of that area. These workers will of course be voluntary. But it might be possible to meet their out-of-pocket expenses.

18. An immediate work that they should undertake is a revision of the electoral rolls. This should be easy in view of the experience gained during the elections. We have found that many of the electoral rolls were imperfect. We should try to correct them and make them as full as possible.

19. Our workers should understand our problems and policies and explain them to the people. For this purpose, it would be desirable to supply them with material in the shape of talking points, which can be issued periodically. This is important from the point of view of making the people more and more politically conscious and prepared to cooperate in the solution of these problems.

20. The real and basic work will be the actual tackling of some of the local problems in village or town. Our workers must remember that the best way to ask people to do something is to do it oneself. They must be prepared for manual labour. They must make our people think that they are one of them and not a class apart, which gives directions to others. There is a tremendous amount of work to be done. A great deal of this can be accomplished by the local people themselves with a little help from outside. Wells can be dug, roads made, houses built and so on. Government will certainly help. But the essential part of it is that the people should learn to rely upon themselves. Help should be given in cultivating new land or in harvesting or in cleaning up the village. There is an infinite variety of such work. The Five Year Plan indicates many things that have to be done and if we harness the people's energy to it, progress will be much more rapid than what is indicated in the Plan.

21. On no account should faction and sectional groups in the Congress be tolerated in the future. We have to function as a disciplined army now, with definite objectives and with continuous work to attain them. Whether directly in the Congress or in associated bodies, we should welcome every person who wants an opportunity to do national work and we should give him or her an opportunity to do so. Thus we will build up our work and our organization from the roots upwards. We have had too much of functioning on the top only.



22. I am addressing you personally and I have written to you a long letter, and yet it contains only some of the ideas that struggle in my mind. I want you to think of this as a personal letter and a personal appeal, for though we may be a multitude, each one of us has to think of this problem and his or her duty in regard to it as something personal.

23. If you have any specific ideas on the subjects touched upon in this letter, I shall welcome them. I would like you to send me full lists of the workers who would join the ad hoc committee, which I have suggested above. There is no limit to such workers. Anyone who wants to work can come and find plenty to do. But he must be earnest and he must work and he will get no reward for it, except the affection and esteem of his comrades and the satisfaction that comes from hard work well done.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. The Political Situation and the Congress<sup>1</sup>

The general election, which has just concluded in India, has cast a heavy responsibility on the Congress. The confidence that millions of voters have placed in the ideals, objectives, and the programme of the Congress, is a matter of deep satisfaction to the All India Congress Committee. It is at the same time a challenge, and all Congressmen must realize the significance of recent developments in the country and adapt themselves to the ever-changing situation in India. India is in a process of dynamic evolution in a world which is itself rapidly changing. Any static and self-complacent appraisal of the situation and inability to keep pace with changing events will be a betrayal of this heavy responsibility that the Congress has to shoulder.

1. The resolution on 'The general political situation in the country and the Congress' was drafted by Nehru on 6 March 1952 and adopted with minor changes, at the meeting of the All India Congress Committee in Calcutta on 22 March 1952. Published in the newspapers on 23 March 1952.

For long years it was the destiny of the Congress to lead the struggle for freedom in India and that task was completed under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The next historic step is, while maintaining political stability and continuity, to harness the country's resources for economic advancement, so as to raise the living and cultural standards of the masses and remove the inequalities that persist in the social structure. To this task of bringing about peacefully and cooperatively essential changes in the social and economic structure of the country, the Congress must now address itself with all its strength.

In doing so, the Congress must function as a disciplined and well-knit organization which works for the attainment of its objective as laid down in Article I of the Constitution. This objective is the well-being and the advancement of the people of India, and the establishment in India, by peaceful means, of a cooperative Commonwealth based on equality of opportunity and on political, economic and social rights, and aiming at world peace and fellowship. This involves not only the production, in ever-increasing measure, of national wealth, but the pursuit of a social purpose in production and distribution and other forms of social and economic activity. It means the removal of such vested interests as come in the way of the nation's growth. Every member of the Congress should appreciate fully the significance of this objective and accept it for the guidance of his activities.

While the nation must advance on all fronts, the immediate task is to complete the abolition of zamindari, jagirdari and like systems of land tenure, and thus further the agrarian revolution in India. The growth of productive industry must proceed side by side with this agrarian change and the realization of the objective of full employment.

The standards of public life and the purity of the administration must be given the highest place, because no effective progress can be made if these standards are allowed to be lowered.

While the Congress must function in future as a well-knit and disciplined organization, working for certain well-defined objectives and programmes, it should facilitate the entry into the organization of all those who accept these objectives and programmes. It should welcome also the cooperation of others, outside the Congress organization, in the realization of these objectives or in any common task that might be undertaken.

It is essential for all Congressmen, and more especially for Congress members of the Legislatures and other Congress workers, to keep in intimate touch with the people and to cooperate with them in constructive activities for their advancement. This work must be coordinated with national planning, as defined in the Five Year Plan, so that the whole nation might march in step for the realization of the great goal that it has set before it.



## 9. Communalism and Disruptive Tendencies<sup>1</sup>

It has been the basic policy of the Congress to build up the unity of India and to combat all disruptive and separatist tendencies. In furtherance of this policy it has opposed communalism. The A.I.C.C. expresses its deep gratification at the overwhelming response of the electorate in favour of this policy and in condemnation<sup>2</sup> of communalism. This response, however, must not lead Congressmen or others to think that the danger from communal tendencies is wholly over. Communal and separatist tendencies still exist in various forms in the country and have to be constantly watched<sup>3</sup> and combated, whether they are Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or other.

As some misunderstandings occasionally arise<sup>4</sup> on this subject, the A.I.C.C. declares that there should be no alliance, cooperation or understanding, explicit or implicit, between the Congress and any organization which is essentially communal in character and working,<sup>5</sup> whatever its designation might be. In particular this applies to elections.<sup>6</sup>

While the menace of communalism has been effectively countered, another danger has come to the surface and has been very noticeable in some of the elections. This is casteism.<sup>7</sup> The A.I.C.C. wishes to make it clear that any furtherance or encouragement of casteism for political purposes is a violation of the Constitution and the objectives of the Congress and any Congressman who does so is liable to disciplinary action as having offended against the basic principles of the Congress and the Constitution of India.

1. This resolution was drafted by Nehru on 6 March 1952 and adopted, with changes, at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Calcutta on 23 March 1952. Published in newspapers on 24 March 1952.
2. The word "condemnation" was replaced by the word "rejection" in the final resolution.
3. From here the resolution read: "from whatever section of the community whether Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or any other, they might arise."
4. The words "occasionally arise" were substituted by "have arisen."
5. The word "working" was substituted by the word "function".
6. This sentence was omitted.
7. The next sentence was replaced by the following in the final resolution: "The A.I.C.C. considers this tendency to be very injurious and a danger to the community. It runs counter to the basic spirit of the Constitution of India. Any furtherance or encouragement of casteism more especially for political purposes, is a violation of the object of the Congress and its basic principles and must not be permitted."

## 10. Rejuvenate the Congress<sup>1</sup>

India has been free for the last four years and a half and this has imposed new and greater responsibilities on the Congress. First we had to fight the battle of freedom with a foreign power. Now we have to fight with internal troubles and difficulties and for this we have to work and to decide how best to work.

Now the people have put their faith upon us for the next five years in the hope that their economic and social conditions would be improved. Congressmen should therefore act in such a way that they can fulfil the wishes of the people and implement also the pledges they have given to the masses before the election.

Some people, worried over their defeat in the general elections, have tried to find fault with others. Some, who have won, again forgot their weaknesses and faults in their hour of triumph. We should be proud of our victories and correct our faults.

I think the complaints that the elections were not just and fair are absolutely unfair. There may have been slight failures here and there. But on the whole they were very well conducted.

There has been one success at the elections, which must draw everybody's attention and that is that we have been able to defeat communalism to a great extent. There is also the problem of casteism which had of late created difficulties in our way. This would destroy the very foundation of our State and we must try our utmost to bring unity in all spheres.

While we cannot do away with provincialism completely and it is often good to think of one's State or province, we must not forget that we ought to think of our country as a whole and as an indivisible unit.

In the elections we have come out successful where we have worked among the masses but failed where we only held meetings. If we do not mix, work among and feel one with the masses, we cannot expect to gain their confidence.

We had to select some four thousand candidates for the State Assemblies and both Houses of Parliament, I was surprised to find that there was an epidemic of desire among Congress workers to get elected. It is wrong to think that he who got elected to a legislature is successful in life and the

1. Speech at the opening of the A.I.C.C. Session in Calcutta, 22 March 1952. From the *National Herald*, 23 March 1952.



others are failures. You should remember that at one time we even boycotted the legislatures. It is also true that some wrong people have been selected through oversight and some incapable persons have been returned.

Agriculturists are the backbone of the country and the economic uplift of the kisans is essential for the general progress of the country. For this we have abolished zamindari and jagirdari systems in certain parts of the country, but it has been held up by court decisions in others.

The abolition of zamindari and jagirdari is but the removal of a hurdle on the path of our progress. We would have to work to produce for our real advancement. The Congress can only give the lead and show the way through resolutions.

India should proceed in a planned and judicious way to make the best use of her limited resources. If we have fifty lakh of rupees and built some cinema houses in a big city like Calcutta we can make some quick profits, but that would not mean progress in the real sense. If that money is used to dig canals for irrigation it would give us increased production in food and create real national wealth. India has some big multi-purpose projects and when they start working after some time people will be vastly benefited.

I do not think that any party other than the Congress can shoulder the responsibility of administration and of leading the country to strength and plenty. Though various slogans are being raised specially in Madras and Bengal by some parties, I do not think them to be good enough to run the State.

The people have voted for the Congress and the Congress has asked me to take the responsibility of the administration and I cannot shirk it. If they do not want me I shall resign the Prime Ministership.

The Congress should be strengthened to discharge its responsibilities and new blood must be infused into the organization. With this in view, we should keep the door open to people who believe in Congress ideals. Some Congressmen have pointed out that they cannot make the Congress a dharamshala by throwing it open to all. I agree that politics cannot be run by dharamshalas where people of diverse and opposing ideas take shelter. But right persons should be allowed to enter the organization and given a proper chance for its own good. These who differ with the Congress in basic principles, those who do not believe in the unity of the country, and those who seek guidance from outside should not be permitted to enter the organization.

I invite all, even if they are outside the Congress but believe in the basic principles of the Congress, to join hands with the Congress and work for national progress instead of frittering away their energies in petty strifes. In many democratic countries people work together for the advancement of their nation, sinking petty differences. If we cannot do it here, how can we hope to keep pace with the fast moving world?

I call upon the youth of the country to come forward, giving up slogan raising, to take training for the responsibilities that await them.

As for some amendments to the Congress constitution, I can say that even the best cars some time break down and require repair. The main question is that Congress workers must work among the masses and take interest in their small programmes of advancement and their execution.

Congressmen should stop mutual bickerings. I do not want to hide things or defects in us, but to discuss them in a proper way.

There is a serious food shortage in parts of Madras and Rayalaseema had experienced four successive years of drought and the situation there is acute. I appeal to the people of northern India to sacrifice their rice rations for the people of Madras and other rice-eating areas.

India can very well stand up to any country in respect of her achievements during the first four years of its independence.





CONGRESS PARTY MATTERS  
II. General





## 1. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1952

My dear Pantji,

...There can be little doubt that the tone of our public life has gone down and a certain slackness, to put it mildly, has set in. This has to be pulled up. I have laid the greatest stress on this wherever I have gone and this fact alone has, I think, brought some confidence. I must live up to my word.

I must confess to you that I was deeply disturbed by many of the allegations made in the course of our selection of candidates for elections. In some cases, there was definite *prima facie* proof. This might have been rebutted, but there was no chance given for proof or rebuttal. Indeed we could not hold enquiries at the time. The fact remains that serious charges were made and we bypassed them. Even then I said that where such a charge is made, it must be enquired into later, if necessary. Otherwise it goes on being repeated with greater vigour and people inevitably believe it. I feel, therefore, that some enquiry of this kind will have to be done after the elections.

As you must know, I am giving a full week to the U.P. tour. This is much more than I have given to any other province.

My all-India tours have been very illuminating for me. On the whole, they have strengthened me and filled me with a sense of optimism for the country and the people. But I have not been favourably impressed by many of our candidates. Their level is not nearly as high as it should be. I am not considering the intellectual level but other levels from the Congress point of view. Some of them have been poor in the extreme. My little experience of our people in Allahabad was most discouraging. They are a feeble lot. Frightened in everything and having neither ability nor courage. They are frightened now because of the Hindu Code propaganda. When I go to Allahabad, I shall take up a strong line and I shall not hesitate to disown any candidate who, I think misbehaves.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal



## 2. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 13, 1952

My dear Prakasa,

As I was leaving Delhi on the last occasion, I received your letters of January 6th and 7th. As suggested by you, I read them on the plane and I gave a good deal of thought to what you have written. It is a little difficult to answer your letters at all fully. I agree with much that you say, but the wider questions you have raised are deep and far-reaching and would require a philosophic essay in reply. I am, therefore, only dealing with certain points.

Your Ministry<sup>2</sup> is, I think, from a long term point of view, probably the most important of our Ministries. The future of India depends upon that. I am surprised at your saying that it shows no obvious results and pays no dividends. It has already shown very considerable results and added to our national income in some ways. It promises to add much more.

About the future, it is difficult to decide anything now. Our politics are in a fluid condition and we can only start thinking after another month or so, when the results of the elections are more or less known. We have to think not only of Governments and policies but of the future of the Congress also. I entirely agree with you that the Congress can no longer be the sole custodian of the political life of the country. It must function as a political party with a definite platform....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.

## 3. To Gulzari Lal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1952

My dear Gulzari Lal,

Thank you for your letter of February 10th.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry if I gave you the idèa

1. File No.40(244)/52-PMS.

2. Nanda wrote that the Bharat Sewa Sangh, a voluntary organization of the people for constructive work on a national scale, was essential for the best utilization of the nation's resources for raising the standard of living. He asked Nehru to direct the Congress to support the organization and push its programme. He also pleaded for Government's support to the Sangh's activities.

that I was against the Bharat Sewa Sangh<sup>3</sup> or any such organization. Have it by all means. But we must start it on some definite basis and in the proper way. Unfortunately there has been I think too much talk about it and too little done. That is not your fault or anybody's but it does give an impression of staleness.

I do not quite see how I can give a lead straightaway. I do not know what to say except to utter some platitudes. Let us think this out and then give it a proper start.

But I do not think we should come in the way of the Congress doing constructive work on as wide a basis as possible. There is no reason why this should come in conflict with a bigger and non-political organization. I think it is more likely to help it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Later named the Bharat Sewak Samaj.

#### 4. The Congress and the Elections<sup>1</sup>

...Q: One of the reasons why the Election Commission fixed a minimum for expenses to be incurred by a candidate was to see that there were free and fair elections. Are you satisfied that the Congress candidates' expenses have been within the limits prescribed?

JN: There were about four thousand Congress candidates. Do you expect me to reply on behalf of all the four thousand of them?

Q: No, Sir, generally what is the position?

JN: Well, I should say that roughly 75 per cent of the Congress candidates were so frightfully poor that they had to be supported by some means or other. They had nothing for themselves and you can rule them out. 25 per cent were those who could meet the expenses partly themselves and partly by

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.



party support. There might be a small percentage who could run their own elections and support others too. I cannot say that all the Congress candidates behaved in this manner. But comparing this election with the last general election in 1945-46 which was on a much smaller scale, I can tell you that we have spent far less money on this enormous election than that of the 1945-46 election.<sup>2</sup> By 'we' I mean our central headquarters and to some extent even some of our provincial committees—I cannot say about all—and you will be amazed to know how little we have really spent from our headquarters. It is a simple matter, because we have not got much to spend. Most of our expenditure here has been on leaflets, posters and the like, and in helping some provinces that were very poor like Assam, Punjab and others.

Q: This is rather an embarrassing question, Sir, will you agree that were it not for the fact that you went and fought the Congress case in thousands of constituencies, the Congress would not be in the over-all strong position that it is in today?

JN: Not at all embarrassing. That is a patent fact (laughter). But I will add this, that various factors go towards the success of a particular party in elections or otherwise. You take away a single factor, and the result is different. You take me away; the result would be different. And in spite of me, the result might be different. Obviously I played an important part in the elections. But do not imagine that I could have secured this result single-handed. There are so many other factors that go into it. I want you to realize it perfectly clearly, that we won these elections because a large number of very fine workers worked for us. And where they did not work, we lost. Frankly, we lost in Tamil Nad because of this: not even because of rice — we lost because there were no good workers there. That is why we lost in Andhra and Tamil Nad.

Q: This organization did not function there?

JN: No. But it does not mean that where the organization functioned it succeeded. Go to any constituency in U.P. or Punjab. We won handsomely in the Punjab because there were large numbers of very, very fine workers whose names you do not know. And I may add that many of them are not officially connected with Congress committees. Sympathizers and others who sympathized with us and worked for us. And very often the official Congress committee did nothing at all; it was the others who came into the field and formed

2. The election expenditure in 1951-52, as per the account presented by the Congress President to All India Congress Committee on 24 March 1952, was nearly Rs 30 lakhs.

election committees for the purpose and did this work. And therefore I have asked that these election committees should be kept going.

Q: Don't you think we have set a very bad political precedent by bringing in defeated leaders to seats of power through the back door? I refer to Mr Morarji Desai.

JN: I do not know anything more ridiculous than that argument. I do not clearly understand why some newspapers have objected not only to Mr Morarji Desai but to Mr Santhanam's<sup>3</sup> appointment as Lt. Governor of Vindhya Pradesh. I just do not understand this. And the noble name of democracy is raised. Mr Morarji Desai represents the victorious leader of a victorious party in Bombay.

Q: What about Mr Santhanam?

JN: I am talking about the Legislature. In few provinces has our victory been so complete as in Bombay Province. It is the right of the Bombay Province to choose any leader it likes. And remember, Mr. Morarji Desai lost by a few votes. There is not a shadow of doubt that if the elections are held again, Mr Morarji would win with an enormous majority. I have not a shadow of a doubt about it. But apart from that, you remember he lost by nineteen votes in a constituency of 60,000 voters. I think, he is standing again for election to the Assembly. Now, he is the choice of an obviously triumphant majority in Bombay, and presumably the voters who voted for them want Mr Morarji to lead them in Bombay. Are we to put aside this overwhelming majority because a dozen or so voters — nineteen or, let us say, even ten persons do not want him? Because ten people disapprove, you must ignore the wishes of millions of other voters. That is not democracy of my thinking. Apart from that, he is standing again. You can see whether he wins or loses. And there is one thing. We did suggest that for the time being he should go to the Legislative Council. Generally speaking, we are entirely opposed to defeated candidates standing for the Upper Houses, although we can have them elected easily enough. Nevertheless, we are not in favour of it. I do not know if we shall make an exception to that rule; but if an exception is made, it will have to be under very special circumstances. But here we had to face this simple problem, that once we decided, and I take it that the people of Bombay Province have so decided that they want Mr Morarji — once we decided that, well, then, he will stand for election. There is an interval of about a month or six weeks

3. K. Santhanam, Union Minister of State for Railways and Transport, had lost in the elections.



during which he would not be an elected member of the Lower House, and the question was what was to be done during that interval? That was the problem before us. He could, strictly, under the Constitution, be a Minister and seek election within a month or six weeks, and till his election, he could be made a member of the other House—although we do not approve of members of the Upper Houses being leaders of our parties or Chief Ministers: but just to cover a month or six weeks, these were the alternatives. We do not accept the idea of a non-member becoming the Chief Minister even for a few days. So, we have agreed to his standing for the Upper House and at the same time he is standing for election to the Lower House.

Q: Any similar proposal under consideration for Madras?

JN: No. Of course, anybody, any defeated candidate, can obviously stand for election.

Q: Any special person being sponsored for Madras as you are doing in Bombay?

JN: No. I have not sponsored anybody in Bombay. It is the Bombay people. It is for the Madras people to sponsor and elect anybody.

Q: You promised to say something about Mr Santhanam.

JN: Yes. He stands on a completely different footing. Seeking election to Parliament or Legislature is one thing; appointment to an office is completely different. If he is competent and fit for it, as I think Mr Santhanam is eminently competent and fit — he has done very fine work in the Railway Ministry, and he was selected for that reason — and, because some constituency in Madras did not elect him, it, surely, need not be a bar to his being asked to do any public work in future. Are we going to exclude a defeated candidate from the foreign service? It is extraordinary. Every time an election takes place, you weed out a large number of people who cannot be used at all. That would be a most extraordinary situation!

Q: By doing so, you will be setting up a ruling clique in the country. None else will be admitted.

JN: There are not enough Lt. Governorships to go round for all the defeated candidates. There are only two of them.

Q: Can you give a constitutional precedent for the case of Mr

Morarji Desai as well as Mr Santhanam, from any democratic country in the world?

JN: I am amazed. So far as Mr Morarji is concerned, where is your difficulty? I just cannot grasp it. It is the proper, inevitable right of the people to elect anybody.

Q: I want to know whether there is any constitutional precedent in Britain, France, etc. where a person is not in the Legislature and yet is being nominated Chief Minister.

JN: You are completely wrong. He will not be Chief Minister until he is in the Legislature.

Q: Upper House.

JN: For three or four weeks. Possibly that period may not arise even, if he is elected in time.

Q: The Congress is against communalism but some candidates who had signed the Jan Sangh pledge were taken as Congress candidates at the last moment.

JN: I cannot answer that question. Maybe some local committee did that. Maybe the local committee was convinced that the man was a convert. Whatever it was, it is a local matter.

Q: Is it a fact that even Congress candidates in Bihar fought the elections on caste basis?

JN: I have spoken about it publicly. I propose to speak again on it. My information is that the Communist Party fought elections on caste basis in many areas of Madras, on strictly caste basis....





## THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES





## 1. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 7, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

Thank you for sending me the question and answer about the Communists.<sup>2</sup> I have nothing to say about the reply.

2. The circular letter<sup>3</sup> addressed to Chief Secretaries dated February 5th has also been sent to me. I have read it. There is nothing in this letter which is not, in a sense, correct and, on the whole, I agree with it. But parts of it do not appear to me to be as clear as they ought to be.

3. To say that the basic approach of Government towards the Communist Party must continue to remain unaltered is both true and not true. The mere fact of our having to consider this question afresh shows that a new situation has arisen. Further, if the Communist Party is, as it might well be, the main opposition in Parliament and possibly in some State Assemblies, then the approach to it has to be fashioned accordingly. Or, if the Communist Party more or less controls the State Government, then again the matter has to be seriously considered.

4. An academical approach to this question does not help even in combating the spread of communism. The average person who is attracted to communism is seldom influenced by the normal type of arguments that most of us use against it. Repressive measures have to be used, but it must be remembered that they do not achieve the positive results one aims at. They only prevent or

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. The reference is to a question by A. Joseph and draft reply by Katju, Union Home Minister, to be given in Parliament on 8 February. Asked whether any directions had been issued to State Governments to release elected Communist members of State Assemblies, Katju proposed to reply that the Preventive Detention Act applied to all citizens alike and there was no immunity in favour of persons elected to legislatures. So there was no need for Central directions. However, he advised all States to review the case of every detenu and to release those against whom there was no concrete evidence of violent activities intended to subvert the Constitution or endanger public safety.

3. In his circular letter H.V.R. Iengar, Home Secretary, advised the State Governments to review the cases of interned Communists, especially those who had been elected to the Central and State Legislatures. He felt that so long as the grounds on which they were arrested remained valid, they could be detained but in cases where the evidence was vague, they should be released. Iengar wrote that the creed of CPI, that is to seize political power through violent means, remained unchanged and the abandonment of violence in Telengana and alliances with regional non-Congress parties, were purely tactical moves and the elections had been used to improve their organization and mass contact. Therefore the position of the Central Government regarding Communists should remain unaltered.



are meant to prevent some particular evil development. In Telengana, we did ultimately succeed in controlling the violence of the Communists by superior violence on the Government's part. But, when the elections came, a great majority of people voted for the Communists. From all accounts, the dominant feeling in that area was one of hatred and dislike of the police. So, in the final analysis, success came to the Communists through the ballot box and they will no doubt exploit it in many ways, both through democratic processes and, when necessary, unconstitutional methods.

5. The main issue therefore is not how to deal with the Communists but how to deal with a situation in a way to win the people to our side. That aspect is not considered as much as it ought to be. Normally, a Government thinks chiefly of police methods.

6. The shock of these elections in the South should at least make us think on other lines. Otherwise, a choice has to be made of allowing the Communists to win democratically or ultimately the Government giving up the democratic process, in other words, functioning in a fascist way.

7. These are some general considerations which, I think, must be borne in mind and which should influence our policy and approach. We have to deal in the South with very clever men who have the additional advantage of having the ear of the masses with whom they live and work. A false step by us will immediately be exploited by them. There is, I believe, a tendency already visible, both in Madras and in Travancore-Cochin, among many people who voted for the Communists, to regret their action. They feel they have gone too far and are now somewhat afraid of the consequences of their own action. We have to encourage this tendency. But it is just possible that, if we give some food for propaganda to the Communists, they might well check this tendency and again get the ear of the masses.

8. In the circular letter referred to above, it is stated that in actual fact the elections have been used by the Communist Party to improve their organization and mass contact. That is perfectly true. Again we come up against the dilemma. Are we to prevent them from taking part in elections or are we to adopt other methods to meet their onslaught? Partial prevention does no good, as it helps them. People who were underground have won these elections with thundering majorities.<sup>4</sup> Constituted as we are today, we can hardly go in for wholesale prevention. That, in present circumstances, would also probably incline public opinion in their favour. Of course, no question of elections arise just at present.

4. For example, Ranendra Nath Sen was elected to the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from Manicktala constituency, P. Ramamurti to the Madras Assembly from Madurai (North) and P.T. Punnoose to the Lok Sabha from Alleppy.

9. Whatever the theoretical principles might be, it is perfectly clear that we cannot treat people who have been elected as we treat others. That will be a big weapon against us and we shall never be able to justify our action adequately. It is one thing to say that you will try a person for an offence, whether elected or not. It is another thing to detain a person, who has been elected, without trial. If we do that, we shall have to justify it with full particulars before the public.

10. Half-measures are always bad. We have released a large number of Communists, many of them their leaders and their brains. If they decide to give trouble, they can do so and take the consequences. The fact that a few of them happen to be in detention or underground, will not come in their way. But this fact will become a weapon in their armoury.

11. Therefore it seems to follow that there is no advantage in keeping a few odd persons in detention, unless there are very special and obvious reasons for doing that, which we can place before the public, if necessity arises. Of course, a trial for a criminal offence is always justifiable, if there are grounds for it. In particular, a person who has been elected has to be dealt with with extreme care and only the strongest reasons can justify his detention.

12. There is nothing in the circular letter, which is opposed to this argument; only the emphasis is somewhat different....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 2. To Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

Your letter of the 16th January<sup>2</sup> only reached me about four or five days ago. I do not know why it took such a long time.

It was good of you to write to me to clear up a certain misunderstanding. I have naturally to rely on press reports. The press reports were, so far as I

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Jayaprakash Narayan denied having said that in four years Nehru "had done more harm to the country than the British had in a hundred years." What he believed was that there was more decline in moral standards in the four years of Congress Government than in a hundred years of British raj.



can remember, that four years of Congress rule had done more injury to the country than a hundred years of British rule. My name was not mentioned. What I said was this: If this statement is true, even partly true, then surely I am the guilty party because I am more responsible than anyone else for the Government's activities during these four years. I did not say that you had referred to me.

The new version that you give is somewhat different. You have every right to believe it. But as a statement, it seems to me completely misconceived.

You are welcome to see me or write to me when you choose to discuss any matter.

It is true that I have felt deeply pained at the numerous and continuous personal references made about me by the leaders of the Socialist Party.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. To Jayaprakash Narayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 14, 1952

My dear Jayaprakash,

I have received your letter of the 12th February. I have already replied to your previous letter.

I have enquired from the Bihar people in Parliament if they know anything about the slogan which you quote.<sup>2</sup> They tell me that they have never heard it before. I cannot, of course, say whether anyone said it or not. Certainly it was a very improper thing to say.

The Bihar people tell me that much was said by Socialist candidates in Bihar and in particular by Rammanohar Lohia in some of his speeches, which they thought was very offensive and personal.

You refer to the Communists saying that the Indian Embassy in Washington was responsible for the statement that Lohia brought thousands of dollars from

1. J.N. Collection. Copies of the letter were sent to Vijayalakshmi Pandit and S. Dutt.
2. In his letter Narayan wrote that in certain constituencies of Bihar, Congressmen had joined the Communists in their propaganda that the Socialists were American agents and indulged in slogans like: 'America ke teen dalal, Mehta, Lohia, Jayaprakash' (America's three agents, Mehta, Lohia, Jayaprakash).

America for the Socialist Party's election campaign. The Embassy had said nothing about this to us at any stage and, on enquiry from the then Ambassador,<sup>3</sup> I am told that the Embassy did no such thing. She adds, however, that there was certainly a rumour going around Washington to the effect that a part of the reason for Lohia's coming to the States was to raise finances for the Socialist Party. In fact, she says that she tried to trace the sources of this rumour and personally contradicted it on several occasions.

You will remember that when Norman Thomas<sup>4</sup> was in India, he stated repeatedly that the International Socialist Movement should help the development of the Socialist organization in India. I believe he said so even in an interview to *Janata*. In the newspapers something more was said. I have at present with me a cutting from the *Indian News Chronicle*, Delhi, dated 25th March, 1951. In this Norman Thomas is reported to have said in New Delhi that "the Socialists all over the world should establish an international fund for aiding the Socialist campaign in India." I do not know if this statement was contradicted at any time.

Soon after this Lohia visited America, as the guest, I believe, of the World Government Movement. Probably all this led some people to believe that funds might be collected in America.

I do not know what you mean by saying that Lohia and the Indian Embassy did not get on well together. So far as I know, there was no contact between them at all and so there was no opportunity for getting on or not getting on well together. Indeed, at the time a report came to us that at some function one of the members of our Embassy staff met Lohia and invited him to come to our Chancery so that Indian officers might have an opportunity of talking to him. Lohia's answer was not a pattern of courtesy. After that naturally the staff of the Indian Embassy had no further contacts with him.

There was and is no question of the Socialist Party of India being objectionable in the eyes of the Indian Embassy. Our Missions abroad are instructed to show every courtesy to every Indian visitor, whoever he might be. They should have nothing to do with politics or other views of the individual. At the same time, Indian visitors are expected to show normal courtesies to our Missions abroad, regardless of any views that they might have. The Mission is a symbol of their country. Any dishonour to that Mission by a foreigner would be deeply resented by our country, because that meant a

3. Vijayalakshmi Pandit.

4. (1884-1968); Socialist candidate for Presidentship of U.S.A., 1928, 1936 and 1944.



dishonour to the country. Much more it is surprising that any Indian going abroad should treat his Embassy with discourtesy.

It is not customary in other countries for their citizens to go abroad to run down their own governments and people. They confine their controversies to their own countries and do not carry them abroad. I find that this salutary rule was not followed by Rammanohar Lohia and that his addresses abroad largely consisted in running down the government here and others.

You refer to what I am supposed to have said about "these people having entered into a pact even with the Jan Sangh." This is partly true, but on every occasion I made it perfectly clear that I did not refer to the party in this matter but to individual candidates who had made some local arrangements which came to my knowledge. In Rajasthan some persons calling themselves Socialists were cooperating with the jagirdars. In Himachal Pradesh there was cooperation with the Jan Sangh; and a number of other instances came to my notice.

It is quite likely that some Congress candidates made local alliances which were undesirable. I have in fact taken action wherever I could trace these with some certainty. If you can draw my attention to any such cases, I shall certainly enquire into them.

As for what Asoka Mehta<sup>5</sup> wrote to me about the Congress in Bombay and the Fourth Party,<sup>6</sup> I enquired into this matter immediately and, in fact, I am still dealing with it. I see from the newspapers that S.K. Patil has issued a statement denying this.<sup>7</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

5. Then a prominent member of the Socialist Party.
6. A political party formed in March 1948, by the former Muslim Leaguers of Bombay to safeguard their interests.
7. On 9 February 1952, Patil, President of Bombay P.C.C., denied the allegations in the local press that Congress had, by an alliance with the Fourth Party, agreed not to field candidates from Muslim areas in the forthcoming municipal elections as a reward for that party's support during the general elections. He said the Congress had left a few seats uncontested wherever it was felt that the Congress had no adequate voting strength to contest them.

#### 4. The Communist Party of India<sup>1</sup>

I have read the long top secret note sent by the Home Ministry on the Communist Party. The note is interesting and some information that it gives is important. The main argument, however, of the note was hardly necessary. This argument deals with the basic approach of the Communist Party in its early days and as now. Anyone who knows anything about communism knows this and cannot be deluded by occasional statements made by some Communists.

2. The question before us is not what the theory and practice of communism are, but how to deal with particular situations as they arise. The Communists rightly lay stress on what they call mass action. They try to derive strength from this. Their other activities are secondary and only meant to help that primary activity. Therefore, they are always cultivating the masses.

3. We might well learn from them. In the ultimate analysis, it is mass approval or disapproval that will make a difference to Governments. Purely governmental policy in regard to law and order is necessary of course. But it does not go far in meeting the situation that we have to face. We have to fight the Communists more or less on their own ground, i.e., with the masses. That means right policies and continuous contact with the people.

4. Whether we like it or not, we have to face strong Communist opposition in legislatures and, perhaps, even some kind of a coalition Government of which they are members. We have to adapt our action accordingly.

5. It is right, however, that we should not delude ourselves into thinking that the Communist Party has changed its policy in any basic way.

Please send a copy of this to H.M. Home.

1. Note to the Principal Private Secretary, 19 February 1952. J.N. Collection.

#### 5. Communism and the Communist Party in India<sup>1</sup>

...Q: You told us at your press conferences in the past and you also said it throughout the country both as Prime Minister and as Congress President

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.



that you have no quarrel with communism but you object to the brand of communism in this country. Now are you prepared to modify that view in view of the fact that Communists have come into the legislatures?

JN: My difficulty is that I know something about communism that most people don't. I am talking about the theory, not the practice. And one of the most painful, shall I say distressing, features of the situation is that all the time I have to talk to a person who knows nothing about it, but shouts about it. The best thing is not to talk about communism, or socialism or any 'ism'. When I say that I sympathize with a good deal of communist theory or communist objectives what I mean is this: that there is essentially no basic difference between socialism and communism except in technique, in certain practice and in various other matters. Now, I do not know how many of you have read Marx's *Das Kapital*. I have read it and many other books. I was powerfully impressed by it but not converted by it. Nothing amazes me so much—may be I am constituted differently—as the arguments about high theory, about this and about that. I am interested in that, I regret to say. I am interested in a certain economic interpretation of history—I am not interested in many things which Marx has said; I think Marx is out of date today. To talk about Marxism today is, if I may say so with all respect, being reactionary. I think the Communists with all their fire and fury are in some ways utterly reactionary.

Q: All over the world or only in India?

JN: They differ in different parts of the world. They have certain fine sentiments and ideals undoubtedly and that is why they sometimes draw some very fine young men and young women. I also want to draw these young men and young women not by thrusting those fine ideals and sentiments but by telling them that although to some extent I agree with these fine ideals, they can come into existence only through other means. So I just do not understand this business of unthinking applause of communism or unthinking denunciation. It is bad—this unthinking applause of people and unthinking denunciation of people, because there are good and bad people. Communism as a theory, you can discuss it. You may discuss the tactics of the Communist Party in a particular country, because they vary in each country. In India their tactics have been utterly disruptionist and, if I may say so, injurious to the very ideals they put forward, leave out my ideals. I am talking about the idealistic part of it only. I wish to combat every kind of disruptionist tendency in India apart from the fact also that the general policy of the Communists is conditioned by factors which are extra-territorial. That I do not like either.

Q: How do you like the minimum programme drawn up by the United Democratic Front?<sup>2</sup>

JN: I do not remember what it is, but all these programmes have a very strong flavour of a students' debating society.

2. The Front was formed by the Communists, the K.M.P.P., the Forward Bloc, the Krishikar Lok Party, the Commonweal Party, the Justice Party and the Independents and had their first convention after the elections at Madras on 22 February 1952. Their minimum programme included abolition of landlordism, establishment of linguistic states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra and Karnataka, an end to nepotism, corruption and blackmarketing, full civil and democratic liberties for all citizens, a living wage to workers and unemployment relief.

## 6. Detention Without Trial<sup>1</sup>

...It is our policy that no one should be detained for any expression of opinion whatsoever, provided it has nothing to do with violence or instigation to violence. I have discussed the question of detention of political prisoners in West Bengal with the Chief Minister, Dr B.C. Roy, and we agreed on broad principles, but did not discuss individual cases.

None of us likes this business of detention without trial.<sup>2</sup> It is only where there is a danger to the State that we think that the danger must be prevented even at the cost of something that we do not like. The Public Safety Act or whatever it is called, has saved the State during the past four years in various ways. In view of the fact that the situation has improved during the past two or three months, the matter should be considered afresh with a view to releasing as large a number of people as possible. But the responsibility for such release must rest with the State Governments and the Central Government cannot come down without knowing all facts of the situation and impose their decision.

People talk about this Detention Act, but I may tell you that among those who are detained here in Bengal as well as elsewhere there is a fairly

1. Speech at the concluding session of the A.I.C.C. in Calcutta, 23 March 1952. From the *National Herald*, 24 March 1952. Extracts.
2. After the Communist Party was banned in West Bengal in 1949, several hundred people were detained without trial under the Public Safety Act and the Preventive Detention Act.



considerable number of non-political people. This is rather a very serious situation. In Saurashtra, many people were detained recently<sup>3</sup> but these people are quite different from those detained in Bengal. But for this Preventive Detention Act, it would not have been possible for us to handle the different types of situations. In some places we have dealt, with some success, with spies and blackmarketeers. There are people who seem to think that this Act is meant for political only. At present in Bengal 258 persons are detained. Out of them 92 are non-political detenus. They include blackmarketeers, smugglers, Pakistani agents and communal crooks. Now you will realize that these preventive detentions are very different from the political cases.

3. In Saurashtra, agitations against land reforms took a violent turn and criminals such as Kaly Wank and Bhupat, in league with some former rulers, allegedly killed 200 persons including some farmers. A conspiracy to assassinate the Chief Minister was unearthed, and in March 1952, most of the members of this group were arrested on charges of conspiracy, murder and dacoity.

## 7. Detention of Communists<sup>1</sup>

In Calcutta recently you and I and the Chief Minister of Bengal had a talk about detenus. In conformity with that talk, I made a declaration in a public speech.<sup>2</sup> The Chief Minister of Bengal was in entire agreement with what I said.

2. It seems to me that we must immediately and fully review our policy in regard to detenus, more sepecially those who are detained for association with the Communist Party of India. Both you and I were in general agreement with this policy and were of opinion that we should encourage as large a release of detenus as possible; indeed, where possible, all of them should be released. In fact, a very large number of prominent detenus are at present free and are functioning in public. The relatively few who are still detained do not make much difference to the quantum of work or agitation that the Communist Party might indulge in. But the fact of their detention gives a powerful lever for this agitation and large numbers of people are attracted by it. There is no

1. Note to the Minister for Home Affairs, 25 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

doubt that this agitation will continue and will prove more and more troublesome. It is far better to deal with the situation now than to await further developments which might tend to force our hands.

3. On the merits, I cannot justify the detention of a person indefinitely whatever the charges that might have been brought against him. There are a number of persons in Bengal who have been detained for three and a half years or more. Even if they had been brought before a court of law and convicted, they would probably have served their sentence by this time.

4. Undoubtedly, the situation has changed though we do not expect the Communist Party to undergo a real change of heart and they might again change their tactics when they think that this is advisable. We cannot rely on the Communist Party. What we have to think of, however, is not only the public reaction, but the wider tactic to be employed to deal with this situation. On the whole I feel that we should start with a clear slate by discharging detenus and take action again where necessary. We can justify that before the public. We cannot justify continued detention. It may be that some people when they are in the least suspected go underground, as it is called. That makes little difference in the present circumstances as there are a very large number of people already working openly or secretly.

5. Therefore, the narrow police view is not only not helpful, but may prove harmful and we should look upon these questions from a wider angle. I am convinced that, even from a strictly practical point of view, it is desirable for us to have these releases unless there are very special grounds in any individual case to defer that release. In no event should a person be kept detained for more than twelve months.

6. Some States have already followed this policy of general release. For other States not to do so is to bring about different standards of judgement and is obviously liable to strong criticism.

7. I suggest, therefore, that clear and explicit directions might be issued by your Ministry to all the States concerned.





**PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS**

**I. Administrative and Procedural Matters**





## 1. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 6, 1952

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your letter of the 5th February.<sup>2</sup>

I entirely agree with you that it is unbecoming for us to issue our formal documents, letters of credence, etc., in English. They should be in Hindi. Also that on such formal occasions you should speak in Hindi. As a matter of fact I have been worried about this matter. As regards treaties, in at least one of them, I think the Burmese treaty, I insisted on one of the originals being in Hindi.

The only difficulty is how to give effect to it. We should certainly try to begin at once to do so, but it may take a little time. The question of language continually crops up. The English used in these documents has developed in hundreds of years as a diplomatic language and the terms are more or less common in the European languages. We shall, no doubt, have to develop our own. Any attempt that is made to do so leads us to stilted and un-understandable language. I shall enquire into this matter immediately.

I think that such documents should not be handwritten as a rule. That would involve very great labour and mistakes are likely to creep in. They should be printed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No.25/52, President's Secretariat.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that in future all formal documents, letters of credence, addresses on formal occasions etc. should be written in Hindi and not in English.

## 2. The Role of the Speaker<sup>1</sup>

Sir, May I, on behalf of all the members of this House, offer you our grateful thanks for the words you have addressed to us? You have mentioned, Sir,

1. Speech at the farewell to G.V. Mavalankar, the Speaker, at the last meeting of the concluding session of the transitional Parliament, 5 March 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, Vol. II, Pt. II, 1 to 5 March 1952, cols. 2045-2047.



various conventions that have grown up under your sheltering care and the various steps you have taken during these last few years to build up a democratic structure of Government at which we aim.<sup>2</sup>

We have passed through unusual and abnormal times during the last few years and to the unseeing eye it might appear that we are as we were. Others again might think that we have completely changed. Perhaps there is an element of truth in both these views. It has been, I believe, the genius of India throughout the ages to change when change was required and yet not to be uprooted from the soil from which it grew. And so we change and sometimes we change fairly rapidly and yet we do not, to a casual observer, appear to change as much as we have changed. Yet, the fact of the matter is that in the last few years very great changes have come over this country of ours and from day to day these changes increase.

So far as we are concerned here in this House, which has been the centre of political and other activity and to which millions of our country have looked, we have naturally seen some form of these changes, bringing those changes about, initiating them, preserving them and generally giving guidance to the country.

You have referred, Sir, to the cooperation you have received from Members of this House. I am grateful to you for the expression of your views on this subject. I believe that each Member of this House has wished and endeavoured to give that cooperation, even though some of us, or all of us, have sometimes not acted up to the standard at which we aimed. Partly, I think even when we failed to attain that standard, it was due to the knowledge that you were sitting in that chair, Sir, to guide us and we could not go far astray so long as you were there. In any event, whatever we may have done, or not done, there can be no doubt that such conventions as have grown up and such habits and procedure have been largely due to your able—and if I may say so—very understanding guidance of this House. And all of us, whether we come back to subsequent Parliaments or not, have profited greatly by that guidance of

2. Tracing the progress made by the institution of Parliament during his tenure as the Speaker, G.V. Mavalankar listed the following gains: parliamentary control over the finances of government through the Estimates and Public Accounts Committees; adoption of a vote-on-account procedure which ensured that while the government had no difficulty in continuing normal functions, members had ample opportunities of going into the details of the Budget; financial provisions of the Constitution were followed by having the Consolidated Fund and Appropriation Bills; adoption of a rule for half-an-hour discussion to elucidate points raised during Question Hour; abandonment of the practice of raising discussion on a subject by means of an adjournment motion; and setting up of a Parliamentary library to help members update their knowledge.

yours and in whatever sphere of activity we may indulge in, that profit will endure.

This Parliament<sup>3</sup> has passed through a difficult and delicate period of India's history. To some extent we have shaped that history, to some extent we have ourselves been shaped by those events. In any event, after a few hours or a day this Parliament and all of us as Members of this Parliament will ourselves be history, even though we may function in other capacities. This transitional Parliament bridged the big gap from the old days when we were something other than the Parliament to the new days when a new Parliament elected by hundreds of millions of the people of India comes into existence giving full effect to the Constitution which, not this Parliament, but many in this Parliament in another capacity drew up after long labour. Thus we finish yet another chapter of our history and go forward, I hope, with courage and with some vision to the next phase of India's story. What that story will be we cannot say now except that I think, if I may say on behalf of the Members of this House, that we look forward today with confidence and faith in our country and in the traditions that have grown up not only in the country during these few years but in the House under your able guidance. Above all, I am sure we shall remember you, Sir, and what you have taught us during these years.

May I, again, on behalf of all the Members of the House express to you our gratitude.

3. The Parliament sat from 26 January 1950 to 5 March 1952.





**PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS****II. Election of the President and the Vice-President**





## 1. Congress Nominees<sup>1</sup>

Q: Is the Congress party going to have an official candidate for the Presidentship and Vice-Presidentship of the Republic, and if so, what is your procedure for that nomination?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no doubt that the Congress Party would like to support some name or other.<sup>2</sup> We cannot remain passive when such a thing occurs.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.
2. S. Radhakrishnan and Rajendra Prasad were the Vice-Presidential and Presidential candidates supported by the Congress. Their elections took place on 24 April and 6 May 1952 respectively.

## 2. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 13, 1952

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Please forgive me for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 23rd February in which you wrote about the function connected with the installation of the President of the Republic.

As regards the dress, I think that some kind of a *choga* or some kind of a University gown, either of them worn over the *sherwani*, might be suitable. But I confess that I am rather alarmed at the prospect of this gown being made a kind of a museum specimen with all kinds of varying decorations.<sup>2</sup> I am afraid this will not be artistic or dignified.

As regards the ceremony, it is true that the Durbar Hall is not large

1. J.N. Collection. Also available in File No. 70/52, President's Secretariat.
2. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the *choga* or gown should be "made of simple fine hand spun yarn, with borders all round on the fringe representing the weaving art of the country at its best either woven on the cloth itself or embroidered on it. The fringe all round need not be of one pattern and could very well be representative of the art taken from different parts of the country..."



enough, but holding it in Kingsway<sup>3</sup> also does not seem to me at all suitable.<sup>4</sup> I do not think that the swearing-in-ceremony etc., should be associated with a march past of the Defence forces. The various religious ceremonies or invocations which you have suggested do not seem to me to fit in with the occasion.

Apart from the desirability or otherwise of the various procedures that you have suggested, I fear that it will be difficult to lay down this complicated ritual. These things grow gradually by convention. If we once sit down to discuss a detailed ritual or procedure, there will hardly be any agreement about anything and we shall spend a great deal of time and energy without arriving at any agreed conclusions.

The Diwan-i-Khas or the Diwan-i-Aam<sup>5</sup> in the Red Fort are in some ways more suitable for the ceremony, except for their old imperial associations.

The new President cannot function till he has taken the oath of office. The sooner he takes that oath the better. Otherwise all kinds of important things will be hung up. The taking of the oath thus has to take place very early and will in effect be the installation. We may have some separate function later after a little interval.

In Cabinet today we considered the time-table and this will no doubt be communicated to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Kingsway in New Delhi is now known as Rajpath.
4. Rajendra Prasad wrote that the ceremony "would be best held at a spot somewhere near the place where the saluting base was placed on the Kingsway on the 26th of January."
5. These halls inside the Red Fort in Delhi, were built by Emperor Shah Jahan in the seventeenth century. Diwan-i-Khas, or the Hall for Private Audience for meeting nobles and officials, was made of white marble and was highly ornamental in design with a marble platform. Diwan-i-Aam, or the Hall for Public Audience, had sixty pillars of red sandstone.

### 3. To M.N. Saha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 15, 1952

My dear Saha,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 14th March.<sup>3</sup> Dr Radhakrishnan is of course one of

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Palit Professor of Physics at Calcutta University and elected to the Lok Sabha.
3. Saha had suggested that Radhakrishnan be elected the President.

our most eminent men but I think you are wrong in suggesting that there will be no difficulty about his election. There will be plenty of opposition. As you know, he is at present our Ambassador at Moscow. That also is a difficulty. On the whole I think that it will not be desirable to put his name forward for this office.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 15, 1952

My dear Radhakrishnan,

I have just received your letter of the 6th March from Oxford.<sup>2</sup>

I have given some thought to the question of the President. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, I think that Rajendra Babu might continue. It is generally expected that he should continue. He is undoubtedly popular in the country and if any other name is put forward, it would meet with considerable opposition. There is no question of any one else being elected unanimously. Possibly even Rajendra Babu might be opposed but the opposition will not be important or considerable. It is, better, therefore, to avoid a real contest. Some of those, like you, who might be considered for this office, are naturally reluctant to have a contest with Rajendra Babu.

Under our Constitution, the President nominates 12 persons noted in literature, art and science, as well as social service, to the Council of States. In this connection I thought of you immediately and indeed your name was suggested by several other friends also. But you cannot be nominated so long as you are in any kind of Government service. A decision has to be made within the next fortnight. I am therefore rather in a fix. I shall think about it more and perhaps send a telegram to you if necessary.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Radhakrishnan wrote that he did not believe in the possibility of his "unanimous choice for presidentship" as others did. When M.N. Saha in a letter of 12 February asked for his "consent for the candidature for the presidentship," Radhakrishnan had replied: "While I am quite willing to serve our country in these critical days in any capacity which is open to me, I do not wish to compete with Rajen Babu... If he is not a candidate, I shall, if the rules permit, allow my name to be put forward ... personally I have no ambitions."



There is also the question of the Vice-President who will at the same time be Chairman of the Council of States. This election will have to take place at the beginning of May. That will also involve resignation from governmental service.

I am giving thought to all these matters and shall communicate with you again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Installation of New President<sup>1</sup>

The installation of the new President will take place about the middle of May. It is necessary that we should give thought to this now and draw up the full programme for it. The President wrote to me on this subject and made certain suggestions. I rather doubt if some of these suggestions are feasible or, perhaps, wholly desirable. Anyhow, the matter should be fully considered and put up before the Cabinet a little later.

2. The President suggested:

- (1) A particular kind of dress, namely, a *choga*, with all kinds of embroideries and symbols depicted upon it.
- (2) The place of installation to be down Kingsway so as to permit large numbers of people to be present, as on January 26th.
- (3) A variety of prayers - Hindu, Islamic, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist, Jewish, the Jain, and perhaps others, representing all the well-known religions of India.
- (4) The President-elect to spin and plant a tree.
- (5) A military parade.

3. The new President is likely to be declared elected about the 6th of May. I take it that the old President ceases to function then and, in order to function, the new President must take the oath of office. Any delay in taking this oath will create a hiatus and lead to difficulties. Therefore, this oath-

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary for consideration by the Cabinet, Bulsar, 17 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

taking ceremony has to follow almost immediately after the election. Whether this is going to be the entire ceremony or some further installation, from a public point of view, is to take place is a matter to be considered — I suppose the analogy is that of the formal coronation of a King or Queen, which takes place long after the actual accession. I am rather doubtful of the desirability of two functions and I am inclined to think that the Presidential assumption of office should be a relatively simple affair without too much pomp and circumstance. The pomp and circumstance should be kept for Republic Day, etc.

4. If there is to be only one ceremony, and that almost immediately after the election, then some of the pomp and circumstance are necessarily ruled out.

5. I do not at all like the idea of this ceremony taking place in Kingsway. I appreciate that the Durbar Hall in Rashtrapati Bhavan is too small and not wholly suited for this. I would suggest that the ceremony take place in the Diwan-i-Khas or the Diwan-i-Aam of the Red Fort. That provides an appropriate background and a much larger number of people can be present.

6. As for the dress, perhaps a *choga* or something like it might be suitable. But I would rule out all kinds of designs and emblems on it. Some embroidery or crochet work would be desirable. The question of head dress is a difficult one. The President suggests that this should be left to the choice of the incoming President.

7. A succession of prayers by followers of a variety of religions seems to me to be rather overdoing it and, therefore, inappropriate.

8. I do not think there should be any military parade on this occasion. Nor do I think that tree planting or spinning would be suitable for the particular occasion. The new President might well plant a tree later.

9. These are some of my initial reactions. I suggest that you might form a small committee of Secretaries and others concerned to discuss this matter and send us their recommendations. This committee should include representatives of the President's staff and the Defence Ministry. Also the Chief Commissioner<sup>2</sup> and the Chief Minister of Delhi.<sup>3</sup> I want this committee to meet very soon and give us a rough idea of what they think should be done. The matter should then be placed before the Cabinet. This note would also then go to the Cabinet.

2. Shankar Prasada.

3. Chowdhury Brahm Perkash.



## 6. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 17, 1952

My dear Radhakrishnan,

I wrote to you two or three days ago in answer to your letter.<sup>2</sup> I had pointed out there that it would not be fitting for some candidate to be put up for the Presidentship. He might have to oppose Rajendra Babu. There is general expectation that he will continue as President and any other name, even though good in itself, would raise controversy. In the balance, therefore, it seemed desirable that Rajendra Babu should be formally asked by us to stand for the Presidentship.

Then there is the question of the Vice-President. The Vice-President is also the Chairman of the Council of States. It is an important office from many points of view. In fact some of the Presidential functions might have to be discharged by the Vice-President. I have been thinking about you in this connection. I do not know what your reactions are likely to be, nor have I sounded others here. I shall try to find out here in the course of the next few days and then, if necessary, send you a telegram to find out what you think about it.

Your name had occurred to me for nomination by the President to the Council of States. You will remember that the President has to nominate 12 persons noted in literature, art, science and social service. This nomination has to be done by the end of this month. I discovered that you cannot be nominated so long as you are in service as Ambassador. In other words, you would have to resign before the nomination. This did not appear to be feasible at all.

Of course, for the Vice-Presidentship also you would have to resign before the nomination. But this nomination will not take place for another six weeks or so. So there is time to think about it.

This letter is meant to be some kind of a preliminary warning to you. It will be followed up later, probably by a telegram, if circumstances so require.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 183-184.

**PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS****III. The Hindu Code Bill**





## 1. Delay in Passing the Hindu Code Bill<sup>1</sup>

As you know, the Hindu Code Bill could not be passed during the last session of Parliament. This was largely due to the obstructionist tactics of some of those who opposed it. It was also due, I think, to a wrong approach on our part. Any attempt to push through an enormous measure of this kind was bound to be frustrated. Normally it should take at least three months to get it through. No Parliament is ever going to have three months just for one such measure. It seems to me that the only proper course is for us to divide the Bill up into a number of self-contained parts. Indeed that was more or less the decision arrived at in the course of the discussions during the last session and the then Law Minister informed the House that we would proceed with the Marriage and Divorce Section only.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, even this took more time than we could possibly give.

Nothing can be done now till the next session of Parliament. This is unfortunate, for a variety of reasons, both practical and psychological. Anyhow this cannot be helped. I do not think it will be feasible to bring such a Bill up during the brief session of the present Parliament in February or thereabouts.

I suggest, however, that this intervening period might well be employed in splitting up the Bill into several convenient parts.<sup>3</sup> Having thus split it up, each part should be carefully examined from the point of view of the discussions that have already taken place and the criticisms made. All this should be done in the Law Ministry. Having prepared one part in this way, it should be circulated to State Governments for their opinions and criticisms.

In this way we should be ready with draft Bills before the new Parliament meets. Probably we shall have more time to do this preparatory work during this interval than later. I suggest, therefore, that the Law Ministry might take this in hand.

In the discussions on the Bill both in Parliament and at party meetings, a

1. Note to the Minister for Law, 6 November 1951. J.N. Collection.
2. The second part of the Bill, dealing with divorce and monogamy, was taken up by the Parliament for discussion from 17 to 21 September 1951 and during this period only four clauses were passed.
3. The Bill was divided into several self-contained parts which were taken up by the new Parliament. The Special Marriage Bill was introduced in 1952 and became an Act in 1954; the Hindu Marriages and Divorce Bill was introduced in 1954 and entered the statute book in 1955; Hindu Minority and Guardianship Bill of 1953 and Hindu Succession Bill of 1954, were subsequently passed in 1956.



number of anomalies and difficulties were pointed out. Among these was the effect on customs prevailing in the various parts of the country. There was an attempt at standardization and uniformity, which was admirable in conception, but it seems to me, neither possible nor desirable in practice. We have to deal with a variety of population including all kinds of tribal people in various stages of development and with a multitude of customs. We should avoid upsetting these tribal folk or putting all kinds of legal difficulties in their way.

I shall be grateful if your Ministry will give consideration to these matters.

## 2. Bigamy and the Services<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately the Hindu Code Bill could not be passed during the last session of Parliament. I hope that this Bill will be passed some time next year by the new Parliament.

If the Bill had been passed, certain results would have flown from it, notably that bigamy would have become a punishable offence. As it is, bigamy is not permitted in some States like Bombay.<sup>2</sup>

I think that we should set an example in this matter in our Services and make it a strict rule that Government servants, whether in the Civil or Defence Services, will not be permitted to indulge in bigamy. The rule should be absolute with no exceptions. We may permit those already in service possessing more than one wife to continue to do so, as there is no help for it. But no one should be employed in future, who has more than one wife and no one in service should be permitted to marry again if he has one wife already. In effect this is so in Bombay and elsewhere in India and there is no reason why this should not be extended to all over India so far as our Services are concerned. This would have been so if the Hindu Code Bill had been passed.

It is true that if that Bill had been passed, there would have been possibilities of divorce also. As a matter of fact, under the provisions of that Bill, divorce was not an easy matter and required a lengthy period. We need

1. Note to the Ministers for Home and Defence, 6 November 1951.
2. In Bombay, monogamy was made a rule by the Prevention of Hindu Bigamous Marriage Act of 1946 and dissolution of marriages by divorce was allowed under certain conditions by the Bombay Divorce Act of 1947. In Madras also, the Madras Hindu Bigamy Prevention and Divorce Act was in existence and in Madhya Pradesh, a Bill aiming at preventing bigamous marriages was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in 1949.

not, therefore, trouble ourselves about the divorce aspect at present, because we hope that legislation will be passed later.

Meanwhile, there should be no difficulty in our laying down the rule I have suggested above about bigamous marriages. The rule should be acted upon without exception, as indeed it would have to be, if it was a law.

It would be interesting to have some kind of a census of bigamous marriages in our Services. I suppose it should not be difficult to get these figures. Home Ministry could address different State Governments as well as the different Ministries and Departments at Headquarters and request them to supply this information. Defence Ministry will probably have no difficulty in getting this information. Even an attempt to get these figures will indicate our strong disapproval of this practice of bigamy and will exercise some check on it.

The practice of bigamous marriages has been rapidly dying out in India and normally no steps would have been necessary to expedite this process. Nevertheless, its continuation, even in a small way, is objectionable. A particular type of case seems to me particularly undesirable. Some of the people in our Civil and Defence Services feel that their wives have not got what they consider to be social virtues and cannot therefore mix properly in "society". Therefore they want to take another wife for what might be called social purposes and they discard the old wife. Quite apart from any objection to bigamy, this appears to me to be highly improper behaviour. Some cases of discarded wives have reached me and all my sympathy has been with the wife.

The idea of social behaviour and society life, which appears to be prevalent, more especially in New Delhi, is also not to be encouraged. Dignity and good social behaviour comes from being oneself and not trying to imitate others. The sooner this is realized by our officers and their wives, the better. A deliberate attempt should be made to this end. New Delhi tends to become an isolated island in India, completely different and out of touch with the rest of the country.

### 3. To M.D. Khaitan<sup>1</sup>

Jodhpur

December 8, 1951

My dear Khaitan,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 5th December about the Hindu Code Bill. It is true that a

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1913); Marwari businessman and industrialist from Calcutta.



few persons have been given Congress tickets even though they were rather against the Hindu Code Bill in Parliament. As a matter of fact even in Parliament they did not go against any whip. It was because we left the matter to the discretion of Members that they voted against the Hindu Code Bill. I did not wish to issue whips then on this subject.

In view of the fact that the Hindu Code Bill was not passed then and has now become more or less an election issue, we shall have every right to proceed with it later in a straightforward way with whips, etc.

I find here in Rajasthan that there are any amount of lies being told about the Hindu Code Bill by the Ram Rajya Parishad and such like organizations. It is being said, for instance, that according to the Hindu Code Bill brothers will marry sisters. I have been speaking about this Bill a good deal and expressing my strong approval of the main provisions of the Bill. Minor matters in it of course can and should be amended. Thus it can be said after the elections that the Bill was an issue.

Congress candidates should clearly declare that they are in favour of these principles underlying the Bill even though these minor provisions can be changed. Indeed, I am having the Bill examined with a view to making it simpler and perhaps dividing it up in several parts.

My answer to your specific question is that Congressmen should vote for Congress nominees even though some of them disapprove of the Bill. Since we have made them our candidates, we have to vote for them. If a few of them have some conscientious scruples in regard to the Hindu Code Bill, I do not mind very much. Anyhow, discipline requires that we vote for Congress candidates.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. The Hindu Code Bill and the Elections<sup>1</sup>

I have been travelling a great deal all over India in connection with the elections. Many issues have been discussed in various parts of the country but the basic issue everywhere has been the economic issue. In Allahabad, however,

1. Press conference at Allahabad, 15 January 1952. Reported in *The Hindustan Times*, 16 January 1952.

I have had a unique experience. People appear to talk more here about the Hindu Code Bill than about other matters affecting the country. I can have no complaint because every important matter should be discussed fully provided it is done properly and has some relation to truth and the facts. What I do regret and object to is the way this is being done in Allahabad, because there appears to me very little truth and even less decency about the way in which this matter has been raised by the opponents of the Congress. I sometimes wonder if the people who talk about the Hindu Code Bill in Allahabad know anything about it or have even read it. That is the only charitable explanation I can put to the amazing falsehoods that are being uttered in this connection. To make an issue of the Hindu Code Bill is open to any one. But to carry on propaganda based on falsehoods and in the name of *Dharma* and religion does not become any responsible person. I am told that apart from the false statements being made all kinds of religious paraphernalia are being used to delude the public and prevent them from knowing the facts. This includes the use of Ganges water to make people take oaths in the name of *Dharma* in regard to the elections. This practice is entirely opposed to the whole conception of elections and is a culpable offence.

So far as the Hindu Code Bill is concerned, it consists of certain principles and a mountain of details. A very great part of it is mere codification. Hardly any part of it is a complete innovation. An attempt has been made in it to bring about a measure of uniformity keeping in view at the same time the different customs that have developed through the ages. There is nothing in it, so far as I know, and so far as many learned men in the Hindu Law and the *Shastras* have advised us, that is opposed to the basic principles of the Hindu Law or *Dharma*.

While the basic principles were generally approved by us for submission to Parliament, most of the details were under consideration and were liable to considerable change. As there was no time during the last session to proceed with this matter, it had perforce to be postponed. It cannot be taken up in the next session of Parliament which is going to be held in February next because that session will only deal with urgent financial and other matters, and controversial legislation will have to be avoided during this last session of this expiring Parliament. The Bill as it is cannot be carried on to the next Parliament. No pending Bill can be carried on. Therefore, new motions have to be made for new Bills in the new Parliament. So far as we are concerned, we have accepted the basic principles of this Bill. For the rest we shall have to give careful consideration. It is possible and I think desirable that a measure of this kind should be split up into different parts, each to be taken up separately in Parliament. That will mean new legislation for each part. That will have to be done in the normal way after full consultation.

So far as I am concerned, I am convinced that the progress of the Indian



people must be on all fronts—political, economic and social. All these are interrelated and backwardness in one leads to stagnation and a brake on others. That all-round progress must be related to modern conditions and should also be based on the genius and basic ideas which have governed India for a long time past. It is from this point of view that I consider a codification of Hindu Law necessary.

**GENERAL PERSPECTIVES**





## 1. Domestic Issues<sup>1</sup>

Q: What is the possibility of Part 'B' States turning into Part 'A' States? Where does the matter stand?

JN: As regards the demand for making part 'B' States as part 'A' States, there are certain technical difficulties in the way such as the rajpramukhs and the covenants. We want part 'B' States to be treated as part 'A' States, but the real difficulty is that in some of the part 'B' States there are no legislatures and the ministries are nominated. When the elected legislature comes into being in these States the position changes. There is certainly a possibility of appointing advisers to some of the 'B' States. The question has been considered, but in which States they will be appointed it cannot be said at present.

Q: Will the ban on the Communist Party in Hyderabad State be lifted now that the Communists have called off the Telengana struggle?

JN: I do not know the exact position and cannot say anything further on the matter.

Q: What do you think about the alleged corruption both in the Government and in the Congress?

JN: It is fantastic nonsense to talk too much about corruption. I am inclined to think other organizations are infinitely worse off than the Congress. If any case of corruption either in the Government or in the Congress is brought to my notice, I am prepared to inquire into it. We want to put an end to corruption. We have put an end to it to some extent.

I have little doubt that the Congress will sweep the forthcoming elections.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave has made certain criticisms of the Five-Year Plan of the Planning Commission.<sup>2</sup> There is no difference in principle between him

1. Interview to the press, Hyderabad, 15 December 1951. From the *National Herald*, 17 December 1951.
2. Speaking to R.K. Patil, member, Planning Commission, at Paunar on 10 August 1951, Vinoba Bhave said, "you took pledge of acquiring food self-sufficiency by 1951. When you find it unrealisable you start a Planning Commission which says that self-sufficiency is well-nigh impossible.... Do you ever imagine what would befall your country if war comes? Yours is a plan involving perpetual begging.... It cannot inspire anybody to produce more." He added, "you ask village industries to support themselves. You first cut off my feet and then want me to stand.... Village industries did not die themselves, they have deliberately been killed."



and the Commission. The difference is slightly on emphasis and slightly on the time-limit.

I have no doubt as a result of the talks Mr Bhave had with the Commission, the latter would consider the whole question afresh and lay greater stress on the aspects mentioned by him.

Q: How do you view the criticisms about the disparity of salaries among the Government officials?

JN: Salaries of Government servants are not as high as some people seem to imagine. In fact, I myself as Prime Minister, after deduction of all taxes, get only Rs. 1950 a month plus free housing, etc.

There has been some criticism about the Governors' and the President's salaries, but it should be remembered that they have to keep up their dignity and give large donations.

Perhaps the salary of our President is less than that of the head of a State anywhere else. Certainly, we should try to reduce the salaries as far as possible.

## 2. The Mind and Spirit of Man<sup>1</sup>

...It is good of you to ask me to speak, but I feel somewhat hesitant, and that is rather unlike me, but I do feel hesitant, because of the presence of very eminent friends, who have come from distant countries here, specialists and men and women of great experience, and for me to say anything about the great subject of your debate appears to me rather presumptuous.<sup>2</sup> If I had had the chance and the occasion to attend some of your sessions, I would have listened to what was said there, perhaps sometimes participated, put a question,

1. Address at the concluding session of the symposium on the Concept of Man and the Philosophy of Education in the East and the West, organised jointly by the UNESCO and the Ministry of Education, New Delhi, 20 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. The symposium inaugurated and presided over by Abul Kalam Azad on 13 December 1951, was attended by dignitaries from Afghanistan, France, Switzerland, Japan, U.K., U.S.A., Germany, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Italy and India.

but generally speaking, listened because I would have been anxious to find out what you have in your minds and that might have helped me to understand for myself some of the problems that confront us. Because most of us, I suppose, are burdened with this complexity of our present-day problems. We live our day-to-day lives and face our day-to-day difficulties, but somehow that is not enough. One seeks something behind that daily round to find out how we can improve basically. How we can solve these problems that affect the world; and the one whom fate and circumstance has placed in a position of great responsibility, it is particularly difficult for him to avoid thinking about these problems.

During the last few weeks, I have been going about this great country and seeing multitudes of human beings, my countrymen and countrywomen, surging masses, and always the thought has come to me, what is going to happen to these people? What are they thinking, and whether we are going in the same direction, because we are sailing in the same boat. And then I thought of other multitudes in other countries. What about these vast masses of human beings? Here we are, some of us functioning on the political plane and presuming to decide the fate of nations. How far do our decisions affect these multitudes? Do we think of them, or do we live in some upper stratosphere of diplomats and politicians and the like, exchanging notes, and sometimes using harsh words against each other. Politics in this context becomes rather trivial, in this mighty context of the world and vast masses of human beings and this tremendous phase of transition through which we are passing. So, I have no particular light to throw on the problems that you have been discussing. Rather I would like to put some of the difficulties that I have in my mind, and I hope that when I have the occasion to read all the reports of what you were saying to each other, perhaps those discussions might help me to understand some of these problems.

Now, one of my chief difficulties is this: somehow it seems to me that the modern world is getting completely out of tune with what I would call the life of the mind—I leave out for the moment the life of the spirit that may be an extension of the life of the mind. Yet, the modern world is entirely the outcome of the life of the mind. After all, it is the human mind that has produced everything that we see around us and feel around us. All of our proud civilization is a product of the human mind, and yet, strangely enough, one begins to feel that the function of the mind becomes less and less important in the modern world. Although there are great minds certainly, no doubt about it, but somehow, relatively speaking, mind counts far less. Mind may count for a great deal in specialized domains. It does as it accounts for great progress in those specialized domains of life, but generally speaking, in life itself, as a whole, mind counts for less and less. That is my impression. If that is true, then there is something radically wrong about the things that



we do, about the type of civilization that we are building up or we have built up. That is ever-changing. These are the changes which are so rapidly taking place, emphasizing other aspects of life and somehow preventing the mind from functioning as it should, and as perhaps it used to do in a more leisurely period of the world's history. Now, if that is true then, surely it is not a good outlook for the world, because the very basis on which our civilization has grown, on which man has risen step by step to the proud heights on which he stands today, the very foundation of that edifice, is shaken.

We talk about many things and they are important, and here I am in India, concerned above all with certain elementary, primary necessities of life for our people. I am concerned with such matters as food and clothing, shelter and housing for our people, with education and health for our people. Now, these are the primary necessities, and of course, unless you have those primary necessities, it seems to me rather futile to talk about the life of the mind or the life of the spirit. You can't talk of God to a starving person, you must give him food. So one has to deal with these primary necessities, it is true. Nevertheless, even in dealing with them one has some kind of ideal or objective in view. And if that ideal or objective somehow is devoid of or becomes less and less connected with the growth of the human mind, then there must be something wrong. I do not know if what I say is true. Whether you agree with it I do not know. Even if it is true, how has it come about?

Now, I am, if I may say so, a great admirer of the achievements of modern civilization, of the growth of science, and the applications of science and technological growth. I think they are tremendous and humanity has every reason to be very proud of them; and yet if those very achievements lessen the capacity for achievements in the future and that will happen, if the mind deteriorates, then surely there is something wrong about that process, and we have taken a wrong turning somewhere; because I suppose, it is obvious, that the mind ultimately should be dominant. I am not again mentioning the spirit, but that comes into the picture too. If the world suffers from mental deterioration as a whole, or from moral degradation, then something goes wrong with the very heart of civilization or culture; and while that civilization may last a considerable time, it grows less and less sound and ultimately it might crumble away. When I look back on periods of past history, which are very different of course, from our present age, but nevertheless of which certain periods are very outstanding, and they have shown great achievements of the human mind, while other periods have not. And one finds races achieving a high level, and then apparently fading away at least fading away, from the point of view of their achievements. And so I wonder, if something that led to that fading away of relatively high cultures is not happening today and producing an inner weakness in the structure of our modern civilization. Then the idea comes to me, what after all is the best environment which is likely to

produce the best type of human being? You talk about education, and that obviously is very important, but apart from the school or college education the entire environment that surrounds us naturally affects the development of the human being. What is the environment that has produced in the past these great ages of history? Do we have that type of environment basically? Are we going towards it or are we going away from it in spite of the great progress that we have made in many departments of human life? All these questions trouble me.

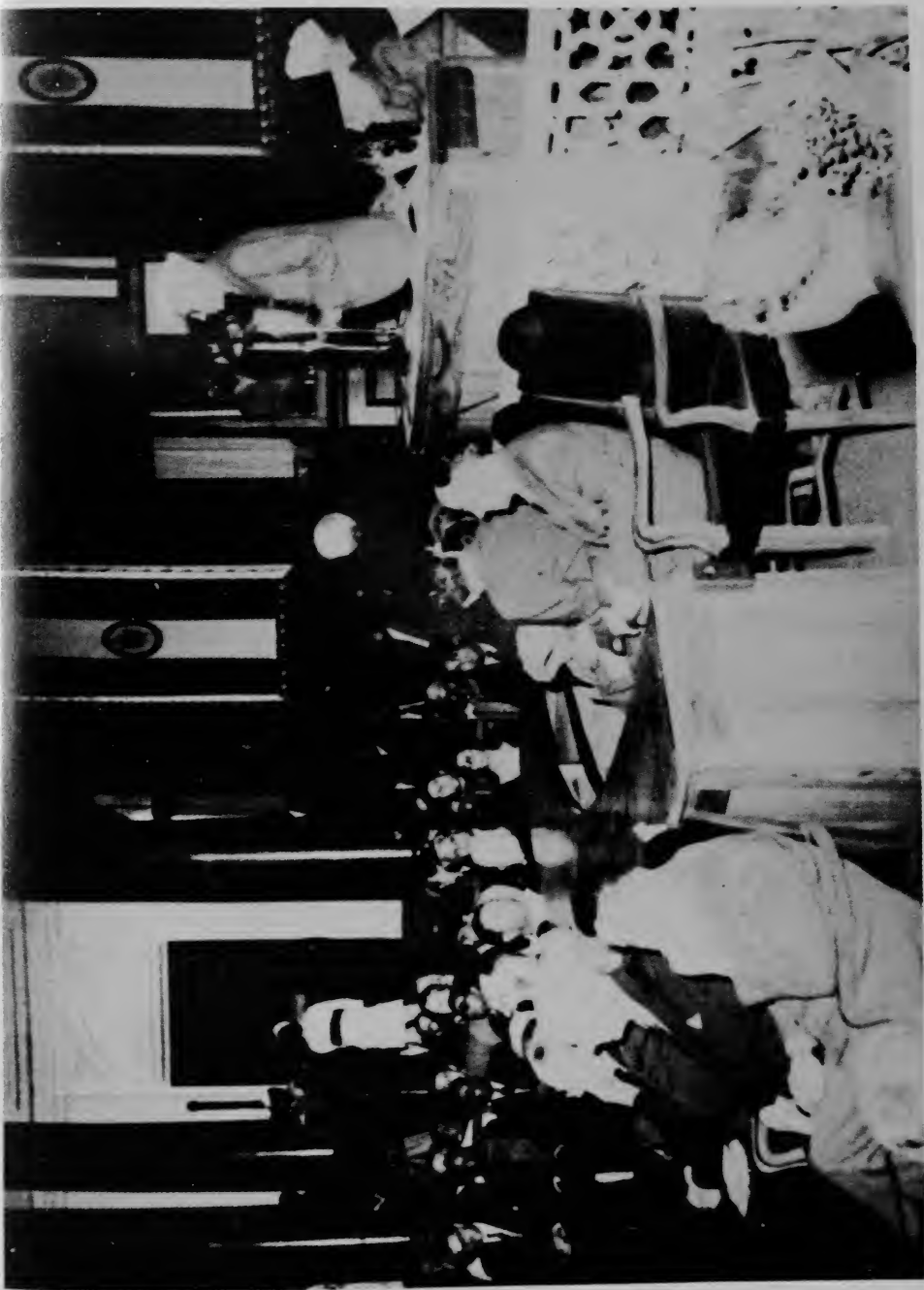
Well, I think of the Industrial Revolution that started, one hundred and seventy to two hundred years ago, and the enormous changes, largely for the good, I think, that this Industrial Revolution has brought about. That process, I take it, is continuing still and the tempo of change becomes faster and faster. Where is it leading us to? It has led us in one direction to great triumphs, in another to great wars, great conflicts and possibly greater conflicts, which threaten to engulf a large part of humanity and a common cataclysm. Now there is some essential contradiction about all this, the race between progress and building up and this other element which seeks to destroy and which is likely to destroy all that we have built up. We seem to believe, most of us, as if both were inevitable and we put up with them. Now, that seems to me very odd, that we should seek to build and at the same time look almost with equanimity on the possible destruction of all that we build when any reasonable or logical human being would think of preventing the destruction of what one has built. The destruction may be externally by war and the like. But what is perhaps much more dangerous, if it is true, is this inner destruction of the mind and spirit, after which the destruction of the outer emblems of the mind and spirit may also follow. Is it some resultant of this growth of the Industrial Revolution that is overreaching itself and toppling over, you might say? Have we lost touch with the roots that give strength to a race, to humanity or to the individual, just as perhaps, a city dweller loses touch with the soil, and sometimes even with the sun; and though he may live an artificial life, in comfort and even in luxury, there is something that he lacks, something that is vital to the human being, and he begins to live more and more an artificial life, cut off, if I may say so, from the soil and the sun and thereby lose his vitality and inner core. Is that so? I am merely putting these thoughts before you because they trouble me.

Again, I find that this growth of a mechanical civilization, which it is obvious has brought such great triumphs and has helped the world so much, gradually influences the mind and makes the mind mechanical also. The mind which produced the machine to help itself, gradually becomes the slave of that machine, and we become progressively as a race, mechanically-minded. Now, I suppose, the test of the growth of an individual or society is the extent to which it possesses creative imagination and courage. But above all, creative



imagination, if that creative imagination is lacking or grows less and less, then again it is a sign of decay. What then is happening today? Are we making efforts to improve or trying to remove that real cause of decay or are we merely functioning somewhere on the surface, without touching that reality which is afflicting the world? It may take the shape of political conflicts, or result in economic warfare and the like. But perhaps, it is even deeper than that. I sometimes wonder, and so when these discussions take place on the concept of man, the eastern ideal or the western, they are very interesting to me, from the historical point of view, and from a cultural point of view, although I have always resisted this idea of dividing the world into the Orient and the Occident. I think, that is a very simple way of saying something and thereby deluding ourselves by dividing it in compartments like this. I do not believe in any such divisions though I do think that there are differences, there have been differences in racial and national outlooks and ideals. The talk therefore about the East and the West has little meaning to me generally. The West, the modern West as it is, meaning thereby a great part of Europe, and the Americas had developed a certain type of civilization, more especially during the last two hundred years or so, and based no doubt on certain basic traditions derived from Greece or Rome or whatever. And now this tremendous industrial growth that has made the West what it is, is called scientific and industrial growth. Now, I can see the difference is between the industrialized country and the non-industrialized country, not between the East and the West as such. I think the difference, say between India and Europe, in the Middle Ages would not have been very great. There would have been differences just as differences between countries of the Orient. There are great differences between many of the great countries of Asia, between each other. To group them together, lump them together, and call them the Orient—the East; and then group the rest together and call them the West, I think that is a misleading approach as it prevents us from thinking correctly.

However, the differences had crept in largely or have been intensified by this progress of industrialization and mechanization, which has promoted material well-being tremendously and has therefore, been a blessing to humanity, though this has somehow been in the past. But, if not in the past, now perhaps, the mechanization is corroding the life of the mind and thereby encouraging a process of self-destruction. I am not talking or thinking about wars but, quite apart from it, I am talking about the rest. How are we to check this? We have seen in history—we have seen races go up and gradually fade away. As after the fading away of great periods in Asia, it came in Europe. We are witnessing some such thing or maybe it will not take effect in our life time. In the past, anyway, there was one great consolation that things happened in one particular part of the world. A part of the world may even have collapsed, well, the rest carried on. Now, the whole world hangs



ADDRESSING A SYMPOSIUM ON THE CONCEPT OF MAN, NEW DELHI, 20 DECEMBER 1951





AT THE SINDRI FERTILIZER FACTORY, 2 MARCH 1952

together in life or in death. So, if this civilization fades away or collapses, it takes practically the whole world with it. There is no part of it left, in a sense to survive, as in the old times it did. It may be that in what sometimes are called the Dark Ages of Europe they were however very bright ages in Asia of those days. It might have been in many parts of Asia, in China, in India, or in the Middle East or elsewhere. So that, in the old days if success or progress was very limited, disaster also was limited, both in extent and intensity. Today, when we have arrived at a period of great progress, we have also arrived at a period of great disaster. It is a little difficult for us to choose some middle way, in the sense, that we can have a little progress and possibly a limited disaster. Now can we avoid that disaster? That becomes a major question. And other idealistic conceptions of the concept of man, etc. become rather academic, although they are very important. At any rate, for a person, who has to carry a burden of responsibility, the practical aspects of this question trouble him greatly.

So I would have liked your conference to throw light on this question. Am I right in saying that the mental life of the world is in process of deterioration? Not chiefly I think, because the environment, that has been created by this development of the Industrial Revolution, does not leave time to individuals to think, does not give them that opportunity. Of course, there are many great thinkers today, I do not deny that, but it is quite likely that they might be submerged in the mass of unthinking humanity. There again, we come up against another thing and that is, we are dealing and talking a great deal about democracy, and I have little doubt that democracy is the best method that I can see of all the various methods available to us for the governance of human beings. At the same time, we are seeing today, by today I mean in the last decade or two decades, the emergence of democracy on a mass and somewhat uncontrolled way. Now when we think of democracy, we normally think of it in the rather limited phases of the nineteenth century or the early twentieth century. Now something has happened since then owing to this remarkable technological growth and meanwhile democracy has also spread in the sense of adult suffrage and the like, with the result that we have vast masses of human beings bred up by the Industrial Revolution who are not encouraged to or given the opportunity to think much. Living a life, from the point of physical comfort, is ever so much better than any previous generation has ever lived, but as I said, seldom are we thinking or seldom having the chance to think. Yet at the same time, it is that vast mass of human beings, that in a democratic system, ultimately governs or elects those who govern. Now are they likely to select the right persons more or less? That becomes a little doubtful and I think, it may be said without offence — and I certainly can say it without offence, because I belong to that tribe of politicians—that the quality of men who are selected by this modern democratic



method of adult suffrage is gradually deteriorating. There are outstanding individuals chosen, no doubt, but their quality deteriorates because of this gradual lack of thinking. At the same time, the application of these modern methods of propaganda, the noise of the machine, of advertisements, prevent man from thinking. He only reacts to sound, reacts to a din, reacts to repetition, and then he turns out to be either a dictator or a dumb politician, who is insensitive and who can survive everything, and still remain standing on his two feet. Therefore, he gets elected in the end, as the others have collapsed in the din. It is an extraordinary state of affairs. It is all very well for us to praise the growth of democracy, and I am all for it. But the point I wish to make is not in regard to democracy but rather to the fact that modern life does not encourage the life of the mind. If it is so, that the life of the mind is not encouraged, then it inevitably follows that civilization deteriorates, humanity deteriorates, and ultimately, well, both collapse in some great cataclysm, or just fade away.

So I would like the very eminent delegates of this conference who have come here, to help me to find some answers to these doubts and difficulties, which arise in my mind, and I suppose, not in my mind only, but in the minds of large numbers of people elsewhere also.

### 3. Looking Forward and Backward<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Sir, I have listened with attention and respect to a number of speeches delivered here on this motion and when I was not present unfortunately, owing to other preoccupations, I took the trouble to read the report of the speeches delivered. Many kind words have been said by Members about the Address and about the work of Government, and many less kind words have also been said. The President's Address, coming from that high office, nevertheless, as the House well knows, is a statement on the part of the Government and represents in dignified and restrained language the general

1. Speech in the course of debate on the motion of thanks to the President for his Address to the Parliament, 12 February 1952. *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, Vol.I, Pt.II, 5 to 29 February 1952, cols.303-319. Many interruptions have not been published but three dots indicate their occurrence.

outlook and policy of the Government in regard to the matters before the country.

As the President said in his Address we have met under rather unusual circumstances, and this House itself in the course of this session is not likely to consider any matter of controversy. We have to carry on because government have to carry on whatever happens and so we have to cover this interregnum between this Parliament and the next, although this Parliament is in its last stages and the new one is in the the process of birth. Naturally, at a moment like this, one is torn by two kinds of emotions: one is of reminiscence as one looks back at what has been done, and the other is to look forward and try to peep through the veil of the future.

It is natural I suppose for many Members to make special reference to the general elections. Although, important as they are, they do not touch the problems before the country, as the honourable Member who has just sat down said these general elections have been a tremendous experience for all of us here and, if I may say so, for millions of our people. It may be easy to criticize many things that have happened during these elections but I think it is generally recognized in this country as well as abroad that this tremendous experiment has been a great success, and while we congratulate the organizations that worked these elections, as we should, I think, ultimately we should congratulate with all respect the people of India who carried them through. And though some of us may be pleased and some of us may be displeased with some aspects of these elections or the results, I think by and large we will be completely justified in saying that these elections represented, at the time those votes were given, the mind of India. We may not like parts of that mind here and there, there may have been irregularities as some Members had pointed out, but generally speaking they do represent the mind of India then. It may be that six months later the mind of India changes; it may be that people gave their votes under some particular stress, under some particular influence, if you like, or some particular desire to, shall I say, give expression to their displeasure or pleasure and they may change it later; but it is a fair indication of the mind of India and it is a fair indication of the various forces at work in India, forces which were covered up more or less and which we could not see properly even though close observers might have guessed that those forces were growing and spreading. These elections bring many lessons for us and if we are wise we shall learn them and fashion ourselves accordingly.

I do not wish to say much about these elections, but reference has been made to certain irregularities, etc. I think many of us probably think that even the rules governing these elections, which this Parliament passed, are capable of improvement to simplify these elections somewhat and no doubt when the time comes this will be done.



Some particular points were mentioned by the Member who preceded me and I think they are worthy of notice and consideration.<sup>2</sup> For instance, it is said—I am not personally aware of it—that in some places the ballot boxes could be opened. Obviously, if it is true, it is a matter worthy of enquiry. Personally, I entirely agree with him that as far as possible it should be arranged that counting should take place immediately after polling without any gap period. Of course, everybody would agree with that. Difficulties arise because of lack of persons for doing it and this was the first election. I have no doubt that on the next occasion many of these defects could be got over.

Another thing was brought to my notice—I do not think it was mentioned here—that it is not very difficult to remove the label, the symbol, from the box. Whatever the symbol of the candidate may be it is not difficult to remove it, put something else, so that the whole process....

I do not wish to say anything to the discredit of the election machinery. These are odd incidents. I know personally of a case where a clerk was seen removing one label and trying to put another. He was caught by his officer. If you do it once, it will not have that effect, but if you do it twice, you get the wrong voting in that box. All these things must necessarily be enquired into.

The speech of one honourable Member, Mr Kamath, I read very carefully, because he did me the honour of mentioning me on several occasions. His speech, if I may say so, rather fell below the level of high debate in this House and hardly referred to any of the important matters. He was more concerned with his own particular election and with the misfortune that befell him there.

Kamath: I did not speak of my misfortune; I spoke of my experience in Madhya Pradesh.

JN: That is what I am saying too. His experience is no doubt of very great importance to him and I earnestly hope he will learn from that experience but perhaps it is not of any great importance to this House.

First of all, the honourable Member referred with great surprise in the course of a question as well as in his speech to the fact that whenever I have gone on tour, whatever the nature of that tour may be, information is sent to the various officers there. Well, I am sorry that Mr Kamath is so unaware of the normal practice of Government. When a Minister goes anywhere—privately, publicly, secretly, furtively—information has to be sent to various authorities, because he has to keep in touch with his work. He may be required at any

2. Syama Prasad Mookerjee made serious allegations about malpractices and irregularities that took place during the general elections.

moment; papers may have to be sent to him; telegrams may have to be sent to him. So, it is a fixed rule that whenever a Minister goes on tour that information must be sent to a large number of persons concerned with Government work, because the work of Government is presumed to be carried on and if any emergency arises, he may be contacted immediately. That applies—if I may say so—far more to the Prime Minister than possibly to other Ministers....

Then the honourable Member said something about officials accompanying me during my tour of the country recently. I am not aware exactly to what he referred to. I take it that the honourable Member realises that the Prime Minister does not gather prestige from petty officials who may be round about him. The fact of the matter is that, as perhaps many honourable Members know, wherever I went there was some kind of human upheaval. Millions — or at least half a million or a quarter million — of people came and this involved enormous problems of organization, law and order and the rest. The officers did not come for my sake; I was not interested in them. They were concerned with the problems that arise when a whole city is flooded by a population probably three times the population of that city or rural area. I hardly came in contact with the officers except occasionally. Sometimes it so happened that when I went to a place and I had some leisure, I discussed the affairs of that particular place: I never mentioned anything about the elections to them.

But the real thing was that this tour of mine has been an amazing experience for me and I think for large numbers of other people. When these vast gatherings take place the whole administration in that area is affected very greatly, and if they are not dealt with on the spot, all kinds of difficulties might arise.

The honourable Mr Kamath referred to what he called a special envoy I sent to his constituency. Well, to begin with, the Prime Minister sent no special envoys anywhere.

As Prime Minister, I sent nobody anywhere. As the Congress President, I sent one hundred thousand people moving all over the country....

I regret to say that I did not think the honourable Member's constituency was so important for me to visit, although I visited many places in India. The honourable Member is so irrepressible that I believe he imagines things and I fear that many of the things he mentioned in his speech in regard to his own constituency may have been the echoes of his own fears.

I cannot evidently deal with rumours, in regard to what a person said or did not say. I do not know anything about it but I have no doubt that in these vast elections — in fact I have referred to them elsewhere — many things have been said which were grossly improper, but I do not want to take up the time of the House in discussing these petty details of these elections. But I do agree with what the honourable Dr Mookerjee said that we should look at the



elections as a whole. I have myself had certain complaints and I sent them to the Election Commissioner, who had received them directly also, but on some occasions it was not possible for the Election Commissioner to deal with every complaint that was received. He told me that he did not have the staff for the purpose. I said that wherever possible we would help in supplying the staff. I believe, I am certain, that what could be done was done. We left it entirely in the hands of the Election Commissioner to do what he thought fit to prevent abuses. It would not have been proper for us to intervene in any other way. Wherever there is a serious complaint, I hope it will be examined, but what is more important is this, that the elections as a whole should be looked into to see what defects have been observed and could be remedied, because I entirely agree with the honourable Member that it is highly important to see that the process of democratic elections does not fail. If it fails, of course, democracy itself fails.

Now, I referred to the elections, but really what I should have liked to say to this House was about the bigger problems that face us. Even though this particular House may not deal with them, the country continuously faces them and we in another capacity, many of us, will continue to deal with them. The President refers in his Address to foreign affairs; international relations. I should like to say a few words about them, because there are some people in this country who often criticize our foreign policy, though, I believe, that criticism grows less and less as it becomes more and more obvious that this foreign policy has justified itself. We have been told often enough that we have no friends in the world, but that has been a strange misreading of current events or happenings in the rest of the world. I do claim that we have not only friends but that we are friendly with every country in the world, and what is more, that those countries, big and small, whether they agree with us or disagree with us in a particular policy that we might adopt, look to us, if I may say so, with a certain respect, because one thing is recognized — that we decide for ourselves, sometimes perhaps not rightly in their opinion, but we do decide for ourselves and we try to pursue a line of policy which we consider right and not something which is imposed upon us from outside. That has come to be generally recognized, and therefore the respect for India is growing, and I think it would be worthwhile, if it was possible for honourable Members to take a tour of the world and then find out how India stands in the eyes of the world, in the eyes of the common people of the world.

I do say that they will discover in that voyage of discovery that the common people of the world hold India and India's policy in high respect, even though sometimes they do not like it or agree with it. Is that a small achievement for a country newly coming to the international field? We have passed through stormy weather, both internationally and nationally, and we have thrived to the best of our ability to keep on an even keel. We have not



perhaps been dramatic about it. We have not behaved as some people believe we should behave in foreign affairs or in domestic policy and as we ourselves have behaved when we were an agitational party or group, because what may be convenient for an agitational group in the market place may not be suitable or fitting at present.... I do not think that in any vital matter we have changed that policy or that outlook, though we have to adapt it to changing circumstances. When we speak or the President speaks in a restrained and dignified way, I have seen comments made that it is flat and stale, that there is no fire of the market place in it. Of course not. The Address of the President of the great Republic of India has to be in a dignified and restrained way. The Government of India speaks and I hope acts in a dignified way, in a restrained way, but we have to look not at the restrained way but at the contents of what is said or done. The President refers to the upheavals in the Middle East, in North Africa, in Western Asia, in a dignified and restrained way, saying what we feel about it....and what still influences us. We have not changed, but we have to deal with the situation in a different way not by passing a resolution in the Ramlila Grounds in Delhi. Governments do not pass resolutions in that way. Yet sometimes some honourable Members and some gentlemen of the press imagine that because our tone is somewhat different, therefore we have weakened about anything. I would beg the House to look round the world for a few moments — the problem of Korea, the whole Far East problem, the problem of the Middle East, Iran, Egypt, Tunisia, the problem of Central Europe and the rearmament of Germany. In all the arguments that have been going on in the United Nations, tremendous problems, difficult problems, in which great countries are involved, the force of circumstances has been such that those great countries have had to whittle down their policies, sometimes, if I may say so with all respect, to climb down from their perch. They have to. Let not honourable Members get into imagining that the Government of India should sit on a high perch and deliver homilies to the whole world, threatening the world, perhaps, with some consequences if they do not carry out India's behests. They do not say it in so many words, but the policy they advocate leads to it—that they should take charge of the world, whether it is Africa or Asia or anywhere else. That surely would not only be gross presumption on India's or any country's part but it would be completely out of keeping with the way responsible Governments function. In spite of these great problems in Asia and Africa and Europe it is no small achievement that we are friendly—and when I say 'friendly' I am not speaking in some formal language but in the real sense of the word—our relations are friendly with those great countries who on another plane appear to be in conflict with each other. It is an astonishing achievement that we have their confidence and that we respect their confidence although we do not agree with this or that matter with which they are bound up.



The honourable Member, Dr Mookerjee, referred to Kashmir. And I want to be perfectly frank with this House about it. The questions he put are certainly difficult questions, but that is no reason why we should not be frank with each other and frank with the country. Although we cannot of course shout out from the housetops every governmental activity—there are secrets of Government, not so much secrets of ours but secrets of others, of other countries, which we have to keep—I do believe that the right policy with our own people is a policy of absolute frankness with them. They respect that frankness. And in regard to this matter of Kashmir the question comes up again and again, and some honourable Member<sup>3</sup> put it forward “withdraw this case from the United Nations or the Security Council,” or, as the honourable Member said something about one-third of the territory there “If you cannot get it by this means, adopt other methods.” What does all this mean? Let us be clear about it. What does “withdrawal of the case” mean? How does one withdraw a case? Have honourable Members thought of that? Is it that we send a letter to the United Nations? “We withdraw our case, we have had enough of you?” What exactly does that mean? It means that there is no method of withdrawal in that sense. It can only mean, ultimately, our breaking with the United Nations. It is not a question of just withdrawing, possibly, some resolutions or some motion put before the House—“withdrawn by leave of the House.” First of all, where is the leave? It cannot be done. Of course, as an independent country we can tell them. “We have nothing more to do with you.” It is open to us to do that and take the consequences of the same. But there is no question of withdrawal of anything that is seized. And suppose we did not go there, somebody else goes and we are pulled up. So it cannot be done. We are there not only because of, if I may say so, the obvious compulsion of events, but I say we are there through our voluntary choice also. We went there voluntarily. Nobody forced us to go there. And whether we went there or not, if I may say so, if we had not gone there, the question would have gone there otherwise. Do not imagine that the question would have remained in mid-air.

Now, having gone there and respecting the idea of a world organization dealing with such matters, it is right that we should remain there even though sometimes things happen which we dislike. We have made it perfectly clear that something which is contrary to our honour, to our commitments to the people of Kashmir or to our own people we are not going to agree to, and nobody is going to impose that upon us. That is one thing. But short of that we are going to pursue this to the end, however long it may take, because the way of peace is always the better and the shorter way, however long it may

3. Syama Prasad Mookerjee.



seem, and the way of war is not only the longer way but no way at all to solve a problem. And when the honourable Member, Dr Mookerjee, tells me "adopt other methods to do this" he talks of the way of war, because these are the only other methods that he is referring to. There is no other way. And does the honourable Member think that by adopting that method we are going to solve this problem of Kashmir? Does he think that by saying good-bye to the United Nations and adopting this method we shall be serving the cause of our own country or the cause of the people of Kashmir or the cause of the people in the world? I put it to the House. It is not so. We will solve no problem except that we will get into enormous difficulties everywhere and we may injure other people a lot, but we will injure ourselves in the process terribly and everything we have stood for will not only receive a shock but may possibly also suffer for a generation. It is not a small matter. We have to act and speak in a responsible way when we deal with these difficult situations.

In a military sense we are, compared to the great countries of the world, weak. We have—and I am proud of it—fine Defence Services, a fine Army, a fine Navy and a small but fine Air Force. And I want to tell this House—and not formally but with intimate knowledge, because I meet our young men in our Army, Navy and Air Force—that they are a very fine lot of young men. Here may I remind the House of a recent accident,<sup>4</sup> something that might have been a terrible disaster but which only a miracle averted from being so. It took place, and that young man the Flight Commander<sup>5</sup> who was in charge of that aircraft behaved with amazing calmness and courage. We have fine human material, but compared to the great countries we are not a military power, we are a weak country. But look at the great military powers today, the biggest. When they get entangled in war it is not easy to get out of it. They do not know what to do. See what is happening in Korea: interminable truce talks. Because the fact of the matter is that every country involved in it is tired of that war. And rightly so. They want peace. They do not think in terms of their great armed might and say "by other methods let us solve it." Because there is no solution that way. There is only an extension of trouble and conflict and disaster that way. So for us to talk loosely about these "other methods" is not a wise thing to do.

S.P. Mookerjee: It was your language on another occasion.

4. A seven-seater I.A.F. aeroplane with Lt. Gen. S.M. Shrinagesh, Maj. Gen. S.P.P. Thorat, Maj. Gen. K.S. Thimayya, Maj. Gen. Chopra, Brig. Shardanand Singh and Brig. Ajaib Singh had met with an accident near Sandila within fifteen minutes of taking off from Amausi airport in the U.P. on 3 February 1952.
5. Suhas Biswas, with an experience of 1800 flying hours, was the first I.A.F. officer to be awarded Ashoka Chakra Class I and was at this time staff officer at the I.A.F. Operational Command.



JN: I used that language, the honourable Member will remember, when a grave crisis arose in East and West Bengal. Obviously, nobody here I presume, however peacefully inclined he may be, can rule out other methods when certain contingencies arise. It is obvious....

But I am referring to the present position in Kashmir when we find Kashmir—that part of it which is under the Kashmir Government today—making remarkable progress economically, socially, politically, all that is happening there. And for us to put an end to all this and rush ourselves into war would be a breach of our pledge to the United Nations, and no country likes to be held up before the wide world as a breaker of pledges.

Then, the honourable Member<sup>6</sup> referred to certain incidents in Jammu recently where there was trouble, and said that their views should be respected.<sup>7</sup> Certainly their views should be respected although it so happens that these views which are put forward in terms of closer union with India mean a break up of Kashmir completely. They know it; they have been told so. A fundamental axiom about Kashmir by which we have stood is this; that the people of Jammu and Kashmir will decide their future. That is the basic thing. We are not going to decide by war or by any method of coercion. We will not allow any power to decide it by coercion or war. If the people of Kashmir are going to decide it as a whole, the question is to give them an opportunity to do so. If a certain small group in Kashmir wants to compel and coerce others to decide it according to their wishes — it is open to them peacefully and constitutionally to give expression to their wishes in the Constituent Assembly of Kashmir — if they want to do this in any other way, the only way to meet it for any Government is not to permit them to create trouble. I was surprised and amazed when the honourable Member referred to some people he met yesterday who had come from Jammu. I have not met them. But, I know something, perhaps a little more than the honourable Member, not as the Prime Minister, but in my other capacities, about the internal conditions in Kashmir and Jammu province. I know about this particular movement rather thoroughly.<sup>8</sup> I know of no movement in India, which is so thoroughly misconceived and mischievous as this movement in Jammu which is so entirely opposed to the interests not only of Kashmir and Jammu, not

6. Syama Prasad Mookerjee.

7. Students in Jammu were lathi-charged when they protested against the hoisting of the flag of the National Conference at an official function on 15 January 1952 by Shaikh Abdullah. On 8 February, the army was called out to disperse a crowd of over 2,000 demonstrators led by local Praja Parishad leaders who were protesting against the severe punishment meted out to students on 15 January.

8. The reference is to the Praja Parishad Movement started by the Dogras of Jammu in November 1947 for achieving the full integration of Jammu and Kashmir with the Indian Union and for safeguarding the democratic rights of the people of Jammu.



only of India, but to every interest that we stand for. It amazes me that people, in the name of India, in the name of union with India, should work in a way to injure India, injure Kashmir and to give help to and encourage the enemies of India. Surely there must either be something wrong about their thinking apparatus, or what they say they do not mean. It is not a question of students at all.

Then, the honourable Member referred to the flags. I do not quite understand why he should refer to that with the warmth that he did. At every Union function, our flag is honoured in Kashmir. Undoubtedly it is honoured everywhere. But, Kashmir has got a flag of its own; or if you like, it has two flags at the present moment. There is the Maharaja's flag and there is the Kashmir popular movement's flag. There are two flags which they display on various occasions. When the Yuvaraj is there, his flag is displayed. The popular movement displays its flag. You want us to go down and say, 'Put an end to all this'. Why should we? These things are left to various developments as things grow. And specially at the present moment, when the matter is being considered on the international plane, for us to do anything like that would immediately mean again pushing ourselves in, imposing our will, and that is wrong.

Then, coming finally to his question about the one-third part of Kashmir, what we have said is that one-third part of Kashmir in constitutional law is a part of the Jammu state and therefore sovereignty abides in the present Government of Kashmir. But we have said that, and we have said that so clearly, although we claim that and although ultimately it will be decided by the people of Kashmir, even in regard to that, we are not going to take to military measures to recover it. We have made that perfectly clear. Let there be no doubt about that. If others take military measures, we shall meet them whatever the consequences may be. Even though we claim that part, even though it rightly and legally belongs to the present Government, we do not propose to settle that issue by armed might but by peaceful methods. But, there is another aspect of this question, because these questions are not merely legal and constitutional. When the time comes for decision to be taken about that part as well as other parts, we do not propose, and I am sure the Kashmir Government would agree with us in that, to impose any decision by bayonet or by gun. It is the people who will decide.

Another fact has to be borne in mind. In the course of the last three or four years since this Kashmir trouble arose, all kinds of inner changes have taken place partly due to certain migrations of population and partly due to other developments which make the questions not quite so simple as it might appear to be. All that has to be considered. Personally I should like proper conditions for a plebiscite in Kashmir. Not because I have any doubt about that. I think the Constituent Assembly at the present moment is perfectly



entitled to decide. In fact the very process of election has shown which way it looks. It does not contain any representative from that part of Kashmir State, naturally, which is in the hands of Pakistan. I should like a proper Constituent Assembly—this is a proper one; when I said proper, I meant addition of other people to it—to decide this. If there are difficulties in that, I want a plebiscite to be held as early as possible all over the State and let that plebiscite decide. I have no shadow of a doubt about what it will decide. I want to put an end to all these questions in a peaceful way, in a right way, so that it may not leave trails of bitterness behind, and feelings of revenge of its being imposed and so on and so forth. Because the honourable Member put this question to me about Kashmir, I have ventured to answer it.

One thing, lastly. He mentioned about Dr Graham. When the Security Council passed the resolution which, *inter alia* appointed Dr Graham, we made it perfectly clear that we were not accepting that resolution and we were not bound by that resolution, because it contained many matters with which we totally disagreed. It contained many other matters to which we had no objection. But, still we said that we did not accept that resolution and we would not act up to it. But, we said this, and we repeated it, that we have not the slightest objection to Dr Graham or any one else coming to India and that we would gladly not only treat him with courtesy, but discuss the subject of Kashmir with him, if he came to discuss it, if you like, as a mediator, but that we would not discuss or act up to the resolution of the Security Council. We have followed that course throughout. When Dr Graham was here, if I may say so to the House, Dr Graham did not once refer to the Security Council resolution; that is, as if it was not there. He did not mention it even. The question did not arise. We discussed other matters. Whether we agreed or not is another matter. He discussed the question as a mediator, making suggestions; with some we agreed and with regard to others we pointed out our objections and there the matter ended. He went back and presented a report which was merely a factual report. Then other things happened and there were other discussions there and we sent our representatives. In the course of these discussions a certain plan which came to be known as the Devers<sup>9</sup> Plan<sup>10</sup> was shown rather informally, to our military advisers there, not by Dr Graham, but by his military advisers. That plan represented some kind of an intermediate stage, and there was much in that plan to which we have no objection, and we were prepared to discuss and possibly vary it. But then it transpired that

9. General Jacob L. Devers (1887-1979); U.S. General and military adviser to Graham.

10. The Devers plan of 29 November 1951, which was acceptable to India, envisaged stationing of 21,000 India troops, inclusive of 6,000 members of State militia on the Indian side, and 7,600 troops including both regular Pakistani troops and the civilian armed forces, on the Pakistan side of the border. There was no mention of the Gilgit Scouts in the plan.



Dr Graham himself did not press it forward and there was no further discussion and there the matter ended. Long afterwards a paper was published by the U.N. Secretariat containing the "Devers Plan" which was something far more than what we had seen or which had been mentioned to us.<sup>11</sup> And naturally we referred to this matter and we asked our representatives there whether they had seen it. They had not and so we asked our representative B.N. Rau, who happened to be in Delhi and he said, "I have never seen it", but he had seen that part of it which had been shown to us and which has been published as a U.N. document as an annex to Dr Graham's second report to the Security Council. That B.N. Rau had seen and there it is for anyone to see. But B.N. Rau told us that he had never seen this other "Plan". We sent for our military adviser who was there at the time, and who was back here—Gen. Thimayya—and he said he had never seen it. Therefore it was quite clear to us that the addendum to the Devers' Plan was not shown to us. And Dr Graham, not being a direct party to these talks, did not himself know, and possibly he might have made a mistake. Anyhow, this is what happened.

And now the Security Council has again given a certain period to Dr. Graham to continue his conversations and to attempt to find out a solution. In pursuance of our policy with regard to a further attempt being made, we have no objection....and so if Dr Graham comes here now we have no objection. He can come. We want to solve this problem. I can understand the irritation of honourable Members of this House at the prolongation of this business, just as they feel about the continuance of the Portuguese and French possessions in India; that these irritating little footholds should continue to come in our way. Nevertheless we decided to pursue, there too, the way of patience and of peace because we know they are bound to come to us. Why should we create trouble for ourselves and others by trying to expedite that process by other methods?

Now, I should have liked really to have talked to this House and drawn the attention of this House to certain constructive activities of the country, because I do feel that enough attention not only of this House, but of the country is not drawn to those activities. I remember, in other countries, when something of this kind is done, there is the tremendous propaganda machine which begins to work all over and everybody talks about it, saying that the country is going ahead, that it is progressing, that this thing has been built

11. A new plan, purporting to be the original Devers plan of 29 November 1951, was published and circulated as a Security Council document on 21 January 1952. It provided for: (i) stationing of 10,000 troops on the Pakistan side and 14,000 troops on the Indian side; (ii) presence of Gilgit Scouts on Pakistan side to which there was no reference earlier, and (iii) completion of demilitarization by 15 July 1952, and induction into office of the Plebiscite Administrator on that day.



and that. But in this country, while something on a bigger scale—perhaps three or four times as big as what is done in the other country is done, the only occasion when it comes up before this House normally is when some criticism is made as to how much money has been spent on it. Of course, it is right that this House should carefully check this kind of expenditure. That is perfectly right. But I should like this House also to consider that this country is going ahead with magnificent enterprises. We have been building up in this country those great river valley schemes about which the House knows, and also the great Sindri fertilizer factory. Now it is said that money was wasted and there was delay over this fertilizer factory. You can examine it and you can punish the man, cut off the head of the man. That is another matter....

But what I want is to call the attention of the House to this building up of a new India which is taking place all over, and that too under the most tremendous difficulties and strains. Take the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works which have grown up and are producing locomotives. Take the Hindustan aircraft factory and so many other things. There are those magnificent national laboratories which are producing very fine results apart from laying the foundation of our future progress. It is a long list and I would like the House and the country to know about these. But somehow our minds are concentrated on certain negative aspects and on finding out — as of course, we should—whether we have erred. We certainly should do that, but I think it is also right that we should think of the achievements that are taking place in the country.

Well, it is said that comparisons are bad and one should not compare—and certainly as Foreign Minister I do not like to compare my country with another country—but it would be interesting if this House and honourable Members sometimes compare the past three or four years in this country with what has happened in other countries, in Asia, Europe or America—barring none of them. You may compare the circumstances under which we have functioned, the context of things after independence and the partition and these migrations and all that, and see what has been achieved here, in the realm of foreign policy, in the realm of domestic policy, in the realm of building up a structure in this huge country, and compare it with any other country. I do not mean to say that we are superior to other countries. That kind of vainglorious approach is wrong. But I think when you compare these, you will find that we have done rather well, and we have done much better than most countries. We hear so much talk about corruption in this country. Let us meet this corruption and this black-marketing with the severest measures that we can devise. I agree to that. But compare all this with other countries. See the state of the world, the state of other countries, see some of them going down, some of the biggest and most powerful countries. And I think

you will come to the conclusion that we as a Parliament, we as a Government, we as a people, can hold up our heads high before the world.

Dr Mookerjee referred to hundreds of thousands of people from Pakistan—I mean from East Pakistan—coming and voting and being urged by the Pakistan authorities to vote for the Congress. I really am astonished to hear this statement. I do not know what proof he has, but it so happened that we enquired from Dr Roy about the border areas and he said it is true that some few people might have come across the border as the people there come and go. But this large-scale statement of hundreds of thousands of people coming and voting, I cannot understand. Of course, only those can vote whose names are on the electoral rolls. They cannot suddenly come up, vote and go away. Maybe some on the rolls might have crossed over and come back again. Possibly that might have happened. And as regards the other statement that the Pakistan authorities sent them to vote for the Congress, that is one for which there can be no justification, it is sheer guesswork.







WITH A DISPLACED SANTHAL NEAR CHITTARANJAN, 2 MARCH 1952

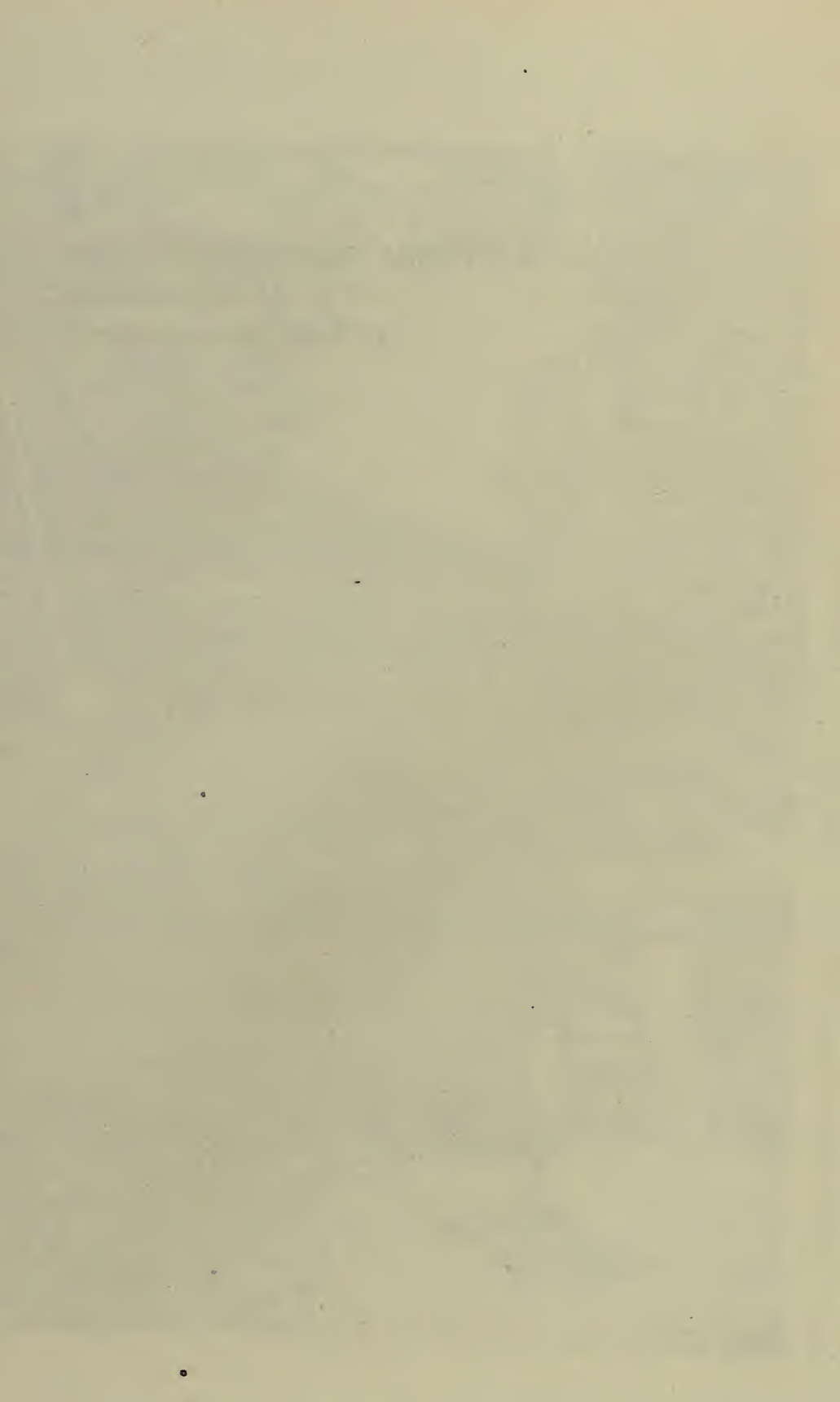




AT THE CONVOCAION OF VISHVA BHARATI, SANTINIKETAN, 3 MARCH 1952

**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION****I. The Economy****(i) Food and Agriculture**





## 1. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 7, 1951

My dear Kher,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 7th November about gram policy.<sup>3</sup> We have previously discussed this matter on many occasions and we shall discuss it again, as desired by you. If I may say so, the matter is not quite so simple as would appear from your letter. The policy of decontrol<sup>4</sup> did a great deal of harm to some of the producing areas like the U.P. and Rajasthan and was fiercely objected to by them. But I will not go into arguments at this stage. I am referring your letter to the Food Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(107)/50-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay.
3. B.G. Kher complained that a ban on free movement of gram from surplus-producing areas to scarcity areas like Bombay had led to blackmarketing of the commodity. He wanted complete decontrol and free movement of gram within the country.
4. Between November 1947 and July 1948.

## 2. Food Habits during Shortage<sup>1</sup>

My dear Chief Minister,

Your letter of October 27. I am distressed to learn of the food situation in Madras.<sup>2</sup> I understand, however, that there has been some little improvement owing to the recent rains. The Centre will certainly help you as much as it can, but I confess I do not understand people advising us continuously to import more and more rice from abroad. We are getting the utmost we can get and continuously trying to get more.

1. This letter to the Chief Minister of Madras State was released to the press on 7 November 1951. From *The Hindu*, 8 November 1951.
2. Madras Province being a food-deficit area for over a century, was worst affected with the stoppage of rice imports from Burma, Thailand and other East Asian countries during the Second World War. The statutory rationing in urban areas was gradually reduced from 16 ounces in 1943-44 to 10 ounces in 1948. The situation further deteriorated in 1951 due to the failure of monsoons.



Far from the Burma rice crop having been good this year, the Burmese Prime Minister told me that it was below their expectations. Indeed, he wanted us to permit him to reduce the quota allotted to us (three and a half lakh tons of rice). I did not agree with this. This itself shows that there should not be much room for an increase in that quantity. I argued this matter with the Burmese Prime Minister and told him of our grave difficulties.

You tell me of the widespread discontent in Madras because of the short supply of rice. We shall do our best for you but we simply cannot supply you with the normal quantities of rice required by you and it is no good deluding ourselves or the people if a thing is not available anywhere and no amount of discontent will make it available. I suppose we shall have to learn through the hard school of experience that food habits must be changed when necessity demands it.

You point out that the next year might be yet more difficult. We should certainly plan ahead. But no amount of planning can enable us to get the quantity of rice from abroad which might be required here. The real planning should be in terms of changing the food habits. Every country in Europe has been forced to do that during the war and after. We cannot for long live in an unreal world which does not take cognizance of the facts of the situation.

I am sending your letter to the Food Minister and we shall do our best to help you. But I do wish your Government and the people of Madras to realize what the situation is and not imagine that it is due to any lapse on our part that we cannot get or provide for more rice.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. The Scope for Agricultural Growth<sup>1</sup>

Mr President,<sup>2</sup> Gentlemen,

I was listening to the various announcements of prizes for the production of wheat, grain, potatoes and mangoes which shows the tremendous difference between the usual rate of production and this special effort to increase it. It is obvious that this special effort can be made by others too. There is a tremendous potential for progress in this. Anyhow, I am happy that you have given me this opportunity of coming here today and to hear about the activities of the

Speech at a convocation of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, New Delhi, 19 December 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L. (Original in Hindi).

2. K.M. Munshi, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture.

Agricultural Research Council and also to meet some of the people who are engaged in this task.

Many people are being trained here and they will go out to do this work. Ultimately, of all the tasks that have to be done this is the most important one for which this Council was created. Recently we have drawn up a Five Year Plan which you can see, or even without looking at any plan, if you look at the situation in India today, you will find that the basis of our progress lies in the production of more food from our own land. I am daily becoming more convinced that even if we neglect some other area for a while, there should be no shortages in this field. It is obvious that very good work is being done here. It is also obvious that we have examples before us of how the work ought to be done. It is obvious from the example of the people who have received awards and prizes that all these achievements are possible, though the scale of such achievement may not be the same everywhere. They have been able to produce 1300 pounds of grain which may seem enormous. Even if everyone cannot produce that much, the production can certainly be increased. It is a peculiar thing that the average production of wheat per acre in this country is 7 ½ maunds and the gentleman who has got the prize has produced 59 maunds. There is a wide chasm between the two. I agree that he could produce 59 maunds only with great effort and care. But still the difference between 7 ½ and 59 maunds is too much. It is also true that 7 ½ maunds per acre is the average for infertile land with no irrigation facilities. Though I have not received any prize, but without too much effort, 35 maunds were produced from one acre in my house. I am amazed that on the one hand there is so much shortage of foodgrains in our country, and on the other, the difference between the average production and the increase that is possible is so big. I am perturbed as to why we do not increase the production more rapidly. What is the reason for that? What do we need? Anyhow, it is obvious that there is shortage of water, fertilizers, good seeds, etc., but most of these shortages can easily be removed by a little effort and care.

Anyhow, you are better aware of these matters than I am because you have been studying them. But I would like to draw your attention to two or three issues involved. Firstly, a very common complaint often heard from foreigners as well as Indians, is that though our plans are no doubt very good, they do not reach the grassroots level. They do not percolate down to our farmers or if they do, they are not easily understood. In short, there is no link between our office and the field. You may go on a tour sometimes like an officer and issue a few orders here and there, but that is not a real link. So I have reached the conclusion that at the moment the most important task before us is not to draw up plans—as they can be made at any time—nor to issue diplomas, which can be got at any time, but somehow to establish a link between officialdom and the land and its tiller. Nothing can be done without



this, not only in this particular task but in everything. Somehow our official work has become so divorced from the real tasks for which the governmental machinery was set up that we gain very little from official work too.

In my opinion, I do not think this Council could do what I am about to suggest, as I do not know how the examinations are held here. I would like to suggest that no diploma or certificate should be issued to any individual who has not worked in the field himself. This is my opinion not only about the diplomas and certificates, but also of college and university education. No degree should be awarded till every boy and girl has worked in the field at some task or the other for a while. This is not merely intended to make them learn something, but also to teach it to others to be more productive. It is very essential for their physical, mental and intellectual training. It is also essential to narrow the chasm between the high officials and the farmer in the field. This is an old habit that people working in the offices, the babus, are highly regarded, whereas those who do manual labour are looked down upon, even if they earn more. It is strange that we should look down upon manual labour in this country. It is an extremely dangerous and wrong notion.

I was in the United States a couple of years ago and I visited an agricultural college. There were some Indian students also in that college. The Director of that college told me that our boys used to hesitate a great deal to do any manual work like milking a cow, etc. They said they had never done such things before. They had gone there to learn dairy farming and felt that others should do the work for them and they would merely write notes on it. This is indeed strange but also a very true reflection of the Indian mentality. Anywhere else in the world, those who own motor cars drive themselves because they cannot afford to have a chauffeur. In India, inspite of the rising wages, people have chauffeurs who in turn require cleaners to clean the cars. Manual labour is considered as beneath their dignity and desk jobs are highly respected. In fact, in my opinion, the truth is just the opposite. Manual labour should be accorded great respect because nothing in the world can move without it. Therefore, I shall strongly recommend to your Agricultural Research Council that no diploma or certificate of any sort should be given until a certain period of say, six months' or a year's manual labour is done by the students just like any other farmer. This should be an important part of their training. This is my advice to all the universities. Believe me, if they do it, their intellectual capacity will also increase, apart from the fact that they will grow stronger physically. The strange thing is that manual labour refreshes the mind. I am fully convinced of this and I speak from my own experience.

There are many problems before us but I shall not go into them. It is my feeling that the world of today is gradually weakening — I am not talking of India but of the entire civilized world because its contact with the soil is growing less. We are losing touch with the soil, the land, the sunshine and

nature because we live in big cities and do white collar jobs. Anyhow, these are big problems. But those who are directly concerned with agriculture should have contact with the soil, just as an engineer will be thoroughly useless, whatever his degrees may be, if he sits around in his office, drawing up plans. This is my firm opinion because he loses touch with reality, he will be useless, whatever diplomas he may collect, if he cannot do the things that the ordinary farmer does. Secondly, he cannot teach the farmer anything if he cannot do it himself. These things cannot be done by mere talking. Therefore I wish to lay stress on this.

One thing more, about three years ago—or perhaps two and a half years—we had declared that we would become self-sufficient in food by March 1952. I had repeatedly said this. I wish to tell you how extremely troubled I am that we have not been able to keep our word. It is a bad thing, not for me but for the entire nation, that we should make such promises and not be able to fulfil them. It is true that in the course of these last two to three years, we have had to face all sorts of difficulties and problems in our country. We had said quite clearly right at the beginning that we will produce enough for our basic needs in food and clothing, if no unforeseeable problems arise, in which case we shall have to import from outside. I do not mean that it is a crime to import food. We shall certainly import food if the necessity arises. But for a country like India and more especially in the world of today it is an extremely dangerous thing for us not to be self-sufficient in food and to have to beg from other countries. In a sense it lessens our freedom, because we become dependent on others. We become subject to some extent to the will of others, which is wrong. It has an effect on all aspects of our lives, political, economic and other. Therefore, I have become daily more convinced that our greatest effort should be to increase production of foodgrains like wheat, rice and other cereals, even if there are shortages in other things. We can afford to cut down on the costlier and less necessary things. Normally, the production of cotton or jute is valuable and there is no doubt that we must produce them. And we can import a great deal of food by exporting cotton and jute. But in the ultimate analysis, in times of external danger, we can do without jute and cotton, but we simply cannot do without food. Today's world is full of dangers. No one knows when some unexpected calamity may take place disabling us from getting food from outside and render us totally helpless. Therefore, I am becoming more than ever convinced that all our energies should be directed towards increasing our food production. We are doing a great deal, but much more remains to be done. In fact, you may have seen that in the Five Year Plan that has been drawn up, a great deal of attention has been paid to this. It expresses the same hope as I did. But in spite of our desire, those who drew up the Plan have been constrained by the realities of the situation to stress the need to import food for some time to come. So we shall have to do so. Even



if we decide now to stop imports, it will take us some time to reach that stage. It may take us a year or two or five years—I cannot say off-hand. It will take some time for there is no magic or *mantra* by which we can do it instantly. But ultimately the question arises as to where we lay emphasis. I feel that the emphasis should be on the increase of food production. Thereafter, shortages of things may affect us but we can put up with it. But to be short of food at a time when we may be unable to get food from outside would not mean just hardship alone but very real danger. Therefore, I want that there should be greater emphasis on this and more thinking on these lines to see how food production can be increased.

One thing more which has no special relation with this is the fact that whatever plans you may take up, not only of agriculture but of all national development, ultimately the plan which can succeed is the one in which the entire population of the country can take part. Further, there should be no unemployment in the country. Anyone who is willing to work should always get work. This is very essential for the good of the country and society. Even this cannot be done all at once. It is better that everyone in the country works and produces something rather than that a few should produce a great deal and the others remain unemployed. We want obviously that production should increase in the country. But we wish to tie that up with providing work for the greatest number of people and reducing unemployment. The problem before us is ultimately not one of compiling statistics or drawing up plans as to how much we have produced. Ultimately, the question is of human beings which is often forgotten by most people who compile statistics or draw up large plans. They forget that their numbers refer to men, women and children. They are reduced to numbers in the minds of professors who give lectures. They become mere abstractions in their minds. Now I am neither a statistician nor a professor but I always bear the people of India in mind. In the last one month, I have calculated that I have not only seen but spoken to over one crore of people in various places. It is a very large number. So I do not think of them as statistics but as human beings — the poor, indigent and unemployed of India, the farmers and the traders, and I am constantly thinking of how best to do them some good. It is not enough to show some statistics about production on a map. There are as many problems as there are human beings i.e., we have thirty five to thirty six crore problems in India and these have to be solved.

So, I have put some of my thoughts before you. You cannot solve all these problems, but you must bear some of the larger issues in mind and work to the best of your ability. The world of today is so closely interwoven and interlinked that you cannot take any one part in isolation. After all why do we practise agriculture and farming? We do it for the progress of the entire society, for those who produce as well as those who consume, that is for the progress



of the whole country. Therefore, progress in every field is obviously the greatest problem before us. We do not work for the progress of a few—so that a few may become rich—but for every one to make physical and mental progress. Everything has to be seen in this context, that is what planning is all about. Planning in some form or the other is always done everywhere—in offices and shops and other places as to what should be done. But when national planning is mentioned, it means something much larger and more comprehensive. It means that all activities of the nation, its production, consumption, its thinking, should be coordinated in order to ensure over all progress in the country, for uneven progress leaves shortfalls in some areas.

So we have to keep the entire picture before us. Only then can we march ahead. That does not mean that the Plan that we have drawn up is the last word on the subject. We can change it as we wish; but the world is so complicated that if each one of us goes his separate way, the result will be confusion. I want that all of you should read the report of the Planning Commission on the First Five Year Plan, which has not received the final seal yet. It is merely a draft enumerating the problems and tasks before us. Agriculture is a very big part of it. You will get your degrees and diplomas and it is obvious that of all the big responsibilities placed on you for all the great tasks before us, the most important is agriculture. I have no doubt about it. Those of you who receive special training have a special responsibility too because you have to take the lead in this matter and show others the way. It is a tremendous responsibility which cannot be discharged by pushing files in offices. You have to ensure progress in this task and breathe life into it, forge a special bond with the farmers who in their millions work on the land, create confidence in themselves as well as yourselves and you have to do things yourselves if you wish to teach them anything. You cannot do it by mere talking. In short, you must remember that however good our laws may be, or our experts or our ministries and offices, so long as you do not reach the mind and heart of the man in the field, our efforts will be wasted. You must reach him and enlist his cooperation and help because nothing can be done without him, however foolproof your plans may be or whatever number of intellectuals you may have in those particular branches of knowledge.

I mentioned the Five Year Plan. Its success ultimately depends entirely on how much it finds favour with the people and how well it is implemented. Other things are involved too, but, ultimately, it depends on what the public reaction is and how far the people are willing to help. I feel that they will help provided we try to reach out to them in the right way and make them understand. I am talking from the experience of the last few weeks. I have been spending all my time in explaining to those millions of our people about the situation in the country, what we have to do with our lands, what the Five Year Plan is all about and how it concerns agriculture and industry, and other



areas of developmental activity. I was worried that if the people do not understand these things, my understanding of them would be of no use because ultimately it is they who have to do the work. So I leave you with these thoughts. I also congratulate those who have received diplomas, prizes and certificates, but, at the same time, I would like to remind them that they are going out with a responsibility which they will have to discharge properly.

#### 4. Self-sufficiency in Food<sup>1</sup>

...I feel, however, that it is very necessary for us to lay the greatest stress on achieving food self-sufficiency and on rapidly reducing unemployment. In doing so we cannot, of course, ignore obvious factors which come in the way, more especially during the next five years. But as much emphasis as is possible should be laid on these two objectives and the whole Plan should, to some extent, be influenced by this emphasis.

1. Note to the Planning Commission, 23 December 1951. File No.17(248)/51-PMS. Extract.

#### 5. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

Banaras

January 17, 1952

My dear Pantji,

During my visit to Mau today I was distressed to see the condition of the crops and to learn of the reports of acute scarcity.<sup>2</sup> The whole atmosphere was dry and very dusty. People were afraid of near famine conditions coming.

I discussed this matter with the District Magistrate of Azamgarh (Seth,<sup>3</sup> I think is his name). He seemed to be an active and energetic person who

1. File No.31(136)/52-PMS.
2. The districts of Azamgarh, Deoria, Basti, Ballia, Ghazipur and Gorakhpur were suffering from acute scarcity conditions due to continued failure of rain and crops during the last two years. Nehru toured the drought-affected areas from 15 to 22 January 1952.
3. Brij Pal Singh Seth was the District Magistrate of Azamgarh from 1950 to 1954.

wanted to do something. I suggested that the digging up of a number of wells would have a good psychological effect and many people would be employed in them. They could even give their labour free. He agreed. He said that they were prepared to give their labour free and he could fairly easily get this done, but it would be necessary to spend some money on making the well a pucca one. This would cost anything from Rs 800 to Rs 1000 per well.

Personally I have long been of opinion that we should have large numbers of wells dug and not spend so much time and energy over big schemes which cost a lot of money and take a lot of time. More specially in a place where there is scarcity this kind of thing should be done on a considerable scale. It does not cost very much and the results are almost immediate. I think that a place like the district of Azamgarh should have a thousand new wells. So also other districts. If a thousand is considered too much the number might be reduced. I have no doubt that this would be greatly appreciated by the public and, what is more it would bring somewhat sudden results.

I told the D.M. that I was prepared to send him immediately Rs 10,000/- from the P.M.'s Fund for digging ten or more wells. On my return to Delhi I shall send him this money direct. I hope you do not mind this direct payment. This saves time. Meanwhile, I should like you to consider how far your Government can undertake a programme of digging wells in a big way all over the scarcity area.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. On 19 February 1952, Pant replied that the U.P. Government was ready to undertake the digging of six thousand wells in the six drought-affected districts as an emergency measure, provided that the Centre guaranteed to bear the bulk of the expenditure.

## 6. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 19, 1952

My dear Pantji,

You will remember my writing and speaking to you about the desirability of having a large number of wells dug in Azamgarh and other scarcity-affected areas.<sup>2</sup> I have had a talk with C.D. Deshmukh about this tonight and he agreed

1. File No. 31(136)/52-PMS.
2. See the preceding item.



with me that this would be a very good thing indeed. He thought that you ought to be in a position so far as ways and means are concerned, to undertake this. I hope you will have this matter examined and, if possible, given effect to. I think it would be an excellent step if, to begin with, you allotted five lakhs a piece to the districts affected. This should be on the clear condition that the people themselves would undertake the job and Government would help and make the wells pucca. According to the calculation of the District Magistrate of Azamgarh such a well would cost Government about a thousand rupees. Five lakhs would thus mean five hundred wells in each district. This would be a solid gain and would create an excellent psychological reaction in that area.

I have just come back to Delhi after my five days' tour. There were enormous audiences everywhere today, more especially in Bareilly, Saharanpur, Muzaffarnagar and Meerut. Early tomorrow morning I start again for my final two days in the U.P. I shall be seeing you in Lucknow. This will be the end of my tour for election work. I find all kinds of important things here awaiting me and I must concentrate on these problems now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Popular Employment In Digging Wells<sup>1</sup>

During my tours I have frequently discussed matters with local officials and non-officials relating to the general conditions prevailing in those areas. I am recently coming from southern U.P., the districts of Azamgarh, Gorakhpur, Ballia, etc. These districts are suffering from acute scarcity owing to lack of rain. The whole atmosphere is full of dust and the crops are dying. There might be near famine conditions soon.

2. It seemed to me that in our emphasis on what might be called big schemes, we tend to ignore the smaller things. For instance, the obvious and urgent need in the district of Azamgarh is for wells. Even the ordinary peasants came and asked me for them. What is more, they were prepared to give voluntary labour for them and the cost thus would be much less than usual.

1. Note to the Planning Commission, 19 January 1952. File No. 31(136)/52-PMS.

Indeed the cost would be chiefly of making the wells pucca. A good well would thus cost about Rs 800 to Rs 1000/-. There was an evident desire to do work on the part of the people. This was something which I had not found previously. It was a good sign of self-reliance. But they cannot do much entirely by themselves unless some help is given to them in the shape of materials, etc.

3. Apart from the actual benefits accruing from the construction of wells etc., the mere fact of large numbers of people being employed in helping themselves is of great psychological significance.

4. I should like one thousand wells to be dug immediately in Azamgarh District alone. To do so would enthuse millions of people and bring some substantial results in their train. The cost is not very great.

5. I felt the need was so much and the popular demand was so great that I asked the District Magistrate to go ahead immediately with ten such wells for which I said I would pay from the Prime Minister's Fund. This was just a gesture but it was immediately appreciated and has created a good impression.

6. I feel more and more that the most urgent need in these areas is for good roads and wells. The roads make communications easy and are immediately appreciated. Indeed some people came and told me that if you do not give us a cement road do not expect us to vote for you in the next elections.

7. I am drawing your attention to this aspect because I feel that we intend to ignore it somewhat. It is something which brings visible relief, which satisfies a psychological need and which trains people up to help themselves. Thus we encourage self-confidence which is so important.

8. I wish that in scarcity areas we should immediately launch on a fairly large-scale scheme for digging wells with the cooperation of free labour of the people. How this can be done is not clear to me, that is how the finances are to be found. I have written to the U.P. Government on the subject. If we could even set aside, say Rs 50 lakhs for this purpose, that would go a very long way to help and enthuse the people.

## 8. Self-Help Campaign in Digging Wells<sup>1</sup>

My further tour in the U.P. convinced me of the urgent necessity of new wells. I fear, however, that progress will be terribly slow if we proceed on

1. Note to the Ministry of Home Affairs, 22 January 1952. File No.31(136)/52-PMS.



conventional lines through the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and various Provincial Ministries. The State Government of course must deal with the matter. I think that this matter should be taken as a part of a self-help campaign and money should be allotted on that basis. That is to say, where people are prepared to give voluntary labour, the Government should do the rest. Roughly speaking, I found that a well can be constructed on this basis costing from Rs 800 to Rs 1000. Thus a hundred wells would cost a lakh. I think that in the districts affected, 500 to 1000 wells should be sunk. One crore of rupees spent in this way in various parts of India would not only bring immediate relief but would also provide work and produce a feeling of self-confidence and self-reliance.

In one district of the U.P., the District Magistrate told me that he could go ahead at a rapid pace the moment he was told to do so. But Government machinery works slowly and little is done.

I have spoken about this matter to the Chief Minister of the U.P.

## 9. To K.M. Munshi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

12 February, 1952

My dear Munshi,

In his speech in Parliament today, Ananthasayanam Ayyangar referred to the famine conditions in his district (I forget the name of the district).<sup>2</sup> Is that district particularly affected, more so than others? Also are any other districts in Madras in a near-famine condition? If so, were not steps taken about it?

Ananthasayanam appealed to North India to give up rice-eating and send all the rice to the South. This suggestion has been frequently made before. Indeed, I made an appeal once for it and it met immediately with a good response in cities like Delhi, Kanpur, etc. But for some odd reason Governmental arrangements did not profit by it. And much of the rice that had been collected actually got spoiled.

I am convinced that we ought to divert rice to the South from other parts of the country where it is not a necessity. I see no reason why this should not

1. File No. 31(94)/50-PMS.

2. Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker, Lok Sabha, said that his district Chittoor had been affected by famine on an unprecedented scale and appealed for opening of gruel centres in every village.

be feasible. Why should Delhi have any rice at all, or any other city in North India, unless doctors say that it is necessary for someone. I think we would be perfectly justified in enforcing this and diverting all the rice to the South at least for a period. This will do harm to nobody.

I could make an appeal to this effect, but an appeal is not enough without Governmental action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To K.M. Munshi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 14, 1952

My dear Munshi,

Thank you for your letter of February 14th.<sup>2</sup>

Government's relief works sometimes inevitably overlook the human angle. I should like this to be attended to also. I am therefore arranging with our colleague Durgabai<sup>3</sup> to take charge on my behalf of some relief work to supplement Government's relief in these scarcity areas of Madras State. I shall give her some money from the Prime Minister's Fund for this purpose.

I am quite clear in my mind that we must adopt a strict policy about diverting rice from North to the South. It does not matter if there is no rice left in the North. The rice-eating areas should have practically all the rice we possess. I see large quantities of rice being consumed and wasted in Delhi and I suppose the same is the case elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Munshi wrote that the districts of Chittoor, Cuddapah, Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur were in the grip of acute scarcity conditions following failure of rains. Relief measures included employment of 4,300 persons per day in work on roads and production centres; sanction of Rs 3 lakhs as subsistence loans; remission of land revenue; grant of seventy-six thousand rupees from the Prime Minister's Relief Fund and opening of gruel centres.

3. G. Durgabai was member of the Planning Commission and chairman of Central Social Welfare Board at this time.



## 11: A Policy of Self-sufficiency in Food<sup>1</sup>

The Food Ministers should not think in terms of obtaining large quantities of food regularly from outside, but they should think in terms of our becoming more or less self-sufficient soon. It is of the highest importance that India should be self-sufficient in regard to food, except when there are calamities or other natural disasters.

This meeting is called to consider not only the food allotments and imports, etc., but also the wider aspects of food policy. The question of food has become almost a nightmare and is pursuing us all the time.

We cannot treat the question of food casually, that is, allow people to die for lack of food. You will remember that some three years ago we stated that we must make ourselves self-sufficient by the beginning of 1952. Later, there was a careful examination of the various factors in regard to food production and consumption by the Planning Commission. The Commission, not giving up the idea of self-sufficiency, nevertheless felt that considering everything, it would not be possible to attain self-sufficiency so soon. I believe they have been giving thought to this matter again because it is of the highest importance that India should be self-sufficient in regard to food, except when there are calamities or other natural disasters. And I do feel more and more that we should think on these lines and not, possibly for other valid reasons, try to think in terms of obtaining large quantities of food regularly from outside in the future. We should obtain the foreign supplies when needed and we shall have to obtain them this year, and next year, whatever the period may be — that is a different matter — but we must think in terms of our becoming more or less self-sufficient and we should not wait too long for that to happen.

No one can be quite sure in the world today of what might happen. All our well-set plans may go wrong and we might be unable to obtain food from abroad some time in the future. We must keep this in mind because we live in abnormal times and one cannot afford to take a great risk suddenly, on account of circumstances entirely beyond our control, of not being able to get something which is absolutely essential for us. Therefore, the question of

1. Speech on the inaugural day of a two-day conference of the States' Food Ministers, New Delhi, 19 February 1952. From the *National Herald*, 21 February 1952.

attaining self-sufficiency in food assumes great importance. The date — I dare not fix a date myself—is important. We may sit down and consider the matter, governments may give their opinions, but ultimately it is only the Planning Commission who can fix a more or less reliable date and the procedure as to how to reach it in the way we want to.

I confess that it came somewhat as a blow to me when we had to give up for the time being the target date set for attaining food self-sufficiency, because, apart from government, I had repeatedly laid stress on it, laid stress on the date also, and not being able to stick to that date seemed almost as if I had broken a pledge given to our people. Of course, we all know that since that date was first fixed all kinds of disasters have pursued us — calamities and droughts — and it became quite impossible to attain the target. I should like you to bear that in mind and even in this conference the aim of self-sufficiency, I think, should be foremost in our thoughts.

While we talked about dates, self-sufficiency, and such matters, we must ask ourselves on what we based our calculations. It seems to me—and I am sorry to confess it—that we based it on nothing solid at all—on just guess-work and surmise. That is not good enough in a matter of such vital importance. We get reports or calculations from State Governments and no doubt the State Governments get reports from their subordinate officials, possibly ultimately going down to a patwari or some such official and we base our calculations on these reports. Well, there are so many lacunae in them, so many possibilities of error and in such a situation who knows the errors might be very big. Now a small error, let us say five per cent or even ten per cent, just does not matter, but when the error goes beyond that and becomes very big, then your calculations and planning become rather futile as they are based practically on no information or on wrong information. That has been our experience even in the last year or two because the figures quoted by State Governments, that is, their estimates, have often been completely falsified by events. How can we remedy that? It is not the fault of State Governments. It is the fault of the machinery on which they rely and we rely too. It is quite essential that we remedy this state of affairs not only in regard to food but also in regard to other matters too. If we must be prepared, we must not leave anything to chance. We must know what exactly is happening in the country and on the basis of that come to conclusions.

Normally one gets to know these things through the various applications of statistical methods. Now, it is not merely a question of simple enumeration but something much more than that. In some advanced countries, the governments produce a weekly index showing the exact production of almost any important commodity, whether it is food or something else. We have not developed our statistical apparatus to that extent, but nevertheless we are counted in the realm of statistics as a country of first importance, not because



we have got a big machinery but because such as we have is good and has shown good results. In fact, in some matters we have actually made innovations which the rest of the world has adopted. So there is no reason for us to lack expert guidance in this provided we set about it in the right way.

You know also, I suppose, of what is known as the sampling method. The sampling method gave very accurate results, sometimes more accurate than a complete overall census, for the simple reason that the overall census has to be carried out by a large number of untrained people, while the sampling method is only entrusted to highly trained persons. And it is well known and recognized that the sampling method does give accurate enough results, very good results. We have tried the sampling method in various matters, and as a matter of fact even in regard to food production, the results obtained from this method have been completely at variance with the figures supplied by the statisticians.

This raised the question whether we have been basing our calculations on a wrong basis. It is therefore essential to devise some method to know where we are. We have got able statisticians undoubtedly but they have been working in separate departments or ministries, and have been overlapping. And there is another danger. The best of us, the most honest of us, when we deal with statistics relating to ourselves or our department or ministry, are apt to be partial in our desire to show results. Therefore, the estimates we may form are coloured by that inevitably partial outlook of a person who wants to show results, the ministry that wants to show results, or the State Government. Therefore, a real statistical check should be done by persons totally unconnected with that government, with that ministry, and with that department. Like audit, we do not ask a person to do his own audit, we ask an outsider to audit. I am not suggesting that there is a deliberate intention to vary or misrepresent figures but when an independent auditor comes, he reports independently, he has no particular interest.

The Government must know the real state of affairs, otherwise they cannot function. Therefore, the question is first of all of having a really proper statistical apparatus for getting accurate figures of food production and that apparatus should be an independent apparatus, not, if I may say so with all respect to Mr Munshi, the Food Ministry because it is interested, or in the same way a State Government is interested. It must be an independent apparatus advising Mr Munshi or your government. Then you can check the results. But anyhow there is no question of its being inclined this way or that way, and naturally, it will have to function, I suppose—I am speaking as a layman—by the sampling method. And I do not think our Finance Minister will grudge any expenditure on getting the real facts of the situation because he bases his budget on such information as we have about the facts.

What is the data on which to decide what we should import and what should we base it on? Each State wants to be on the safe side and probably underrates its production and gives a larger figure for its possible needs. If that is totalled up, we arrive at some enormous figure which may be completely unrealistic and not based on the actual facts. We should not show these needs too high. I realize that we cannot take risks and that we must have stocks in reserve, but if everybody overestimates his needs then in the end we arrive at some figure which is not only far too big compared to the real needs of the situation but which affects our entire policy in regard to other imports. The whole business of planning is to use our resources to the best advantage. We must therefore have some kind of proper apparatus now to know exactly what our production is in food, if possible from month to month, so that we can adapt our policy and change it accordingly. Secondly, there must be an independent check on all this statistical check.

There is one thing more I should like to mention today about rice. Some two years ago, I made an appeal to people in northern India chiefly not to consume rice and leave it for the areas which normally eat rice only. That appeal had a fairly good response, even in the city of Delhi. Large quantities of rice were collected in the city of Delhi. Somehow, our normal apparatus of distribution had nothing to do with this appeal and it did not quite easily fit in, and so gradually we drifted back to the old position.

Now, I do realize the rice position is difficult. I think those people who can do without rice must do without it even though the overall food situation in India is not really bad and we can get rice from outside. We shall get as much as we can and Mr Munshi, I know, has been trying his utmost to do so from South-East Asia, China and wherever he can reach, to get as much rice as he can. But the fact remains that we cannot get as much rice as we want to. Therefore, the only other alternative is to be rather strict about rice in India, strict in areas which can do without it, and send that rice to other areas.

I know that even an appeal goes a long way. If an appeal is made and explained to our people, they are helpful. But something more than an appeal is necessary in order to canalise their good wishes in the right direction. If I make an appeal I get some rice but with the normal apparatus continuing, the appeal has no effect. I have no precise proposal to make now but I think it would be a good thing to stop rice completely from certain areas for a certain period and divert it to other areas where it is needed most. It may be that a number of persons would be inconvenienced by it, but apart from inconvenience I do not see why we should suffer when there are plenty of other good things to eat, while the benefit to other areas would be very great. So I should like you to consider this diversion of rice, if not totally, at any rate, largely to the South or Bengal or wherever rice-eating areas are.



## 12. To K.M. Cariappa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 21, 1952

My dear Cariappa,<sup>2</sup>

As you know, we are terribly short of rice in the country and this has created a difficult situation in the rice-eating areas. We are cutting down rice rations everywhere else. Is it possible to cut down rice rations in the Army and replace them by wheat? Of course, those persons used chiefly to a rice diet might continue having it. But the others should not mind. Indeed, speaking to the men in Ranikhet on this subject, I was told that they would not mind at all, as they were used to wheat.

Perhaps you might investigate this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(962)/49-PMS.
2. Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army at this time.

## 13. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 6, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

I am rather worried about the famine condition in parts of Madras State.<sup>2</sup> I have asked the Chief Minister to come here day after tomorrow. I suppose the only way to tackle it properly is the way we adopted in Bihar, that is provide work and fair price shops.

In view of the present difficult situation in Madras we shall have to go out of our way to help them. Possibly Madras will qualify for the subsidy which we have stopped in other places.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(94)/50-PMS.
2. A partial failure of the north-east monsoon in Madras State had an adverse effect on the standing crops and led to a difficult food situation in several districts with Cuddapah and Chittoor being the worst affected.

14. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 16, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Your letter of March 15th about the famine situation in Madras. I have written a letter to the Chief Minister, a copy of which I enclose.<sup>2</sup>

I fear, however, that my writing to him can serve little purpose in existing circumstances. The Madras Government and the Chief Minister have lost all grip and are merely carrying on. They have no initiative left, and the future is completely uncertain. They dare not make any radical reductions.

Madras started on its career of improvident spending four years ago or more. Prakasam<sup>3</sup> began it and went pretty far. Others have, to some extent, followed him and now we have to face this situation and nobody is prepared to take the responsibility for it.

It is clear that the present Government can do nothing worthwhile. What the new Government will be, or whether there will be a new Government at all, after six weeks or so, nobody knows. Thus, whether we like it or not, we have to hold the baby.

The financial situation in Madras is bad; the political situation is, if anything, worse. Unless carefully handled, this latter can deteriorate still further. What then are we to do? I think we should consider this matter in all its aspects carefully. Perhaps, a full talk between you, Munshi and me might be helpful. Unfortunately we are not likely to come together for some time now because you will not be here when I am here and when you come back, I shall have gone out. You might, therefore, discuss it with Munshi. If you like, we can send for the Madras Chief Minister or someone else. My difficulty is that I cannot act in the normal way and deal with the Madras Government as one would deal with a State Government. While the Madras Government functions in some way or other, in reality there is some kind of a political vacuum. Meanwhile, conditions worsen both in regard to famine and otherwise.

Mrs Ammu Swaminadhan<sup>4</sup> came to see me this evening and was rather agitated about conditions in the Madras State and, more especially, in Malabar. She begged me very earnestly for help for the Mallampura Scheme in Malabar which, according to her, will produce immediate results in regard to paddy-growing. I know nothing of this scheme. I remember she spoke to me about it and gave me a paper some time ago. I forwarded this to you.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Not printed.

3. T. Prakasam was the Chief Minister of Madras State during 1946-47.

4. Congress member from Dindigul, Madras State, in the first Lok Sabha, 1952-57.



In Malabar, of course, political conditions are bad and Communists and Moplahs between them, and to some extent together, have become rather formidable.

We cannot, therefore, look upon this question purely from the financial side, and other important aspects have to be borne in mind. Not to do so might land us in far greater difficulties later.

I am enclosing a memorandum which I have received from Cuddapah district.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. The Hirakud Dam Project<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you a copy of a letter I have received from the Chief Minister of Orissa regarding the Hirakud project as well as generally about the development of Orissa. I confess that I am moved by his appeal and I feel that full attention should be paid to what he says. In considering our schemes of development, it is necessary that we should pay special attention to the development of rather backward areas. Otherwise these will become a drag on others. Indeed, there is a possibility of other forces developing there which would make our work still more difficult.

2. Among the various river valley schemes, special reference has always been made to three: Bhakra-Nangal, the Damodar Valley and the Hirakud. These three have become rather symbolic for us and for India. We have to produce results there as soon as possible.

3. Separately, I have expressed my opinion about a pig iron plant for Orissa. I think that preference should be given to Orissa in this respect for a variety of reasons.

4. For us to give secondary place to Orissa because of its backwardness is not only to confirm that backwardness but to risk other far-reaching consequences in that area.

5. I hope, therefore, that the Planning Commission will pay special attention to the needs of Orissa, which potentially is obviously strong, but which actually is so backward.

1. Note to the Planning Commission, 25 March 1952. File No. 17 (46)/56-PMS.

## 16. To K.M. Munshi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 29, 1952

My dear Munshi,

Some days ago you gave me your long printed letter about food policy. I had no time to read it then, but I kept it with me. Even now I have not read it fully, though I have glanced through it.

Much to my amazement I have found parts of it reproduced in newspapers and comments on it, usually in criticism of your views. I find this most embarrassing. One of my colleagues in the Cabinet expresses views in public which are opposed to our declared policy, both of the Government and of the Congress. If we remain quiet, this produces an impression that the policy is a fluid one and likely to change. If we make a statement, that too is embarrassing for all concerned.

I am really surprised to find that you should have given any kind of publicity to this matter. It is right for you, of course, to discuss these matters with us privately. So far as I know, there is likely to be no basic change in our policy, though, of course, it will be adapted to changing circumstances.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

## 17. To B.S. Hiray<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 31, 1952

My dear Hiray,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 30th March sending me a memorandum which you have presented to the Planning Commission. I am glad you have written fully on this subject. Your note will help the Planning Commission to consider this

1. File No. 17(204)/50-PMS.

2. Bhausahab Sakham Hiray (1905-1961); lawyer and Congressman; participated in the national movement; elected to the Bombay Provincial Assembly, 1937 and to the Central Assembly, 1945; President, Maharashtra, P.C.C., 1948-52 and Minister for Revenue and Agriculture, Bombay State, 1952-56.



matter. You will appreciate, however, that the Planning Commission has to consider each project in relation to many others. That is the essence of planning.

There can be little doubt that the Koyna Project is an important one.<sup>3</sup> Exactly how it should be dealt with and what the priorities are, it is for the Planning Commission to consider.

I was somewhat surprised to find that you had taken a lead in making this project some kind of a provincial issue, or rather a Maharashtrian issue, and had criticized the Bombay Government in regard to this. So far as I know, the Bombay Government has been supporting this project. To approach it from a narrow provincial point of view is to lessen the weight of your argument.

What surprised me still more was to learn that some Maharashtra members of the Assembly had threatened to resign from office on this issue. I confess that my poor mind does not understand this kind of approach which is wholly lacking in cooperation and hardly conducive to discipline in the Congress or in the Government.

I am afraid I shall not be in Delhi on the 2nd April when you see the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The project at an estimated cost of fifty-five crores of rupees envisaged the construction of a three hundred feet high dam on Koyna river to generate 225,000 kw of power, besides providing water for irrigation at a cost of fifty-five crores of rupees. Though the project report had been ready in January 1950, no work had started till March 1952.

NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

I. The Economy

(ii) Industrial Development





## 1. Institute of Sugar Technology<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that an Institute of Sugar Technology and Sugarcane Research is going to be started at Lucknow soon.<sup>2</sup> I am deeply interested in these scientific institutes, as I think that they should be the foundations of our progress. The sugarcane industry in India has grown in recent times and has become one of our largest and most important industries. At the same time, I have an idea that it does not compare in efficiency or production with sugarcane industries in some other countries. I see no reason why it should not do so. Many of our industries in India have grown under protection or in special circumstances. They have not had the incentive to try always to produce the best results. I hope that the new Institute of Sugar Technology and Sugarcane Research will make this industry in India at least as efficient as any other in the world. Indeed I should like it to be even more progressive.

I send my good wishes on this occasion.

1. Message sent on 5 February 1952 to the Secretary, Indian Sugarcane Committee, on the eve of the inauguration of the Institute of Sugar Technology and Sugarcane Research, File No. 17(212)/50-PMS.
2. The foundation-stone for the Institute was laid at Lucknow on 16 February 1952 by K.M. Munshi, Minister for Food and Agriculture.

## 2. Sindri Fertilizer Factory<sup>1</sup>

I thank all those who had shared in the task of building up the factory<sup>2</sup> and particularly congratulate experts who had come from the U.S.A. and the U.K. to help us.

1. Speech at the opening of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, 2 March 1952. From *The Hindustan Times*, 3 March 1952.
2. The construction of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, India's first State-owned enterprise was started in 1946 and was completed in 1951, at a total cost of Rs 23 crores. The factory was considered to be the largest and technologically the most modern plant in Asia, with an annual production target of 3,50,000 tons of ammonium sulphate.



I wish sometimes that there should be in this world of ours a greater fellowship in building enterprises like this, not only in India but elsewhere, instead of rivalries and conflict that take place. We should think more in terms of construction and not of destruction. India always welcomed the fellowship of those who came for construction and with a desire to help her.

I visited Sindri two years ago when it was under construction and the achievement today is very significant. I visited Chittaranjan yesterday. Today I have visited the construction work of the Damodar Valley Corporation and the Fuel Research Institute. En route to Sindri I saw trees lining the road, laden with flowers of flaming colour, and I felt they were symbolic of the fire in my mind, a vision of the future of India built up by the labours of her people.

I do not feel called upon to praise the young Indian technicians who worked in the construction of the factory. I envy them and I sometimes wish that I was stronger of arm and younger in years to play a more effective part in the building up of new India, thus gradually realizing our dreams. I wish often enough instead of spending my time perhaps not so usefully, I could, with such energy as I have, engage myself in activities, which bear obvious results.

Whatever mistakes we might have committed in the past four and a half years, we had also undoubtedly during this period made considerable progress in building up a new India. Come and see Sindri to realize what we have achieved. Come to Chittaranjan. Come to the numerous national laboratories and other institutions. The achievements of my Government during this short period compare very favourably with others similarly placed. I do not want comparisons to be drawn but want the people to realize the extent of the country's problems and her achievements and endeavours.

### 3. Basic Industries and the Economy<sup>1</sup>

Some people are afraid the poor would benefit by the fall in prices. The higher prices are the effect of a tendency during the last four years to make

1. Speech on the occasion of the opening of the Dyes and Chemicals Factory at Parnera near Bulsar, 17 March 1952. From *The Hindustan Times*, 18 March 1952.

easy money by easy means. Speculators had their day but the wheel has turned.<sup>2</sup>

I have been reading in the papers that in Bombay rupees five to six crores have been lost in the slump. Surely, the money has not gone out of the country. If someone has lost others have benefited. Speculators have no right to play by their manipulative practices to affect market conditions and thereby disturb the sale and distribution of the necessities of life.

We should be careful to see that the slump does not affect production and cause unemployment. Much weight is put on distribution of wealth but we must produce wealth. Wealth is not what is meant on the stock exchange only. We can improve people's living conditions by producing more in the fields and factories. The Five Year Plan will be ready in a month or two and it will be better than the draft.

Industrialization means developing the basic industries, reducing dependence upon foreign countries even for small things. No progress can be made if we are always dependent.

I came here because I am interested wherever some work is being done. Here the chemical industry, a basic industry, is being developed.

During the past three months I have toured the whole of India from end to end. Elections were fought and are now over. The time has now come to attend to the bigger work of building the country. We cannot build the country or even a factory by mere talking, even if we do so enthusiastically. It can be done by work alone.

Many go on abusing us. Surely, there are drawbacks in the administration but still the Government has done some work. People who go about looking at our drawbacks with microscopes should prove their abilities by doing something themselves. Otherwise, they are indulging in a wasteful activity.

There are several ways of doing a thing, I agree, but we should not lose sight of the ultimate goal. I do not want everybody to think the way I do, but I want that everybody should do some work for building the country.

Activities like building the textile industry do not enthuse me. These are superficial activities. More attention should be paid to production of power and developing irrigation schemes as, when these are completed, we shall be strong.

2. In April 1951, the rise in wholesale price index by 18.8% from pre-devaluation level of September 1949 and by 16.3% from the level of pre-Korean war of June 1950, resulted in large scale speculative investments. In November 1951, the Government applied corrective measures by raising the bank rates from 3 to 3½% and asked the scheduled banks not to extend soft loans in open market against government securities. By the middle of March 1952 the prices fell sharply and the price index declined by 18.5% from the level of April 1951.



Fifteen days ago I visited some other basic works like the Sindri Fertilizer Factory, the Chittaranjan Locomotive Factory, the Kharagpur Institute and the Damodar Valley Corporation. I was impressed by seeing the work of national reconstruction growing apace. But I also asked myself as to why do we not progress more rapidly? I regret the people do not even see the big works that are underway.

Many complained in general terms about our engineers. Surely, all of them are not bad. We should haul up those who are bad but we need not condemn everybody and everything that has been done. This will discourage those who have done good work.

I have given you a picture of the various developmental works in progress. I want basic industries to progress, not for increasing the share value of their capital, but for the people's benefit.

Factories are built and officers are housed, but small labourers have no houses to stay. You should not say that the workers would somehow or other carry on and come for work. Workers are equally important as are the officers.

In Sindri, it is not so good. In Kharagpur, workers live in old houses. In Chittaranjan they are well-housed. In Kanpur I felt we should burn down all the slums so that proper housing arrangements are made for the poor who live in those slum houses. I just wonder how the industrialist, who finds money for several things, finds no money for housing labour. It is a difficult problem but if the Government and the industry cooperate, much can be done.

**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION****1. The Economy****(iii) Labour Welfare**





## 1. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 26, 1952

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>2</sup>

I went to Kanpur day before yesterday and visited some of the slum areas where the industrial workers live. I was terribly shocked at the sight there and the way people are made to live. The whole thing was a nightmare to me. I just cannot reconcile myself to the idea that there are no finances for this. This is to me as bad as a plague epidemic and no one has yet said that a plague epidemic should not be countered because of lack of finances.

What pained me was that I noticed no change. I had been to this place more than twenty years ago and it was exactly as I saw it now. I can well understand that big schemes cost money, but, surely, something should be done, something should be begun.

The land is owned by someone in Kanpur and he does nothing to it. There is no water supply; there are no drains, no lighting, no proper passages or lanes or roads; very few latrines far off and narrow, dark, dismal houses, the doorways of which are about three and a half feet high.

Surely, we cannot tolerate this and we cannot justify this by saying that we have no money. We have treated the refugees infinitely better. It seems to me that such land should be acquired by the State or the Municipality and the present structure should be demolished anyhow and some temporary structures put up under more sanitary conditions there or elsewhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 26(77)/49-PMS.
2. Central Minister for Planning from September 1951 to May 1952 and Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission.

## 2. The Chittaranjan Locomotive Works<sup>1</sup>

I have spent the greater part of today in inspecting the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works.<sup>2</sup> I have also visited the many other buildings that have grown up in

1. Note to the Ministers for Railways and Finance, and for the Planning Commission, 1 March 1952. File No. 26(77)/49-PMS.
2. Located near Asansol, West Bengal, the locomotive works was started in 1948 at a cost of Rs 14 crores, with an annual target of building 120 broad gauge steam locomotives and 50 spare boilers.



Chittaranjan town, including offices, institutes, hospital, club, staff buildings, workers' houses, etc. I knew that this great locomotive factory had been built up in Chittaranjan. Nevertheless, I must confess to a feeling of surprise at the many things that have been done here during the last four years or less. This visit has impressed me greatly.

2. The Locomotive Works themselves are impressive enough. But I was even more impressed by the type of dwellings provided for the workers. The population of Chittaranjan is about 30,000 now.

3. Four years ago, this place had nothing in it, except some Santhal villages. The first building operations began sometime in the middle of 1948. All that has been done thus far has, therefore, been done in less than four years. Chittaranjan is now an up-to-date, progressive, well-planned and well-lighted township of twenty thousand or more. It is almost complete in itself. The only things really lacking are big trees which take some time to grow. Several thousand saplings have been planted and within ten years from now the whole aspect of this place may well change when these saplings grow into big trees. It is surprising and exhilarating to realize that all this growth of a township has taken place within less than four years.

4. An interesting feature is that, on the whole, no hard and fast line divides the officers from others. The two staff institutes here are open to both. Even houses are not differentiated from this point of view. There are some larger houses and some smaller ones.

5. I visited some of these houses. Usually, they consist of two rooms 10' x 12' or so, a kitchen, a bathroom, and a latrine attached to each house. There is also a small yard or open space attached to the house for cultivation of vegetables. There is electricity in every house. Also water supply. The lavatories have some kind of a simple flush system.

6. Altogether, the cheapest workers' houses were good and attractive. The rent varied from about Rs 3/- a month to Rs 5/- a month. This rent included charges for water and electricity.

7. Looking at this and comparing it with slum conditions in Kanpur and Delhi, I felt that the attitude of the Railway authorities in giving many amenities to labour here was sounder than the attitude of Government or local authorities in other places. The Railway practically subsidizes these houses. The result is good work in healthy surroundings and with good houses and a generally contented labour force. More and more I am forced to think that housing must be tackled in an aggressive way all over the country. Finance has to be considered, but the human aspect of this problem appears to me to be exceedingly important, and must also be considered. In the long run, or even in the short run, good housing should pay us dividends in the shape of better and more productive work and more contentment. But apart from that the present conditions of slums in many places are a standing disgrace and menace

from the point of view of health of all. In our desire to have large-scale plans for housing, we tend to delay dealing with the matter.

8. And yet, in specified schemes like Chittaranjan or river valley schemes, etc., we do think of housing and provide houses for the workers. We have also built a very large number of small houses for the displaced persons. I think normally industrial housing should be given at least the same priority. We cannot deal with the entire problem at the same time. But a major start should certainly be made. This will have to involve some kind of subsidizing. In fact, we charge rent from Government officers at 10% of their salary. This too means subsidizing. But we hesitate to subsidize the poor men's quarters, although these people need help most.

9. I cannot speak of conditions in Bombay. In Kanpur I think that the slum areas should be acquired by Government immediately and the slums destroyed. The persons living there might be given some land to build temporary huts, i.e., if we cannot supply them ourselves. These huts would be infinitely preferable to the slums existing at present. Arrangements should be made for lighting, water supply and proper sanitation. Where we build houses, the rent will have to be limited to the capacity to pay. The Chittaranjan houses of two rooms, kitchen, lavatory, bath-room, small verandah and a patch of land, fetch between Rs 3/- to Rs 5/- a month as rent, and electricity and water are free.

10. I think that no industry of any dimensions should in future be started without express provision for workers' houses, even as provision is made for officers' houses. This should be an invariable rule even if it comes in the way of starting industry. This check on the growth of future slums will at least limit the present-day problem and not lay the seeds of future trouble. The existing industries must realize that workers' dwellings have to be provided within a certain period of time and that the cost of these, or part of it, must be a first charge of them.

11. I should like to repeat that the Railway authorities deserve full praise for speed and efficiency and the attention they have paid to workers' amenities in building up this very attractive township of Chittaranjan.

### 3. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

Chittaranjan  
March 1, 1952

My dear Pantji,

I am coming back to the problem of the Kanpur slum areas. This is haunting me and I do hope that something can be done about it with speed. We have

1. File No. 26(77)/49-PMS.



developed a habit of drawing up large schemes and because of their largeness they remain schemes on paper. If we could even make a small beginning, this would have a considerable psychological effect, apart from the human aspect involved.

I am writing this from Chittaranjan. I am truly amazed at the work done here during less than four years. In April 1948 this place was just an arid plain with a few Santhal villages. Now it is a modern prosperous township of over twenty thousand persons. The township is well-planned, well-lighted, with good modern drainage and all kinds of amenities. There are, of course, the great Locomotive Works, but there are also five or six thousand houses for staff and workers, apart from institutes, offices, hospitals, club, etc. No special distinction has been made between officers' and other houses, except that some are somewhat bigger than others. Even the smallest worker's house contains two good rooms 10' x 12', kitchen, bath-room, latrine, a small verandah and a small courtyard for vegetables. Electricity and water-supply are laid on and are free. The rent paid varies in the small houses from about Rs 3/- to 5/- a month, inclusive of water and electricity. The rent is calculated on 10% of the basic pay regardless of the cost of construction. If the basic pay is about Rs 30/-, the rent is about Rs 3/-. I understand that these houses, which are pucca, cost about Rs 3,000/- each or even slightly less.

Chittaranjan township is almost complete and there is little in the way of building to be done. All that is necessary now is for trees to grow up. Workers' institutes are attractive and provided with amenities. The hospital is first-rate and free medical attendance and care are provided to men drawing less than Rs 60/- a month. Others pay a small charge.

All this is very impressive. But the most impressive part of it is how rapidly all this has been done. The Railways have money to spend. But this locomotive factory and its connected buildings, etc. have been thought of strictly as a business proposition. As such it compares more than favourably with private industries on a big scale, including Tatas. Work is being done more speedily and efficiently here than in Tatas and far greater amenities are provided for the workers. And yet the ultimate cost of the locomotive is likely to be less than that of the Tatas when that is made.

Here is an outstanding example of the success of State-enterprise as compared with private enterprise.

But I was writing to you about housing. I am exceedingly anxious that we should do something about it in Kanpur. While bigger schemes might be made, I think that we ought to start immediately in a small way. Take those slums that I visited the other day. I would suggest that Government should acquire them immediately. The cost cannot be great because of their evil condition. Having done so, I think the whole area should be cleaned up completely. What to do with that area later will be for the Development Board

to consider. Meanwhile, the workers living there—I suppose there are about 100 families or less — should be given temporarily some other land. They can easily build some huts there or preferably some huts should be provided. This will be a temporary expedient. Even so, it will be a great improvement. Drainage, water and lighting should be provided.

Owing to the high cost of land in the heart of Kanpur city, it would be cheaper and better to build permanent workers' quarters on the outskirts where land is easily available. Transport can be provided. Even so, it will be cheaper. The area left vacant in the heart of the city could be used for other purposes and can fetch a substantial price if it is properly developed.

I think it should be made a rule that every factory owner must provide for the housing of his labour. To me it appears quite unconscionable that workers should live in these hovels, where I would not like even a dog to live, while the owners of factories have big palaces to disport themselves in.

You will remember that there is a vacant area near the Kanpur slums. This was lying uncared for and in an insanitary condition. I have written to the Railway Ministry about it. It may be possible to get this whole area or part of it for Kanpur development purposes. I shall let you know later.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. The Sindri Project<sup>1</sup>

I spent the day at Sindri and took part in various functions in connection with the formal inauguration of the Sindri Fertilizer Factory.<sup>2</sup> I saw again the various parts of this enormous factory and was duly impressed by the vastness of the undertaking.

2. Whatever the mistakes we might have made in the early stages of the Sindri Project, I have no doubt that this is a very fine enterprise and that we have every reason to be proud of it.

3. I visited the workers' houses of various types. The difference in many ways between these and the workers' houses at Chittaranjan was very marked.

1. Note to the Ministers for Works, Power and Supply, and Finance, and to the Planning Commission, 2 March 1952. File No. 17(198)/50-PMS.

2. See ante, pp. 245-246.



On the whole, the accommodation provided was not very different, that is, there were usually two small rooms, kitchen, bath-room, and lavatory. But while these two rooms at Chittaranjan were occupied by one family, at Sindri they were divided up between two families owing to lack of accommodation. The rent paid at Sindri even for one room was much more than for the two rooms at Chittaranjan.

4. Thus, at Sindri I found the rent paid was Rs 10/- a month for one room plus electricity charges and water rates — total about Rs 14.8/- per month. At Chittaranjan for better accommodation the monthly payment varied from Rs 3/- to Rs 5/- inclusive of electricity and water charges.

5. At Chittaranjan, the low rent was presumably due to various kinds of hidden subsidies. Apart from this, however, it appeared that the cost of the Chittaranjan house was much less than that of the Sindri house. In appearance the Chittaranjan house was somewhat more attractive and appeared to be solid enough. It was made of hollowed cement blocks. The Sindri house was made of bricks. It was freely said by the Chittaranjan people that the difference in cost was due to the Central PWD charges being heavy. Even the Sindri General Manager said that if he was permitted to, he could build houses at a cheaper rate.

6. It is worthwhile investigating why there should be this great difference in nearby areas. A new factory (the cable factory)<sup>3</sup> is being put up near Chittaranjan and I saw a big collection of bricks for this purpose. There will have to be many staff and workers' quarters there also. I think we should investigate what is the best and the cheapest way of putting them up. It might be better not to give this work to the Central PWD.

7. I met the workers' representatives at Sindri. They complained of the stoppage of some allowance they were getting or rather of reduction of the allowance by 2 ½%, and they were apprehensive about the future because of the change in management. This reduction took place immediately after the new company was formed. The reduction might be justifiable from a purely rationalistic point of view, but it does appear to have been an unwise first step to take by the newly appointed directors. The amount involved is apparently Rs 8,000/- or Rs 9,000/- a month. Considering the vast expenditure on the Sindri Project, this sum is inconsiderable. Undoubtedly, there is some feeling among the workers about this reduction. These workers have worked well during the last few years and it is worthwhile encouraging them by not doing anything which might make them feel discontented. I do not know

3. With technical assistance of the United Kingdom, the construction of a telephone cable factory was started in October 1949 at Rupnarayanpur in the Asansol district of West Bengal. Estimated to cost Rs 1.1 crore, the factory was to start production in 1953.

anything about the merits of this matter. But it is desirable to look into them not only from the point of view of comparative wages roundabout, but bearing in mind other considerations also. It is obviously desirable to have a contented and cooperating labour force in this big venture.

8. The workers' representatives appeared rather apprehensive at the change in the direction, more particularly, at the appointment as directors of two big industrialists—Mr J.J. Ghandy<sup>4</sup> and Shri Ram.<sup>5</sup> They told me that the point of view of these industrialists would not be so much to encourage public enterprise as to make it compare unfavourably with private enterprises, on grounds of general principle. I argued against their contention. But I had an uncomfortable feeling that in this particular case there was some justification for their complaint. Indeed, the Managing Director himself told me that there was some justification because the outlook of some of these directors was not very satisfactory from the point of view of the workers.

9. This raises a general issue as well as a particular one in this case.

10. The general issue is how far it is desirable to appoint as directors of public enterprises people who have private interests in big undertakings, which might clash with the interests of the public enterprises. Any advance or improvement in the public enterprise, or any special amenities given to the workers, might lead to a demand in their own private concerns for similar advantages. They are, therefore, naturally averse to any such advance or amenity being granted. Tatas, for instance, are generally considered to be good employers, but they are already complaining of some amenities provided for the workers at Sindri or Chittaranjan because of their reactions on their own concerns.

11. It is clear to me that we cannot rule out industrialists from such directorship, but the choice must be very carefully made. I do not think that the choice was carefully made in the case of Sindri, and the balance certainly tilted in favour of those who believe in private enterprise and who have special interests of their own to protect. I do not refer to Shri Shri Ram, who is taking great interest in Sindri and is likely to prove a useful director. The Managing Director (B.C. Mukherjee) was not particularly happy and was apprehensive of changes being suggested at Sindri which might not be right according to his thinking.

12. Sindri is one of our biggest public enterprises and therefore deserves particular care not only because of its bigness, but also because it is in its own way a pioneer achievement. It will grow. Roundabout there is Chittaranjan and Damodar valley and a cable factory is growing up. Indeed, this whole

4. Jehangir Jivaji Ghandy (1896-1972); metallurgical engineer, who served Tata Steel Works, Jamshedpur from 1921 in various capacities.

5. Lala Shri Ram, a leading industrialist from Delhi.



area in Bengal, and Bihar, has already become the heart of industrial India and is likely to develop intensively. Therefore, we have to be careful of the first steps that we take.

13. In the Board of Directors at Sindri,<sup>6</sup> there is no one to represent labour interests, unless we expect the Managing Director to do so. I think it would be desirable for public enterprises to have a director who understands labour problems from the labour point of view. He need not come from the employees of that particular concern.

14. It seems to me inevitable in these public enterprises, as well as perhaps in the private enterprises also, that there should be progressive participation of labour in many matters affecting the management. Whether we go fast or slow, we have to go in that direction. There are some kinds of workers' committees, but these function very little. I think they should be developed. It might be desirable also to have small committees of workers for each department at the factory for consultation and suggestions. The workers should be made to feel that in practice, as well as in theory, they are partners in the enterprise.

6. The Board comprised C.C. Desai, Secretary, Ministry of Works, Power and Supply, as chairman, B.C. Mukherjee as managing director and J.J. Ghandy, Shri Ram and Sri Narayan Mehta, Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance as members.

## 5. Housing for Railway Workers in Kharagpur<sup>1</sup>

At a public meeting in Kharagpur this evening I was presented with an address of welcome by the citizens of Kharagpur and Midnapur. In the course of this address the following sentences occurred:

"The majority of Railway workers live in dark and dingy hovels not provided with water or electricity. To add to this an entirely new problem has arisen owing to the influx of refugees in the already congested suburbs of the Railway Colony."

2. I was unfortunately unable to find time to visit the workers' quarters. But I was told by others also that the workers' quarters were very bad and that a majority of the workers have no quarters at all. Kharagpur was terribly overcrowded and it was difficult for these men, unprovided with quarters, to

1. Note to the Minister for Railways, 3 March 1952. File No. 26(77)/49-PMS. Copies of the note were sent to the Minister for Finance, the Planning Commission, and the Chief Minister of West Bengal.

find accomodation of any kind. Kharagpur has grown up very rapidly from being a town of about fifty thousand inhabitants to having a population of 1,50,000, among these being many refugees. The result is that housing conditions generally are appalling and are particularly bad for the Railway workers.

3. I spoke to some Railway officials, including the General Manager of the B.N.R. They confirmed the accounts I had received from others about Railway workers' quarters and lack of quarters. They said that the condition was bad. But unfortunately they could not do much owing to lack of funds. They said further that efficiency was definitely suffering because of these living conditions of the Railway workers. I was informed that there was some housing programme. I calculated that, at the rate proposed, it might be possible to erect sufficient number of houses for the Railway workers at present employed, in about thirty years' time. This appeared to me to be a most depressing state of affairs.

4. I confess that the high opinion I had formed of the Railway Board after seeing Chittaranjan and the workers' quarters there, suffered a severe setback. The Railway Budget shows a considerable surplus. How then can it be justified that there are no funds available for workers' quarters. But whether there is a surplus or not, the present prospect is bad enough to require a change fairly rapidly.

5. The cost of a one-room quarter here, I was told, was about Rs 6,000. In Chittaranjan I was told that the two-roomed houses cost about Rs 3,000. I could not make out the reason for this very considerable difference in price of construction. It is obvious that the standards set up at Chittaranjan, and I think rightly set up, will have to be followed elsewhere. Other Railway workers will not tolerate for long putting up with conditions which are definitely bad and almost intolerable, more especially when other Railway workers are having much better houses and more amenities. They will not wait till the Railway Board thinks that it has money enough to spare for a housing programme. Apart from human considerations, Midnapur has always been a troublesome district and there are various elements here which can quite easily create trouble. Hence the necessity for tackling this problem more vigorously than what is being done at present.

6. We are, I believe, importing a considerable number of locomotives and wagons from foreign countries. I find by a rough calculation that a locomotive so imported costs about as much as a hundred or even more quarters. I should think that it is better to import a few less locomotives or wagons and divert the money to the building of more workers' quarters, if there is a lack of money for both. That would probably pay better dividends in efficiency, contentment and goodwill.

7. The price of new quarters should be investigated. I repeat that I do not understand at all the great difference in price at Kharagpur and at Chittaranjan.



8. There is at present a Professor of Architecture and Town Planning at the new Indian Institute of Technology at Kharagpur. His name is Professor Anton Brenner.<sup>2</sup> He has done a good deal of house-building in Austria, Germany and other places, and apparently has specialized in cheap housing. I had a talk with him and he told me that he was going to build servants' quarters with the Institute of Technology here at about Rs 3,600 per quarter. This was to be done through contractors. The price might be lowered if work was directly undertaken. The quarters he is going to build consist of one room with water laid on and a shower bath, latrine, a kitchen, and a verandah, and a small plot for vegetables. He is building these in a peculiar way with bunches of these quarters together but not in a line so that each was entirely separate and yet joined on to the other. Evidently, he is an expert in cheap houses and advantage might be taken of his presence here. I suggest that the Railway authorities at Kharagpur might get in touch with him and discuss the matter. Professor Brenner has only recently come to India from Germany and has been here for about three months.

9. I was told by the Railway people at Kharagpur that it was easily possible to increase the output of Railway wagons here, provided the equipment, etc. was increased. I should imagine that it was very much worthwhile to invest some money in this and produce more wagons here instead of importing them. This will not only give more employment, but also reduce prices.

10. I do hope that this question of Kharagpur Railway workers' houses will be considered again and something done; otherwise we might be compelled to face this question under unfavourable circumstances. The present quarters have apparently neither light nor water and the community latrine arrangements are highly unsatisfactory.

2. (1896-1957); Austrian architect; taught architecture at the Bauhaus Dessau, 1929-50 and at the Indian Institute of Technology, Kharagpur, 1951-53; organized a competition for small housing schemes in India in Berlin, 1953.

## 6. Cheap Housing for Workers<sup>1</sup>

I have drawn attention to the question of cheap housing for industrial and other workers on several occasions recently. The matter has been discussed too at the Governors' Conference, the Planning Commission and, to some

1. Note to the Cabinet Secretary, 17 March 1952. File No. 28(72)/52-PMS.

extent, in Cabinet without any conclusions being reached. It was generally agreed that this question must be considered as one of high priority.

2. I think that we should arrive at some decisions now about the steps to be taken. It is important that we should find out the cheapest method of building a suitable house. Such a house may differ in different parts of India. For instance, where it is really cold or where it rains heavily, provision will have to be made for this. But, generally speaking, some rules for building cheap houses can be laid down. At present, there is a great variety. During the last four years we have had a great deal of experience in the building of cheap houses. Most of this experience has come from the houses built for displaced persons. It is not generally realized how much has been done in this respect. The Finance Minister stated the other day that 40 crores of rupees have been spent on building houses for displaced persons. That, by any standard, is a great achievement.

3. It is surprising how costs of construction vary. I am told that in Hyderabad and Mysore a two-roomed house with bath-room and kitchen, etc. can be made for Rs 1,500 or so. In Chittaranjan it costs somewhat under Rs 3,000. In Sindri it costs much more. I can understand some variation, but the differences are much too big and require investigation and explanation. It may be that these more expensive houses are more solid and lasting.

4. I think that a full investigation should be made by competent persons of the various types of cheap houses that have been made by various Governments or by private concerns. It has been suggested that an international exhibition of cheap housing should be organized in India. This would not only bring the Indian types of cheap houses together, but will also bring foreign experience and models. I think this idea is good and it is worthwhile spending some money over it because we might be able to save a great deal later. I would suggest, therefore, that steps should be taken to organize such an exhibition. Probably it will take some time. We might fix the next winter for it or the end of this present year.

5. A suggestion has also been made that an American expert in cheap housing, Dr Crane,<sup>2</sup> I think, is his name, should be invited to come here and advise us. He has considerable experience in America, Puerto Rico and elsewhere. It is said that he can build good houses for under Rs 1,000/-. I think we should invite him to come here. He is an official of the United States Federal Government. Perhaps he can come here under the Technical Aid Programme. We could approach the US Ambassador in Delhi on this subject.

2. Jacob Leslie Crane (1892-1988); American engineer who planned municipal works and housing in sixty towns and cities in U.S., China, Russia and Latin America; Special Assistant to Administrator, U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency, 1948-54; Chairman, U.N. Housing Mission to South Asia, 1950-51.



6. It is quite clear that progress will be exceedingly slow in house-building if we follow our present traditional methods and, more specially, the PWD rules and conventions. Some new rules should be devised. I suggest the following considerations to be borne in mind:-

1. The real slum areas should be cleared as rapidly as possible even if no new houses have been built to replace them. We should try to provide open spaces with proper sanitation, water supply and lighting and allow the workers or others to build their own houses. If necessary and where possible, some help in the shape of small loans might be given. It seems to me that this will be infinitely preferable to the slums. It does not matter even if some kind of huts are put up. These can be removed at leisure. Meanwhile, good sanitation, water supply and light would be a great improvement.

2. Land inside cities is very expensive and costs of construction go up. Inevitably, the space is restricted and there is a tendency for slums to develop. It is far better, therefore, to have workers' quarters on the fringes of the city in open spaces which can be more easily found there. Transport will have to be arranged from there to the place of working. Even if this is done, it will be cheaper and better than living in a crowded quarter inside the city.

3. Government should acquire these slums inside cities. It should provide the kind of accommodation suggested above, just outside the crowded parts of the city. The slum quarters should be demolished. Probably the land there will fetch a good price which can be used for acquiring land elsewhere as well as for building cheap houses.

4. We should give up the idea of building these cheap houses for a long life. This idea of ensuring a long life to the house makes it needlessly solid and expensive and usually ugly also, as such structures are likely to be. We should investigate cheaper methods of building houses even though they might not last for more than a few years. I would strongly recommend even bamboo houses which are healthy, clear and attractive looking if properly made. They are much cheaper, of course. They can easily last ten years if looked after. Even five years will be enough.

5. Indeed, I would suggest that we should try these bamboo structures for our village schools and like buildings. Our normal pucca building for a school is quite remarkably ugly and sometimes not properly ventilated or lighted.

6. Houses to be cheap must be made of local materials. Many experiments with local materials have been made and some success attained by the Rehabilitation Ministry as well as State Governments.

7. While it is desirable to ensure some kind of privacy for each house, the building of entirely separate houses is needlessly expensive. They could

be grouped together, 7 or 8 at a time, in such a way as to reduce expenditure greatly. The water supply and drainage, etc., could be in the centre of the group. I saw plans for this kind of thing in the Kharagpur Technological Institute and they seemed good. They reduced the expenditure considerably and yet maintained the privacy of each house.

8. While houses should be made of local materials, doors, windows and other wood work should be standardized and thus made cheaper. This would affect the ultimate cost of the house.

9. It would be necessary in a large number of cases to subsidize these workers' houses to some extent. We cannot charge them the full rate as calculated on the coast. We have a rule, in the case of many government servants, that they should pay a certain percentage, usually ten, of their salary as rent. Some such rule should be applied to the workers also.

7. These are some ideas. They can easily be added to. I suggest that this note might be circulated to Members of the Cabinet and considered in Cabinet at an early date. Meanwhile, the Ministries specially concerned, namely, WPS, Health and Finance might produce their comments on this note and the general situation in regard to cheap houses. The Planning Commission might also consider this note.





**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION****I. The Economy****(iv) Community Development**





## 1. Proposals for Community Development<sup>1</sup>

I met the American Ambassador<sup>2</sup> today and he gave me the attached paper containing what is called a "tentative proposal."<sup>3</sup> He made it clear to me that this was entirely his own proposal and that, thus far, he had not heard from his Government about it. He had only sent it to them two or three days ago. He felt almost sure, however, that his Government would agree to it because, he thought, it was such a good and reasonable proposal. He was so full of it that he wanted to communicate it to me and get my reactions without waiting for his Government's reply.

2. In this "tentative proposal" it is proposed that the U.S. Government place immediately rupees twenty-five crores at the disposal of a development authority to be created by the Government of India. In the next financial year he hoped that a larger sum would be made available to us for the same purpose. He envisaged that this annual grant would be given for a number of years, five or six.

3. He had been particularly struck by the Faridabad township<sup>4</sup> and by the Etawah scheme.<sup>5</sup> Therefore he thought in terms of multiplying such townships and schemes as a part of general development. He wanted an autonomous corporation, appointed by the Government of India, to be in charge of these developments all over India.

4. He wanted my initial reaction and if that was favourable, he was going to send for two top-ranking men, whom he knew well, from the U.S. to advise him and, if necessary, us. One of these men was in-charge of a big river valley scheme in the U.S.

1. Note to the Ministers for Railway and Transport, Home Affairs, Planning, and Finance, 22 November 1951. J.N. Collection.
2. Chester Bowles.
3. The proposal envisaged selection of projects aimed at increasing efficiency of Indian agriculture and augmenting food production with special emphasis on cooperative schemes and schemes for community development. To give shape to the proposal, an agreement was signed on 5 January earmarking a sum of fifty million dollars to be provided by the US Government by 30 June 1952.
4. The township built by the refugees with a meagre loan of Rs 2.5 crores given to Faridabad Development Board by the Central Government developed into an industrial town in course of time.
5. The scheme, promoted by Albert Mayer and Horace Holmes, American experts on community development work, was started in September 1948 in 97 villages of Etawah District and financed by the U.P. Government. It aimed at involving villagers in a cooperative effort to increase the productivity of the land and develop industries and co-operatives.



5. He made it clear that there would be absolutely no strings of any kind attached to these contributions.

6. I told him that I welcomed his proposal and it would be a good thing if his two experts came over soon to discuss these matters with us. I agreed generally that the development might take place on the lines of the Etawah scheme and Faridabad. I told him, however, that I thought Nilokheri<sup>6</sup> was a better precedent to follow and I suggested to him to visit Nilokheri which he promised to do. There could, of course, be variations.

7. I agree that an autonomous corporation under the general control of Government would be suitable. Government would lay down policies, supervise and check, but otherwise it was desirable that the corporation should be free from the normal Government routine. Exactly how the corporation should be constituted would have to be considered later, but I rather like the idea of the Minister for Planning being its Chairman. There should not be too much of the official element in the corporation.

8. I told him that this matter will have to be considered by our Planning Commission and suggested that he might meet them and discuss it. He is likely to get in touch with the Planning Commission soon. He will be going out of Delhi in a day or two to Calcutta and later to Agra and Etawah. He will probably visit Nilokheri after that. I am putting him in touch with S.K. Dey for this purpose.

6. The township in East Punjab was built entirely by the refugees under the guidance of S.K. Dey, a qualified engineer. Self-sufficiency in all essentials was the keynote of the township where Government-run industries like tanning and printing press, and co-operative industries like weaving, soap-making and dairying were started. Of the total expenditure on the township of nearly Rs 90 lakhs, Rs 65 lakhs came as Central Government loan, to be repaid in twenty-five years. Rs 5 lakhs were repaid in 1952 itself.

## 2. To Tarlok Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 28, 1951

My dear Tarlok Singh,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember our meeting the American Ambassador and his two experts while discussing the question of utilizing a grant of 50 million dollars. At

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Deputy Secretary to the Planning Commission at this time.

that time, I was clearly of opinion that this this money should be kept apart for specific purposes and should not be used for our general Five Year Plan. I felt that it would be undesirable, from our point of view, to associate American help directly with the Five Year Plan. This would inevitably give the Americans some right to associate themselves, however indirectly, with the working of the Five Year Plan. It will make our Five Year Plan dependent on that help and it is likely to be criticized in India.

Apart from that, I do not think it will be liked by the Americans themselves. They would prefer some specific thing to be done with their money, something that can be looked at apart from the general plan.

The more I think of it the more I am confirmed in this opinion. I feel convinced that we should deal with this American gift, if it comes, on a separate basis. The basis suggested has been the extension in various places of the Etawah projects and of townships like Nilokheri. I agree with this suggestion. I think both these proposals are important in themselves. In all our planning we have not laid sufficient stress, at least in execution, on the importance of the human material. We have talked about it of course. Both the Etawah project and Nilokheri are essentially based on raising the level of the human material and are therefore really important. The Etawah project is less important than Nilokheri because, in a sense, Nilokheri includes the main ideas of Etawah. Indeed when Holmes went to Nilokheri he confessed as much. Nilokheri is not merely a new township but it aims at integrating numerous villages roundabout. The township and these villages thus become, to some extent, an integrated unit. That, I think, is the ideal to aim at. To have our townships unconnected with the neighbourhood, except incidentally, is not good enough. To have vast rural areas with only distant connections with towns is also not good enough.

I think therefore that we should definitely try to develop such integrated areas like the Nilokheri all over the country. The experiment has been fairly successful and can now be duplicated with some speed and with less expenditure of money. The money spent can indeed be recovered later.

Any such development must have the full help and cooperation of the State Government concerned. It would indeed be better to leave it to the State Government except for supervision and advice from a central authority.

I have been giving some thought to this matter and I feel that probably the best course would be for the actual working of such schemes to be entrusted to the State Government. But a Central Board Committee should be appointed which will be in charge of the corpus, out of which allotments can be made for specific purposes to the State Governments. This Central Board should keep in constant touch with this work in the State and supervise it, check it and give every kind of advice that may be considered necessary.

The Central Board might consist of the Prime Minister as Chairman, the



Finance Minister, one other representative of the Planning Commission, one businessman (I would suggest P.A. Narielwala who has been connected with Nilokheri in some ways) and one or two others. This Board should have experts attached to it. The Secretary of the Board should be S.K. Dey of Nilokheri. I think his presence is essential.

Dr B.C. Roy is pleased with a Nilokheri type of township which is being built up in Bengal. This is called Fulia. I understand that he is thinking of having a dozen such in Bengal. We could easily start with, say, fifty in India. The question of trained personnel is not so difficult as I thought if there is proper supervision and the choice is carefully made.

The first step to be taken would be to send some people from the States concerned to Nilokheri for a three months' training course.

I think it will be possible to expand this scheme with fair rapidity.

I am just sending you my present ideas on this subject so that you can discuss them with the Planning Commission. We ought to be prepared to go ahead as soon as the U.S. Ambassador wants us to.

There should be no delay on our part.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION**

**I. The Economy**

**(v) General**





## 1. External Aid and Development<sup>1</sup>

Question: Don't you think that foreign aid has some kind of demoralizing effect on the people?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It may. It depends on the extent of it, the manner of it and other implications connected with it. You may say even too much looking up to Government might reduce the feeling of self-reliance. We want our villagers to do some things, say dig their own wells rather than wait for government engineers to do it. But to project self-reliance as much as possible in the individual, the State gives government aid to encourage the effort. Foreign aid has two possible bad consequences. One is that the country's economy begins to depend on foreign aid which is a bad thing; apart from that it does not produce self-reliance in the country; it is also bad because when foreign aid stops, the economy might go to pieces and no country should base its economy on too much goodwill of others. It must stand on its own feet, although always seeking the goodwill of others. Secondly, of course, political and other implications sometimes may come in. So one tries to balance all these things. Now you know perhaps that the way we have sought to draw up our Five Year Plan is that it stands and it can carry on without the least foreign aid but it will not carry on as far as we would like it to go. With foreign aid<sup>2</sup> it will go further and more swiftly but the basic plan is not affected whether there is foreign aid or not. Only the enlargement of it or the speed of it is affected. So we have tried to keep the two separate. It will not be upset by the lack of foreign aid. At the same time we want to go ahead with the task and we are perfectly prepared to take foreign aid provided there are no other political implications attached to it.

Q: Surely you don't expect the turnover of new wealth to be enough to meet the repayment of the aid?

JN: That is a matter of calculation surely.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.
2. External assistance in the First Five Year Plan amounted to Rs 296 crores, of which Rs 142 crores was in the form of loans and Rs 154 crores as grants. The largest contribution of Rs 90 crores was made by the U.S. followed by a contribution of Rs 12 crores by the International Bank.



Q: What is the Planning Commission's calculation?

JN: There are so many uncertain factors. There is what I might call a financial way of looking at things which is of course good but it often ignores many human factors. These come into play and make a tremendous difference. Now if we can use the manpower of India to produce the wealth even without any machinery or even any big machinery we can produce a great deal of wealth. If we can produce something which requires big machinery, we would like to produce with them. I quite agree with you that if foreign aid is to come in the shape of loans, etc. and it is such that it becomes too burdensome that we cannot even meet the interest on it, then it creates a difficult situation but normally speaking, all the foreign aid that we have got so far in the shape of loans has been for productive schemes. Each scheme pays its way and will pay its way. Take the community projects, each community project as we have envisaged it will be a paying proposition ultimately. Take Nilokheri, we have spent, let us say, a crore of rupees. From this year onwards they are paying back their money to us, they are not only not charging us but paying back that money and in the course of fifteen or twenty years they will pay back the whole sum. Take Faridabad, they are paying back the money to us.

Of course, we have spent about a crore or so in Nilokheri but it is worth today anything like 6 or 7 crores.

Q: From these schemes you may get returns in the way of rupee currency but you may not get any foreign dollars to repay the aid as it does not alter your foreign resources.

JN: Our foreign resources will be added to in many ways. Take, for instance, food. We are paying a vast sum of foreign currencies for our food imports.<sup>3</sup> If our food imports lessen, we can make that foreign exchange available for other purposes.

Q: This American aid which is being offered to India is part of that Government's bigger plan to give aid to other Asian countries. Did your Government have any consultations with other friendly governments like Burma, Indonesia regarding this aid before that was taken?

JN: No. I just do not see why we should confer with other countries about an entirely domestic matter. It is for us to decide surely. It is entirely an internal

3. In the years 1948, 1949 and 1950, India spent a sum of Rs 130 crores, 145 crores and 80 crores respectively for import of foodgrains amounting to 2.9 million tons, 3.8 million tons and 2.2 million tons. In 1951, the target year fixed for achieving self-sufficiency, imports rose to 4.8 million tons valued at Rs 217 crores.

matter. It has nothing to do with political considerations. But sometimes it so happens that other countries consult us about certain matters.

Q: Has your attention been drawn to the crisis in Indonesia<sup>4</sup> regarding the acceptance of this aid?

JN: I have seen something about it.

Q: You spoke about food imports being paid by this. But is it not a fact that you have got a loan in order to pay for food imports?

JN: What I mentioned to you was if our production of food goes up as we want it to go up, our food imports would lessen progressively and we have these dollars which we are now spending on food. If you do not import food then you would have plenty of dollars.

Q: Burma is following a foreign policy similar to India but has signed an economic assistance pact with the United States. Will the Indian Government consider signing a similar pact in order to facilitate American aid?

JN: I thought I had made it adequately clear. We are not going to tie ourselves politically in any way with any country. We want to have very friendly relations and discussions about every important matter but not to tie up the freedom of our policy in any way.

Q: Burma's signing of the Pact with the United States has not tied up Burma's hands because the United States modified certain terms to be in accord with Burma's national and international aspirations. If the United States has modified the terms with regard to Burma....

JN: But we have no difficulty with the United States. What are you imagining? We are getting on very well indeed.

Q: Is it a fact that the Government of China have expressed inability to provide any foodgrains this year?

4. The Government of Indonesia headed by Sukiman Wirjosandjojo resigned on 23 February 1952 as a result of the political crisis following the acceptance of U.S. aid under the Mutual Security Act by the Foreign Minister.



JN: Not exactly that way. But we have had a report to the effect that they may find it difficult owing to their own needs to give those foodgrains, especially rice. They might perhaps give us milo or something else. We were in special need of rice and apparently they themselves need all their rice.

Q: Has your attention been drawn to a foreign press report that an official of the Food Ministry in Delhi said that the Chinese were stockpiling rice for war?

JN: I have not seen that report.

Q: What is your reaction to the American suggestion that India should import rice from Formosa rather than from People's China?

JN: I have not heard of that suggestion.

Q: It is in *The New York Times*.

JN: We shall get rice where we can get it — if necessary, from the moon!

## 2. Private Enterprise and Democracy<sup>1</sup>

Mr. President<sup>2</sup> and Gentlemen,

My congratulations to you on your 25th anniversary. You have said in the beginning of your speech that this anniversary has synchronized with the first general elections in the country, and you have expressed satisfaction with the result of the elections. I entirely agree that irrespective of who has won and who has lost, these elections have demonstrated that our masses can remain steady while participating in elections and that they cannot be beguiled easily. I think it is highly gratifying for us, our country and the future of our nation.

1. Address at the silver jubilee session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi, 29 March 1952. From *Proceedings of the twenty-fifth annual meeting, F.I.C.C.I.*, pp. 30-38. Original in Hindi.
2. Chandulal M. Kothari (1889-1954); industrialist and stockbroker of Madras.

In your speech you have touched upon a number of issues. I would not like to say much about them at the moment, because, as you know, good many changes are going to take place shortly; a new Government will be formed and a new Parliament will come in to monitor the affairs of the country. In view of all that it is not proper that I should go into details and speak about all those issues which you have referred to in your speech. Most of what you have said is already under consideration before the Planning Commission. You have also said something by way of criticism of the Five Year Plan proposed by this Commission. First of all, let me say that the Plan which the Commission has prepared is not final nor is it immutable. It is subject to modification and to some extent it is definitely going to be modified. The Plan is there for you all and the people at large to consider and ponder. I cannot say how many people would be glad or unhappy because of these modifications. It is true that the objectives which the Planning Commission have kept before them are not too grandiose.

With the coming of Independence, people naturally felt happy and their hopes and aspirations rose high. To some extent the Five Year Plan has been deliberately kept at its present pitch, because in our country we are all in the habit of talking big without any regard to the fundamental facts of the situation. That is not right. It was therefore thought necessary to encompass some people's thinking within the limits of hard facts. As to what kind of structure we should now raise on the basis of those facts is another question.

The Planning Commission has tried to accomplish this task and has deliberately taken the line of moderation. It is possible, on review we might find that they have not been so moderate after all. It is the duty of us all at this time to think over the conditions obtaining in the world today, without being too conservative. I know it is difficult. People are generally wedded to old ways of thinking, notwithstanding the slogans and shibboleths which we hear so often today in public places and in assemblies. Despite these slogans it is not easy to think along new lines.

The fact is that the world has changed a lot, and perhaps we have not been able to keep pace with it. The standards by which we have been swearing till yesterday no longer hold good today. Therefore, we require new standards, new measures. Fresh brains and a new ideology are required to carry out a new policy. What is it which goes on changing everyday? What are the essentials of this change?

Many of the things which you have said in your address are apt, but still a doubt arises in my mind about their aptness. How far have you been able to appreciate and assess world conditions today? You know I am also India's Foreign Minister and I have to keep an eye on those conditions and all that is happening the world over. I look at the broad outline of the domestic and foreign policies of so many countries, big and small, everyday. You too must



be taking note of these developments, but you have not specifically referred to them. Perhaps, you were not much concerned with them.

Cast a glance on other countries and see what is happening there. You said just now that prices have started falling in India; but have you also noticed how far the slump has affected other countries? You must have given thought to it. But have you also thought how far the price level is affected by the mad race for armaments which holds the world in its grip? When we think of rifles more than of men and their welfare, certainly it is a state of insanity. What will be the result of all this? God forbid, if another war breaks out, not many will survive to see the outcome, but for the world as a whole it will be a terrible catastrophe.

It is interesting that every country is laying stress on economy, on paying lesser salaries and on getting out of unnecessary expenditure. But no one seems to be worried about what the weapons of war are costing the world. Armies are considered a necessity, even if the world goes to dogs and men and women starve.

This is the condition in several countries today. The effect of these conditions is not confined to those countries alone, these affect the price level all over the world. It has affected countries like ours which have not joined the armament race. It may not be direct, but indirectly we are certainly affected. The question arises how are these trends going to influence our domestic policies? I would ask you to appreciate these trends because they are all inter-connected.

It will not be proper for me to dilate further on this subject. I have referred to it because I am responsible for India's foreign policy. It is good to understand how our foreign policy influences our domestic policy. Some people object to our getting aid from a foreign country. People oppose such a step thinking that we should not do this but do that. Such people do not seem to be taking a long view of things. They only worry about the immediate advantage. I believe a majority of people in India and outside including our critics now concede that, on the whole, our foreign policy has been sound, and that not only India but the whole world has benefited from it.

Sometimes funny news items appear in newspapers. Our papers and journalists, who see the world through their telescopes, report which way it is tilting. The policy which we adopted and which we have been following was chalked out independent of these tilts. We do not let ourselves be swayed by any temptations. We are determined to follow this policy of friendliness with every country. We are undoubtedly maintaining good relations with all countries. It is no small achievement that at a time when the world is torn by mutual bickerings, we can stretch our hand of friendship to every country.

This much about our foreign policy, which will always be independent of external influence. It is time we all pondered as to where so many small and big countries are taking the world. Where will the race for armaments take it and what fate awaits our meticulous and grandiose plans? Can we ever hope to progress by treading this path?

Obviously, we are not a great military power and cannot hope to influence the world militarily; nor do we desire to interfere with the affairs of other countries. What we desire is to use all our energies in establishing peace in the world. We have no ambition for world or Asian hegemony. People often say that India wants the leadership of Asia. We have so often contradicted it. We are desirous of improving the lot of our people and of cooperating with others. Interference in others' affairs is not our aim, although in the world of today such an objective is not easy to achieve. For purposes of trade all the countries are inter-dependent; and then it is our duty to help the suppressed and poor countries. There is, however, no truth in the charge that we desire leadership of any bloc or to put pressure on any one.

I agree with you that we have to give full consideration to our Five Year Plan and to implement it. We have to bring about a change in the present conditions as speedily as possible.

You have said one thing in your address to which I would like to refer. You said: "Only in a community, which is inspired by a deep sense of unity, the rights of private conscience and enterprise—rights inseparable from democracy—can be guaranteed." I have not been able to understand this sentence, and whatever little of it I understand, I am unable to agree with you. Private conscience may not be a matter of dispute; but I cannot agree with your statement that private enterprise is a part of democracy. Private enterprise is good only as long as it serves the people; and when it ceases to serve the nation, it will itself cease to exist. You should, therefore, understand it clearly that there is only one measure to judge this matter, and that is how the country progresses and goes forward. We are not willing to give private enterprise the high place which some countries have given it. On the other hand, we are ready to view it with suspicion. Private enterprise has some achievements to its credit in our country, but it has also its debit side. You should view this question from both the angles, good as well as bad. Ultimately, we have to see how far the nation and the people benefit from it. We should see whether it has kept the good of the thirty-six crore inhabitants of this country before it. After all, we have to solve the problems of the people, and we should see how best we can do it. I grant that the slogans which we hear in public meetings will be as unhelpful in solving it as those which you have sought to raise here. Mere slogans cannot take a country anywhere; nor can clichés or old axioms do it. For old axioms there is no room today. Today only that system would work which can significantly improve the lot of the



nation. Therefore, if you imagine that we should keep private enterprise before us as an axiom or an example, you are mistaken. Are you not unaware that private enterprise is today the target of attacks from all sides? We have, however, reserved a sector for it. There are certain reasons why we are preserving it in our country.

You have referred to the public sector. You have said that the Planning Commission have devoted greater attention to the public sector. The fact is that only that plan would work in this country which includes both the public and the private sectors. To plan only for the public sector and leave out the private sector is meaningless. Unless both of them are properly adjusted so as to ensure proper co-ordination, planning in this country would be faulty. Then alone would the question arise which sector is to be allotted what share. But planning in respect of both of them is necessary. We have to plan with a definite purpose before us. We have to lay down hard and fast principles. We cannot just ask you to go ahead and carry on the development of the country as you think best. This kind of laissez-faire belongs to the 19th century; it will not do in the world of today. At least for a country like ours it is not possible to adopt such a course. Hence the need for planning, and for defining precisely the sphere of private enterprise. It is undoubtedly true that the greater the freedom given to private enterprise, the greater is the progress it makes. Such a course might have proved useful on some occasions. But it leaves behind a legacy of problems as well. Freedom to private enterprise tends to create an unwholesome atmosphere in the present-day world. If you want to tackle the big national problems, it is essential that you carry the teeming millions of India with you.

You have referred to India's man-power. We have enough of it in this country. The question is how to use it fully. The Five Year Plan has to keep thirty-six crores of our people constantly in view; because without them it will be no use planning. Just imagine what a great thing it would be if you could enlist the cooperation of these thirty-six crores of people. Let alone thirty-six, even if a few crores of them were to cooperate with you, the Five-Year Plan would change the shape of things beyond recognition.

We have therefore to think how to create an atmosphere in which people can be inspired with hope and faith, and zest for the work in hand. Undoubtedly if the people have faith in their future they would not mind putting in hard work and even suffering some inconvenience. But when they find that that future holds no promise for them, they naturally get desperate. We have therefore to remember that in the Five Year Plan we have to carry the people with us; speaking truly we should say that we have to go with the people. We must not say that we shall lead and others have only to follow us. The right thing to say is that we have to help people in going forward. I would like you to consider this fundamental fact.

You have said that the Five Year Plan has not said much about industries. There I agree with you. I know that we have to do a lot for stepping up the production of steel and pig iron. It is so necessary for the country's progress. I feel that it is not possible for us to progress without industrialization. But unless we are self-sufficient in respect of certain things, for example, foodgrains, we cannot set ourselves to any task properly. We, then, have to look to other countries for our needs. I have no doubt in my mind that in our development programme, top priority should be given to food production, never mind even if our industrial pace is slowed down a bit. For insufficiency in food can any day endanger our national existence. Any day we may succumb to foreign pressure. I know the food problem is very intricate.

Related to our development projects is the problem of our rapidly increasing population. If whatever we produce is not enough to go round we will continue to remain poor. That is why the Planning Commission had to raise this issue. We talk and plan of increasing food production, but the increase in our production is wasted or swallowed up by our cattle population. Somehow we have developed a peculiar psychology which lays a greater stress on cattle welfare. Let men die, but we must protect the cattle, that seems to be our attitude. I would also like all the living creation in India to be cared for. But I am afraid we will have to decide who have a prior claim on this country, our men or our cattle. We can really conserve a good amount of food if we protected it from wild animals and pests, and prevented it from going waste in other ways.

One thing more in this context. There was a time when I used to make big plans and see rosy pictures of India to be. You have made a reference to the Bombay Plan.<sup>3</sup> It would have needed 10,000 crores of rupees to work it out. We did experiment a bit on it, but soon realized that our circumstances have changed, and we will not be able to implement it. So, we had to give it up, regretfully though. Personally I think it was better if we could have taken up a part of that Plan and finished it rather than give up the whole venture. We were preoccupied with big schemes and big things. We thought without power, iron and steel, and such other fundamental things we could not progress. We ignored smaller schemes like minor irrigation projects. We were over-anxious to quickly raise the standard of our people by taking in hand large projects. But the fact is that if this big country has to progress, instead of a few big projects, we will have to concentrate on innumerable smaller schemes.

3. Kothari stated that the Bombay Plan, evolved by some leading industrialists as early as in 1943, had envisaged a rate of investment of 10,000 crores of rupees in fifteen years, while the annual outlay for the Five Year Plan was only 300 crores. He said that the order of priorities in the Bombay Plan was in consonance with the needs of the times and Indian planners must find ways and means whereby higher rates of investment could become technically feasible.



Small projects have certain advantages. For instance, they don't cost us much, they are easily controllable, they absorb a lot of our man-power, and their benefits are spread over larger areas. Not that I am against big schemes now. I only want to emphasize the importance of small schemes in present circumstances.

And now a point about big projects. To implement them we will have to depend a good deal on foreign aid. Apart from that, many of such schemes — say hydro-electric schemes — even when implemented, will continue to depend on technical foreign aid, for instance, on spare parts and such other assistance. The times demand that we should not undertake a plan for which we continue to depend on foreign help in one form or the other, for the future is so uncertain. Suppose we launch some big project today, and after some time, say due to another war, commercial dealings between the nations stop. If we are dependent on foreign assistance for that project, then due to communication, or shipment difficulties the whole scheme might come to a dead end. So I say that it is better that we go slow, but depend on our own resources, rather than take up grand schemes which make us lean on others. I would go further and say that we should follow this principle of self-sufficiency and self-help even in the matter of arms and armaments. I am in favour of depending on arms made in India rather than import from abroad, whatever their excellence.

These days we are hearing a lot about community centres and community schemes. We have, for example, Nilokheri and Faridabad centres. I consider such schemes of fundamental value. The central idea of these schemes is to teach our people to work in cooperation with one another to raise their material standards. Production of more food and goods is, I should say, a secondary aim.

I repeat I do want large factories and projects in India. I only want to point out that their good effect will be felt by our people after rather a long time. And sometimes, these grand schemes of ours might even go awry.

And now I come to our housing problem. I can speak with confidence about the housing conditions of labour in Kanpur, in my own State. I am utterly ashamed of the housing conditions there. Our first task should be to burn them down, even before any alternate accommodation for labour is thought of. Today Kanpur has the highest incidence of tuberculosis in India. I say in all earnestness that I would tolerate closing down of all the mills of Kanpur and the consequent fall in our output, rather than letting such inhuman conditions prevail. I have no place for any scheme, howsoever grandiose, if it results in the degradation of man. Top priority should be given to maintaining the dignity of man. After all, all economic plans are meant to help man in his evolution. Since I saw the Kanpur slums, I have virtually been in the grip of an obsession, and that is why I cannot help making a reference to them anywhere and everywhere, whether there is an occasion for it or not.

I have been deeply impressed by what I saw at Sindri and Chittaranjan, the latter specifically. The city that they have built, the amenities and the working conditions they have provided, are really commendable. I have not come across better working and living conditions anywhere in India.

After all, what is our aim? Is it not to help our people, collectively and individually, to go forward in attaining maximum self-development? That is our real aim. Even production comes after that. It is here that these community centres can help us a great deal. That is why I have been talking about them to you even though you are not directly concerned. I would say please do whatever you can for these centres. Perhaps you can also gain something from them. Even veterans like those present here will surely gain by a visit to Nilokheri. There you will see a great economic experiment going on, without much fuss or ado, where every individual of that small township of about 12,000 is busy in some productive work. Nilokheri is now paying back all that was invested on it for the past two or three years. If there were many centres like Nilokheri in India, perhaps the face of our country would have changed sooner than we could imagine. This I say cannot be achieved by a few big factories and mills. I should like to see a harmonious development of both.

One of our major problems today is that of establishing a healthy and harmonious link between our towns and villages. The gulf between city life and rural life has grown wider and wider since the past 150 years or so. Here also, the community centres that we envisage can do wonderful work in relinking the village with the town in happy relationship. I would like you, gentlemen, to give serious thought to this problem.

We would, of course, like your cooperation and to profit by your experience in realizing the targets of the Planning Commission. But I would like to emphasize the need for a reorientation in our outlook. Let us look round. The world has changed, India has changed, and time is showing new phases in development everyday. Comparisons are always odious, but I can say that India has not shown less progress in any way than any country in Asia or Europe during the last four to five years. We have really progressed, in spite of many hurdles in our way. From 15 August 1947 to this date, we have had to face a series of difficulties and disasters, which upset our old plans.

But, I also do not want my countrymen to sit on their laurels. I want my country to go forward at a rapid pace. Our times are such that we have got to take long strides. But we have to move as a people. We have got to carry millions of our countrymen with us. We have to enthuse them with a new fire. Our plans should be such that they are easily understood and appreciated by our people. In this great task of nation-building, you, gentlemen, have to play a very great role. The time is past for airy schemes. For all such Utopias are shattered with the first impact of reality. Paper plans of theoretical



economists will not do. All I can say is that we should always keep the widest interests of the whole country in view. Our yardstick to measure development plans should be the straight question: How far has a scheme been beneficial to the largest number of our people and how many have been inspired by it?

I again emphasize the imperative need of working in cooperation and harmony with one another. Our national weakness since very old times has been too much debating. We have lost the habit of working together. Let us cultivate it afresh.

Once again I congratulate you for celebrating your silver jubilee, and hope that your progress in the future will be greater than in the past.

**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION****II. Science and Technology**





## 1. The Human Aspect and Statistics in Planning<sup>1</sup>

Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have already been welcomed by our President<sup>2</sup> and our Finance Minister.<sup>3</sup> I should like to add words of mine also to welcome you not only as distinguished individuals and distinguished representatives of your different countries,<sup>4</sup> but also as representing a field of knowledge which is becoming more and more important in the world.

I have a feeling of humility before experts, lest I may say something which does not meet with your approval in a variety of ways, and find myself completely defenceless, not possessing adequate knowledge, to reply to your criticisms. I arrived in this field of statistics, as a layman, not by studying special courses in universities but by coming into contact, rather intimate contact, with vast numbers of human beings in India, and finding that they have peculiar problems. I knew those problems, of course, as everybody does, in a kind of intellectual way, problems of poverty, unemployment, lack of primary necessities of life and many other things. But I found that there was a tremendous difference between knowing something intellectually and becoming, if I may say so, emotionally aware of it. And when by intimate contact with masses of human beings in this country this emotional awareness came to me, this, oddly enough, led my mind towards statistics, so that statistics in my mind has at no time been a dry subject of big figures and long columns. Again and again I realized when I was considering the problems of India that they were many and varied; in fact in the ultimate analysis there are 361 million problems in India, that is to say, every individual in India is a problem. Now, that may be an unorthodox approach to the subject but it really did me good.

When about thirteen years ago I became associated with a National Planning Committee<sup>5</sup> (set up by the Indian National Congress) as Chairman, not because of any special knowledge of the subject but presumably to keep those who have that knowledge of working together in harmony, we, all of us, came up against the fact of the absence of accurate data and statistics. It

1. Speech at the inauguration of the twenty-seventh conference of the International Statistical Institute, New Delhi, 5 December 1951. Printed in *The Hindustan Times*, 6 December 1951.
2. Rajendra Prasad.
3. C.D. Deshmukh.
4. The conference, first of its kind in Asia, was attended by three hundred statisticians from twenty-eight countries.
5. The Committee was set up in 1938.



was obvious that if we were to go beyond passing rather pious resolutions containing our hopes and desires for the future, we must have accurate information of the existing state of affairs, and of the changes that have been brought about, the forces at play and such matters. Some progress was made no doubt but not as much as was thought necessary.

Then came the War, and the Finance Minister has told you that the War has also led to some progress; and then later, after the War was over, I came in contact, fairly intimate contact, with the presiding genius of statistics in India, that is Professor Mahalanobis.<sup>6</sup> I visited his Indian Statistical Institute<sup>7</sup> in Calcutta and was duly impressed, and the subject then became not indefinite and vague in my mind but took a much more precise shape. Since then I have followed a little intimately, a little more closely, what is happening in India in regard to statistics and I have been anxious that it should develop.

But together with the anxiety that statistical methods should develop and supply us with the information required in almost any field of activity, and more especially in planning, I was also anxious because of my previous human introduction to problems, to look at statistics from the human point of view and not as something in the abstract. Well, progress has been made in India and certainly the Indian Statistical Institute is something for which we can take some legitimate pride, and for the work of the eminent men connected with it and others who have done good work. I wish personally there had been more of the good work and progress might have been quicker, but then some of us always complain about the speed.

When we had to tackle afresh the question of planning, again the question of statistics came up. It is nearly five or six years ago when I came into a new field of activity by being associated with Government. Almost the first step we took in those days was to appoint a committee to consider the subject of planning, not to plan but to consider and advise us as to what we should do in regard to the matter. That committee reported. Unfortunately we were passing through a very difficult period of political tension which ultimately resulted in the partition of India and independence and many other things that followed, some good, some not so good. And so we could not take up this planning business then. Ultimately about a year and a half ago we did appoint a Planning Commission which as many of you might know, has after considerable labour produced an interim Five Year Plan some three months

6. Prasanta Chandra Mahalanobis was Statistical Adviser to the Government of India from 1949 to 1955.

7. Conceived by Mahalanobis and some others in the 1920s, the Indian Statistical Institute was established in 1932. Parliament by an Act passed in 1959 recognized the Institute as of national importance. It was also empowered to confer degrees.

back.<sup>8</sup> This is still in a provisional stage and probably it will become a little definite and somewhat more final in the course of another two months or so. Of course, no plan can have finality in this moving and changing world, but anyhow we should have some ground to stand upon and work upon, and we are happy that the plan will give us standing room. But I realize fully that this plan is nowhere near what we would like to do and what we have had in mind for many years past. Unfortunately we are limited, naturally, by our capacity and resources. We cannot just forget our capacity and resources and plan in the air, as perhaps many of us were doing previously. So the Five Year Plan looks at first glance something much less than what many people wanted it to be. Nevertheless I am sure that you will all appreciate that the Five Year Plan, apart from what it definitely says or does not say, is a very big step in advance, insofar as the question has been approached in a realistic way and an attempt has been made to look at the whole picture of India with its various activities—industrial, agricultural, social, cultural, etc.—and some kind of a picture has been drawn up. At least we know more or less where we are.

I find in India, and possibly in other parts of the world too, an attempt to answer questions before framing the questions, which is an extraordinary thing of course. Everybody is answering the question without knowing what the question is. In other words everybody is finding a remedy without finding what the malady is. That is, of course, how the world is functioning; and I can say that any attempt at framing the question itself is an advance because you are working on the right lines and looking in the right direction.

What is the right direction? There are many ways of finding an answer to that question. In a country like India and many other countries similarly situated, obviously, we are tied up with the immediate needs of the moment and the near future, that is, the primary needs of three hundred and sixty-one million people of India—food, clothing, housing, education, health services, and the like. These are the primary needs which every individual has a right to expect. These needs to be fulfilled are quite enough to fill our time, and may be a considerable time in the future. So without vistas of progress and distant objectives many of us approached this problem from the point of view of

8. The draft outline of the First Five Year Plan signed on 7 July 1951, involving an outlay of Rs 1,493 crores, laid down in order of priority: (1) the completion of programmes already under way including the rehabilitation of displaced persons; (2) raising the production of food and agriculture largely through increased irrigation; and (3) enlargement of employment opportunities and development of welfare services. It recommended close coordination between the public and private sectors under central direction and a policy to prevent a further rise in prices until they were brought down by increased production.



fulfilling these primary needs of our people and not from the point of view of discussing theories, if I may say so, or 'isms'. It is a more realistic approach, because otherwise we argue theoretically and academically and perhaps do not get going with the actual problems. Of course we cannot think in a vacuum, but must have some methodical way of thinking, in which direction we are looking, in which direction we are going.

Anyhow this Five Year Plan, which I hope will be improved within the next two months, has become the basis of our natural activity and is a step forward. I think all future economic and social thinking in India, however it may vary and whatever direction it may take, will somehow be based on the Five Year Plan. Because here there is something solid. So without asking anybody's acceptance of everything contained in the Five Year Plan, I may confidently claim that it was something that had to be done, and insofar as it has been done, has been well done. That, of course, does not mean that opinions may not vary, as they do vary about something that it says and something that it does not say, about the priorities that it gave and did not give. Naturally everyone is anxious and eager to bring about rapid changes in India, more especially in the conditions of our vast population. It is a continuing aim. When I go to various parts of India, I see large numbers of my fellow countrymen and women, and more especially the children of the country—the children who whenever given an opportunity show great capacity—however for want of that a large number of them as also the grown-ups do not have any opportunity of clothing and housing.

We may pass resolutions and function in the government in a big way, as a big government, and yet planning, specially for those without basic needs, should be done. So immediately my mind begins to consider this human problem, how to face this, how to get rid of these wants and primary lacks which our people are suffering from. I hope that once we get going with our Five Year Plan, we shall make much more rapid progress because we know where we are. Our plan is limited and conditioned by our Constitution, by more or less the economic structure and social structure we are functioning under, by the social practices, to some extent, that sometimes retard our progress. We have to tackle all these problems and it is not an easy matter to tackle in a vast country something which involves the lives of hundreds of millions of human beings, and yet it has to be done. Some kind of a first and effective step has been taken with regard to this Five Year Plan. But again if this Five Year Plan is to proceed, statistics becomes an essential basis for it. We cannot proceed without adequate data not only of the existing conditions, but of the changes that are taking place, the forces at play, the targets aimed at, and how far we have achieved them or failed. A constant scrutiny to check if we have taken the wrong step, is necessary.

One problem, which is still the primary problem in India, and in fact in

Asia, is the land problem. It affects all other problems, it affects the great majority of our population. We are undergoing the process of agrarian reform on a vast scale. I wish it were swifter than it is; we want to push it ahead as far as we can. We are endeavouring to do peacefully and with as large a measure of goodwill as possible, something that has been done in many other places in different ways, not peacefully, and with greater upsets. Whether we would succeed in that completely or not, I cannot say. Whether our previous approach to the problem is correct or some variation is necessary, I cannot say. But I am quite sure that the land problem in India is the primary problem and everything else comes next. If we can solve this problem, we will be able to solve many of the three hundred and sixty-one million problems.

Then we are connected in some ways with the food problem, which has been acute in this country again for a variety of reasons and has given us a lot of trouble. No government, as you no doubt appreciate, can afford to see large numbers of people in India suffer from lack of food, remain on the verge of famine or sometimes be even in a still worse condition. Well, we have succeeded in preventing that kind of disaster which has occurred, frequently enough, in the previous history of India. But it is again a great strain, and in the ultimate analysis, we have to produce more and enough in our country. That becomes a priority, a first priority.

So, in planning, I have tried to think in terms of the primary necessities of our people rather than of any particular theory. Naturally, in thinking of these problems one does develop a line of thought, but I hope that line of thought does not become so rigid as to make one ignore the actual facts.

I find in almost all branches of knowledge today, a high degree of specialization which is inevitable and necessary, but, then, as a consequence we are led to a stage where there is a certain hiatus between the specialist and his field of knowledge, and the rest of the world of the common man. While specialization is completely necessary, it is unfortunate that specialists should function in a way somewhat cut off from the rest of the world. How far that applies to the specialists in the field of statistics, I do not know. But the science of statistics itself has developed in recent years much more keeping the human aspect in view. It has considered problems from the human point of view and how to solve these ailments which humanity is suffering from.

At the same time, the cultural aspects of life are also as important as the material aspect. In spite of the tremendous advance and progress of the world, especially of the western world, somehow we seem to be slipping away from the cultural standards the world possessed previously. Whether that is the effect of a highly mechanized civilization which we have developed, I do not know. I suspect that the beginning of the Industrial Revolution one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty years ago started a process, which is a continuing process, a rapid process, which we see today, functioning



with extreme rapidity. It has brought inestimable advances in the world. There is no doubt about it. We welcome it of course. At the same time, it is perhaps affecting the human mind to some extent in a wrong direction, i.e., making it somewhat mechanical, and thereby perhaps lessening that thing which we called in the old days, cultural civilization which is very important, because it is something different, something in addition to the material achievements of civilization or culture. So the question comes whether something is lacking in this great progress which we are achieving or seek to achieve and which makes it not so rich in content as it ought to be. I am not a specialist in any field, but I am a dabbler in many fields. I think the temper of science, the spirit of science, is quite essential. Having said this, I confess to you that sometimes I look back to the temper of man, not so much his physical environment, in olden times. After all, civilization is ultimately of the mind, not of big buildings and the like.

As I have said, I am glad to find that there is a tendency in statistics to deal with the human aspect of the problem and this is how statistics has become much more important. There still remain realities such as beauty or goodness and I wonder if statisticians can ever devise a measure for such intangibles.

## 2. Science and the Creative Mind<sup>1</sup>

It is becoming a custom for the Science Congress to invite me year after year to its annual sessions and for me to come here and utter some platitudes. While I know that I do not throw any particular light on the problems you may have to consider, I attend partly because it satisfies me—I am interested in the development of science in India—and partly because, representing the Government of India, I wish to convey to you its sympathy, its message of encouragement, and its faith in the future of science in India.

I am particularly gratified to be able to come here today. The city of Calcutta has played an important part in the development of so many things in India. The pioneering efforts in science, so far as India is concerned, took

1. Speech at the inauguration of the thirty-ninth session of the All-India Science Congress at Calcutta, 2 January 1952. From the *Proceedings of the thirty-ninth Indian Science Congress*, (Calcutta, 1952), pp.29-31.

place in this city. The holding of this session in Calcutta this year is a particularly fortunate event.

A proud achievement of the Government of India during the past four or five years has been the setting up of a large number of very fine national laboratories all over India. We can take legitimate pride in this achievement. We have thought it essential for future progress in the country to lay these foundations. They are not very spectacular and many people in India do not perhaps realize their importance. They want something more obvious. But these laboratories should produce important results—results which will help to bring about a certain mental outlook in men, a particular mental climate beneficial to our general progress.

Science has attained great heights but it has also failed to produce the environment so necessary for the successful implementation of development plans. It is perhaps this lack of study of man's mind, which has not kept pace with the study of other things, which has led to the present hiatus. Whether we can close this gap or not, is not certain but we must make the attempt.

Scientists can do a great deal towards creating this mental climate and I feel that we have done a great thing in India by setting up these laboratories and thus encouraging and developing the growth of science. I hope the Central and State Governments will be able to continue this great work to the best of their ability.

I have come here at a time when I am touring India and coming into contact with large masses of people. It has been an overpowering experience for me and it has naturally produced strong reactions in my mind. It has brought me very close to Indian humanity and the people's problems are now before me in a very acute form, in a more intimate and personal way than could have been achieved by studying books and statistics. At present, I am thinking of everything in relation to this large mass of people and of how we can solve or attempt to solve their problems.

Another thing which I have felt is that, apart from problems, which may yield possibly to scientific or other treatment, there are those affecting large numbers of human beings which cannot be effectively solved without the whole-hearted cooperation and practical understanding of the people themselves.

I know something of the Indian people for they have allowed me to look into their minds and hearts. I have found that the approach through affection produces tremendous reactions. This may be true of people all over the world but, speaking for Indians, I feel that when the approach to them is one of affection and cooperation, their reaction is tremendous and they will do much more than you expect or demand from them.

Because of this, I view these problems which confront our country and people not only from academical, scientific and statistical viewpoints, but also from the human point of view—how to gain the understanding and willing



cooperation of the people. We can do it but we will have to proceed carefully and in the right way.

Scientists too will have to be not merely scientists but human beings as well. This applies also to all of us and especially to those who work in the Secretariat. As a person intimately connected with the administration of the country and concerned with the welfare of the people of India, I want scientists to help me to rid the country of its poverty and ignorance and give the people the good things of life.

Now about the questions I have asked at the recent conference of the statisticians<sup>2</sup> held in New Delhi. There had been some criticism of those questions. Somehow the questions have become connected with the elections now taking place in the country. But when I asked the questions I did not have the elections in mind at all. I was rather thinking of much larger developments which are taking place in the world. I am merely trying to understand these developments because without understanding them it is difficult to function.

In the world today, a great deal is happening which is not admirable. There is ceaseless conflict and trouble although any reasonable person can see that there are enough resources in the world to solve all problems if only people are willing to sit together and reach a solution peacefully. They can thus solve not only the problems of any one section of the world but of the entire universe. Instead, there are preparations on all sides for large-scale destruction.

The problem which I posed at the conference in Delhi was how the tremendous developments made in every branch of science were affecting that very road to progress—the human mind. After all, it is the human mind that produces the wealth we see around us. If we look at history we will find numerous occasions when the human mind not only in India but in other parts also has functioned with extraordinary brilliance.

Was the environment in which that brilliance stood out a mere accident or could it be reproduced to the benefit of society today? If that is so, are the tendencies in the modern world going that way or are they hindering the production of that environment or are they doing both—that is, on the one hand, producing the environment for the development of the human mind, and on the other hand, producing forces which may limit it, hinder it, or repress it altogether.

I am not posing this question in a spirit of pessimism. I have never been a pessimist. I think the phase of life we are passing through is a great adventure. The tremendous development of an industrial civilization has brought in some

2. See the preceding item.

ways enormous happiness due to the application of science and scientific principles. But science also produces weapons of destruction. I am thinking of this industrial civilization becoming more technical and scientific and thereby I am wondering whether it will ultimately affect the creative energy of man.

The question is an important one. You know that in an authoritarian regime there is much progress all round, but there is also a tendency for man's mind to become limited because it has no freedom to develop. In a sense, the very development of a highly technical civilization begins to affect man unconsciously and you may get the uniform mind, the purely mechanized mind which is further and further removed from the creative mind.

### 3. The Spirit and Frontiers of Science<sup>1</sup>

Ladies and Gentlemen,

First, I wish to make it perfectly clear that I am not speaking in my capacity as Prime Minister. As such there was no point at all in my addressing this gathering. You have a large number of distinguished speakers and from the list, I find, there are seven more to speak. But Dr Bhatnagar<sup>2</sup> thought that in my capacity as his Minister, i.e., Minister in charge of Scientific Research, it would have been perhaps, unbecoming if I did not take part in this ceremony. Of course, I could have taken part even if I did not deliver a speech; but I am not averse to public speaking, and it has been even hinted that I speak too often and too long. On this present occasion, I have been so hedged in by those who have gone before me and those who will follow me that there is no risk of my speaking too long.

I should like, in particular, to express to you, Mr Chairman<sup>3</sup>, my gratitude for having taken the trouble to come here today. We all know that you are exceedingly occupied during these days, that it was difficult for you to come, and yet I pressed you and put this additional burden on you, for two reasons.

1. Speech at the opening ceremony of the auditorium of the National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, 14 January 1952. File No. 17(250)/52-PMS.
2. S.S. Bhatnagar was Secretary, Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research at this time.
3. S. Radhakrishnan.



One was that I wanted to associate you with this Laboratory<sup>4</sup> in the beginnings of which you were interested some years ago, and we wanted your blessings for this work. Also, we want to see as much of you as we can during these few days, while we may, and we want to hear from you those words of wisdom that always come out of your lips, to profit by them and to think about them. We are all, and specially those of us who function on this political stage, given to talking often, and talking too long. Words cease to have much meaning when there is too abundant use of them. But what you say is seldom long, and it is always something which makes one think; so we want to profit by that deep store of wisdom that you possess.

As Minister-in-charge of Scientific Research, I should like to welcome the distinguished scientists who have come from foreign countries. It has been a great pleasure to all of us in India to welcome them. Not only do we learn much from them but they bring a wider vision and help to remove that limited outlook which every nation is apt to develop if it does not look beyond its own boundaries. And who can give that broader vision and outlook better than scientists who work in the great fields of knowledge? So we welcome them, and we hope that their visit to us will not merely be a visit of distinguished men, but something that will leave an abiding memory in our minds and in our work so that we may profit by, and work along those lines.

I should also like to say a few words about some colleagues of mine; there are many people who have worked for this National Physical Laboratory. I shall only mention two; I hope the others will forgive me for not mentioning their names. There is our distinguished Director, Dr Krishnan,<sup>5</sup> and possibly it will be difficult to find a shyer and more modest man, and yet those who know that under that shyness and modest exterior, there is a depth and profundity of learning, and it has been a particularly good fortune for us to have him as our Director. And then there is my colleague, Dr Bhatnagar. You, Sir, in your opening address referred to him as a live wire. I come in contact with this live wire frequently. I do not know if that contact does him much good but it does me good, even though sometimes it gives me a little shock. But it is a fact that Dr Bhatnagar has certain qualities which I for one admire very greatly, and one of those qualities is his ability to get things done. It is a quality which, I regret to say, most people lack. We talk a lot about theories and philosophies, and what should be done and what might be done

4. The National Physical Laboratory, inaugurated by Vallabhbhai Patel in January 1950, was to undertake basic research in the fields having a bearing on the problems associated with maintenance of standards, developmental testing and applied research.
5. K.S. Krishnan.

and what ought to be done. But somehow, all that is not translated into things that are done. Dr Bhatnagar has that quality of translating the odd thoughts into action and it is a tremendous quality. I am quite certain that his large programme of building fine national laboratories would never have gone as far ahead as it has, if Dr Bhatnagar had not been in charge of them. So I am very grateful to him for the efficiency and vitality with which he has pursued the undertakings.

Well, Sir, we all nowadays, talk of science in terms of praise. In a sense, we all worship at the altar of science and yet I often wonder if science is not going to meet the same fate as religion did in older times. That is to say, people were very religious, they talked in terms of religion but seldom behaved as religious men. Religion became a set of ceremonial forms and may be, some kind of ritual worship remained but the inner spirit of religion was lost. So I wonder if the very triumph of science in the modern world will not make it some kind of ritual, and the spirit of it may somehow fade away, not from the minds of the elect and the select—that of course always remains—but I am talking about the large numbers of people who talk glibly about science today, and yet who in their ways and actions do not exhibit a trace of science.

Science is not a matter of merely looking at test tubes and mixing this and that and producing things big or small; science, ultimately is a way of training the minds and of the whole life functioning according to the ways and methods of science, that is, the whole structure, social or otherwise, functioning in the spirit of science. If science is truth, then you must follow that truth. But generally speaking, people think of science as something isolated, in terms of test tubes and mechanical appliances which have no other relation to life except as providing them some conveniences. Well, certainly science does and should provide conveniences. Science, indeed has built up the structure of modern life and you cannot exist without it. Wherever you go, you come across some major application of science, and yet the people who utilize that application from morning to evening and profit by it, do not realize what lies behind it—the manner of thinking and the manner of acting and functioning. They take things for granted. They do not know the long history of science, of trials and errors, of experiments and hundreds of failures, and then the success, accidental or as you, Sir, said, deliberately strived for. Nor do they think of the things which are called scientific temper, scientific mind, and scientific method, which really are more important than actual discovery. If you do not have the method but accidentally reach a discovery — well, you have that and no more.

Therefore, I am a little afraid, when I hear so much praise for science, that science is going the way of religion. And that is dangerous so far as I can see. There is yet another way of looking at science, as a kind of hand-maid of a higher and superior kind. Science helps in various ways. Science is



made to help; it is meant to serve. It may serve a good cause; it may serve a bad cause. Its services you can use at will. So, I hope, you will think in terms of science not in that limited way and just as something which helps you to gain your ends. Of course, if your ends are big, then it is well and good; but if the ends are small, and narrow, and limited, then it is not well and good. You should think of science as a method of approach to life and life's problems generally.

As I look at this fine building and think of the large number of young men and young women working in it, dreaming sometimes, and producing results which will flow out and benefit our people in this country and the world, for the matter of that, because the frontiers of science cannot be limited—as I think of those tremendous advances that science has made in the past and the great advances that I hope it is going to make in the future, I am so fascinated by them that I feel how much better it would have been for me to be the Director of this Laboratory, if I had the competence, than to be the Prime Minister.

#### 4. Reorganizing Scientific Research<sup>1</sup>

I am rather surprised to read the copious noting on this file since I wrote my last note in it. As a matter of fact, the file need not have gone to Finance at all in regard to the appointment proposed. These appointments are under the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research and as such are not directly under Government. Of course it is often desirable to consult Finance Ministry and more specially the fixation of any scales of pay should have their approval.

I had referred this matter to H.M. Finance<sup>2</sup> personally, because of my proposal that some of our research institutes which are at present under other Ministers should also be put under N.R.S.R.<sup>3</sup> I think that scientific research should be kept together as far as possible as there is a good deal of overlapping in various institutes which can be avoided if there is this proper coordination. Also I think that research institutes and scientific work do not flourish under normal official direction and routine. One of the remarkable things that we have achieved in the last four years is the great development of our scientific and research work. Eminent foreign experts who have come here have been astonished at it and have praised it highly. The actual results have been considerable even in terms of earning money. They can still be given some more facilities. For instance, our workshop in the National Physical Laboratory

1. Note to the Minister for Finance, 14 March 1952. File No.17(262)/52-PMS.

2. C.D. Deshmukh.

3. Ministry of Natural Resources and Scientific Research.



SIGNING THE INDO-U.S. AGREEMENT, NEW DELHI, 5 JANUARY 1952





AT INAUGURATION OF NPL AUDITORIUM, NEW DELHI, 14 JANUARY 1952

is a very fine one capable of doing a great deal of work. It requires a competent head with practical experience. If necessary we should get a foreigner for this and I understand that it is proposed to get a German expert<sup>4</sup> who is good at this kind of work. I think this is desirable.

The larger question of other scientific research institutes being brought under N.R.S.R. will no doubt be considered at the time of the formation of the new Government and the allotment of portfolios.

I must express some surprise at the fact that some junior officers of the Finance Ministry should sit in judgment on the scientific work of these institutes and decide what should be done and what should not be done. Mr Ratnam<sup>5</sup> in his note has said that he has given some advice about minimizing references from our various laboratories to the central office of the Council. This may or may not be desirable, but it passes my comprehension how Mr Ratnam can judge or advise on this issue. This is a scientific matter and the best judges are the heads of the institutions and the Minister in charge. The whole object of running the Council of Scientific Research and the central laboratories and research institutes under it separately from the normal routine of Government would be defeated if this Council and its institutes were controlled by governmental departments.

As for the work of the Secretary of the Council, it is also surprising that Mr Ratnam should sit down and judge it. He should know that others more competent than he is for this purpose are concerned with this work. I have personally been associated with it very intimately as President and know a great deal about it.

I agree with the Minister of State and H.M. Finance that in view of reshuffling of subjects no major change need be brought about at present; but I think that the Secretary of the Council should continue his search for a competent man to be put in charge of the workshop and of other duties which he indicates so that there might be no delay in this matter.

4. Franz Kiss, a Hungarian, married to a German lady, joined the National Physical Laboratory as a glass technologist in January 1952 and retired as head of the Glass Technology Unit in December 1973.
5. S. Ratnam of the I.A.A.S., was Joint Secretary, Ministry of Finance.

## 5. Research in Atomic Energy<sup>1</sup>

There is no doubt that research work in atomic energy is likely to become

1. Note to S.S. Bhatnagar, 20 March 1952. File No. 17(25)/56-PMS.



more and more important. For us the importance does not lie in the use of atomic energy for military and like purposes, but rather for the development of power for industrial and social use. It has already become apparent that such power can be developed and used. In the U.S.A. this is being done though at present on a small scale. For the U.S.A. this power is not very important, because they have an abundance of power. For a country like India, which is very deficient in this respect, any new supply of power is very important. If atomic energy can be used for these purposes, it can ultimately bring about almost a revolution in India. Probably, with new developments the cost of power derived from atomic energy will be cheaper than the other normal sources, like hydro-electric power, which requires great initial expenditure. Also atomic power will be easily transportable. Thus we can use it for the development, let us say, of the Rajputana desert. Taking a long view, therefore, it appears very necessary that we should develop atomic energy research. We cannot rely on other countries for this and we shall have to find our own way to a large extent.

On the whole, our Atomic Energy Commission has done rather well thus far. In fact it has done a little better than was expected of it.

The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research<sup>2</sup> in Bombay is not only intimately connected with the Atomic Energy Commission, but has become, for all practical purposes, the headquarters of atomic energy work. I agree that we should concentrate on developing this research centre rather than dispersing our activities in nuclear physics. Of course, it is desirable that our universities and other institutes also carry on some work in nuclear physics. But the principal laboratory for some time to come has to be one and the Tata Institute is obviously indicated.

For these reasons it is desirable for Government to help the Tata Institute. I have taken some trouble to get the Bombay Government to agree to giving them a piece of land in Colaba suitable for their new home. A proper building, suited for their various activities, must now be put up and we should help them in doing so. To what extent this is necessary or within our capacity, is a matter for us to consider. *Prima facie*, rupees forty lakhs seems a considerable sum. I have no means of judging whether it is too much or not. I suggest that this matter might be gone into with some care and Finance Ministry, of course, must be consulted. I would suggest that the principle of helping them be accepted and then this matter be considered in detail.

It might also be necessary to consider what the future direction of the Institute should be, that is to say, how far Government should have some greater part in it.

2. Established in 1945, the Institute is recognized as a national centre for advanced study and fundamental research in nuclear science and mathematics.

**NATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION**  
**III. Education, Culture and Health**





## 1. Medical Education<sup>1</sup>

Your Highness,<sup>2</sup> Chief Minister<sup>3</sup> and friends,

When I was invited to this ceremony to open this college, I agreed of course because it seems to me a desirable and worthwhile undertaking, but I knew little about what has been done and what it was. Subsequently, reading from papers and reports, and now coming up here and looking at the scene, I realize the significance and the extent of this scene, and I am considerably impressed by it. You have chosen first of all, a magnificent site for this college and hospital. You have put up what appeared to be worthy structures, with a certain dignity and at the same time, no frivolity about them, and there is a look of efficiency from outside at least; I do not know what happens inside. So I am happy to be here, and grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to come. It is indeed surprising that this State should not have had a medical college thus far. The Chief Minister mentioned this fact, that people from this State, the Malayalees have attained distinction in the medical services and large numbers have gone abroad for medical training. It is not necessary to remind me about the people from this State going outside the State because I am surrounded by them wherever I go, more especially in Delhi.

Now a hospital, a modern hospital, of course, is essential for a State, but as you no doubt know, the conception of medical teaching, rather of health services, is changing, and more and more stress is being laid not so much on centralization, which of course is essential to some extent, but rather on reaching the people by various forms of health services. I hope that in your scheme that you have drawn up here, you will keep that in view. Ultimately, of course, every State should have some kind of regular health services reaching every individual. That is to say, not treating him when he is ill, but preventing him from falling ill. The true conception of promoting health is to prevent ill health, not to deal with ill health when it comes. There should also be arrangements for regular check-ups and health insurance. I hope that you will develop your services to some extent on those lines, and open all kinds of health centres — small ones — all over the place which can be relievers to your hospital and can take the burden off your hospital. To some extent it is very nice and gratifying to see great buildings put up as centres, for whatever it may be, health, education, etc. They not only do good work, but have a certain

1. Speech at the opening of the medical college, Thiruvanthapuram, 27 November 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.
2. The Maharaja of Travancore, the Rajpramukh of Travancore-Cochin since 1 July 1949.
3. C. Kesavan.



psychological influence also. Nevertheless, my faith in great buildings, is somewhat lessening. What I mean is this, that after all a great building serves a particular purpose in a centre, and we are apt to forget that the service required is far removed from the centre too, and the distant places do not get that service. And so I am beginning to think that while on the one hand, some kind of centralization is essential, what is even more necessary is to spread out the services all over in a small way, not in a showy way. Now a great building you may have, if you like, but much more important really is reaching the people in their day-to-day troubles and not to wait for them to come when they are seriously ill. These two lines of approach which I should like you to think about—one is spreading out some kind of health centres all over the State, simple, not expensive, not showy, nevertheless, doing good work and beginning, if I may say so, with the children and then going up to older people. Children's health centres where they can bring along their parents too, but primary care will be the children and then the parents if there is time to look after them. And the second is developing some kind of health insurance. I do not know very much about the details of what has been done in the United Kingdom. But what little I know and what people have told me that the development of their health services has been extraordinarily good; at any rate it has brought relief to a vast numbers of people there.<sup>4</sup>

Whether we can do all that I do not know. It depends on availability of resources and many other factors, but it is desirable to look in that direction. Ultimately I hope, even a system of private practitioners, such as we have nowadays, will fade away. At least, to some extent, if not wholly, because it does seem, as long ago Bernard Shaw pointed out, that the whole system seems to be based on a certain desirability of keeping a person ill rather than well. It is said that the old Chinese system was for the doctor to be paid so long as you were well, as soon as you fell ill you did not pay him. It is a much more sensible and reasonable system. Whether the modern government there practises this or not, I do not know.

So these are some ideas that I should like you to think about, because we must proceed in every matter that we take in hand from a social point of view now. The individual outlook is rapidly changing, the idea of well-being is not disappearing, it is still strong enough, but it is not the dominant note of the age today. Whether you think in terms of industry or anything, in any activity, social aspect of it comes to the forefront—especially things such as education and health. Here, obviously, the social aspect of it is not important, and it is not good enough to put up big and huge structures without any regard to the wider interests of the people that are involved in it.

4. The national health service in U.K. was launched in 1948 by which hospital service and specialist care was made free. The State received an annual subsidy of £40 million from the national insurance fund to meet the cost.

Now, I was particularly pleased to learn from the speech of the Chief Minister that His Highness the Rajpramukh has given a contribution for a children's wing of the hospital. Well, that of course, is very desirable but again I hope that the children's wing that you put up here is as unlike a hospital as anything can be. In fact it should not look like a hospital, should not smell like a hospital, and should not feel like a hospital. It should be a children's place where they can feel at home and can play about and can be looked after too.

I am particularly interested in the looking after of children in this way and when I just mentioned to you, something about health services, I think, that we should begin really with children. In this connection, I do not know of course, what type you have got here in Travancore. But some years back in Madras, I visited what is called Ashok Vihar,<sup>5</sup> which pleased me tremendously. The type of work that is being done there, it seems to me, was extraordinarily good. In fact, in some of the new townships that are growing up in the north, round about Delhi, chiefly for the refugees and displaced persons that had come, at least in some of them we are trying to develop these health services on those lines. It is difficult, and is difficult in the sense of cost involved and because if one does it in one place, other places demand it and it is not possible to do it immediately all over. Well, some such health centres too, if they are set up, not only to look after the physical health, but the mental well-being of the neighbourhood, the children, the grown-ups, the young boys and girls, the mothers and others, I think these will bring about a tremendous change.

So, I hope, this medical college and hospital attached to it will achieve these social aims and expand in that direction and not merely show results in terms of so many graduates turned out as if produced by some kind of a machine. I am terrified by the number of graduates that are being turned out by our universities. I do not know about the medical colleges but the normal out-turn of graduates in this country is very large and, and if I may say it, it is rather poor in quality at present. Of course it is not something to go talking about, but the fact remains that it is a very serious matter—the deterioration in quality in our education, in our higher education that is taking place. The most extraordinary thing happened now, I do not know, students' strike because they do not like a professor and they demand a professor of their own choice, and they go on strike if anything goes against their will, anything in connection with fees and such matters. All the time, like a conflict between labour and capital, there is conflict between teachers and students. This is an extraordinary

5. An institution, founded by Lady Nye in 1947-48, provided free medical aid and attention to children and their families on a token charge of one anna a month per child. The Provincial Welfare Fund provided financial assistance to the institution.



situation. So, the main thing is that we must not allow any deterioration in standards, otherwise the country goes down. There is no doubt about it.

I think one of the chief difficulties has been this association of degrees with service, State service specially, because it becomes a channel for service and people look to it so much for purposes of getting service. Now, I believe the University Commission suggested that we have a divorce between the two. Service must have nothing to do with degrees obtained in a university. Naturally it may be one of the factors concerned, but that somehow they should be separated, then only will the degrees in the universities be worth something, because people will not expect anything to come out of them. They will work for them, they will try to be trained rather than get the degrees. However, I am only putting forward this other line of thinking for you all to ponder over.

I am quite sure that this fine institution will grow and will be of a great service to the State. I am supposed to declare it open now. So, I declare this medical college open.

## 2. Museums and Culture<sup>1</sup>

I am grateful to you for inviting me to inaugurate this centenary celebrations, because I am deeply interested in my own, rather, layman's way in museums. I am not an expert in anything, but I have dabbled in a large number of activities and I am interested in many things. I am even interested in an expert. From a distance it is obvious that experts have their use. But, often enough, the experts think that they function only in a world of experts for other experts. With the result that they somehow lose touch with other persons, who are not experts or with the common man or a layman. I merely mentioned that because I have felt, I cannot speak about the Madras Museum, I have not been here and I have not been connected with it, but in regard to other museums in India that they live in some upper stratosphere unconnected with humanity, and very few persons ever find their way there, except as experts.

1. Speech at the inauguration of the centenary celebrations of the Madras Museum, 27 November 1951. A.I.R. tapes, N.M.M.L.

Now, museums I think are very necessary from various points of view, and some of the most exhilarating time that I have spent has been in museums, not in this country, but chiefly in Europe, and I have always been rather sorry that I could not spend much more time. What exactly a museum is and what purpose it serves is a question that can be answered in many ways. I suppose it is some kind of a concealed history, some kind of an effort to put a bit of the past locked up in your cabinets and places so that we may have a glimpse at it. It is a place where you collect beautiful objects and it is good to have beautiful objects for people to look at, because more and more people seem to lose all idea about what beauty is, and get surrounded by articles which certainly are not beautiful, whatever else they may be. It is quite extraordinary, how most people are losing completely any real appreciation of beauty. What is the reason? I am not talking of India, but of many other countries too, whether it is symptomatic of the modern age, I do not know. But the fact remains that we are getting more and more shoddy and sometimes what is worse we seem to take pride in the fact that we are shoddy. Therefore, it is desirable to collect articles of beauty.

May I say in this respect that, even let us take a thing like children's toys. Why children have to be presented with a horrible gollywog I do not know. No doubt, children are interested in animals and they should have animals to play with but why not have beautiful things, why not train them in the appreciation of beauty from their childhood onward. Instead of that they are presented with things in the shape of toys which are a caricature of anything that you see and which, no doubt, perhaps excite and incite them, but nevertheless, take them away from learning to appreciate beauty. So, because of this tendency, which it appears to me, will grow in the world—this lack of appreciation of any kind of beauty—it is desirable to collect articles of beauty from the past, or the present, so that we may have some standards at least to judge by, and that people who come there may see articles of beauty for a while at least, otherwise they may not see them generally in their lives.

But there is another aspect of a museum. I said it is the concealed history or whatever it may be. Do people go there to see just odd things oddly displayed, just to see something that existed five hundred or a thousand years ago, as an oddity, or do they go to see something from which some chain of ideas may come into their heads, which may be somehow related to the present or not. I do not know, how history is taught because I hardly learnt history in the normal way in college. I learnt it by myself and therefore my reading was not at all guided by any expert. It was casual reading, though widespread. Anyhow, I was fascinated by history but my fascination was not reading about the odd events that happened, but always rather its connection with what followed, leading up to the present. It was only then that it became alive to me, otherwise it was just an odd thing—stories or something unconnected



with my life or my country's life, or the world's life. But when it seems to be somehow connected in a series that is leading to something, and that leading to something is leading to the present, then only it becomes alive to me. Now, applying that to a museum, a museum which is meant really to interest and educate, must be something which connects its objects with the things which the visitors are used to, or with their lives or their environment. It should not be just a symbol of a distant and unconnected past. I do not know, how far our experts think on these lines or prepare their museums on these lines. It is not the normal antiquarian's view of things. An antiquarian is necessary, of course, when you collect the antiquities. But an antiquarian who himself becomes a piece of antiquity is not much good. He must have some relation to the modern world; then only he can connect that piece of antiquity to the modern world, and thereby make it a living thing for those who see it and understand it.

You would forgive me for these rather personal reflections, but it seems to me not correct, not right for us to treat any period of the past as something cut off, separated, from our subsequent period or the present. If I look at it that way, it does not interest me much but if there is the slightest connection between that and my present-day thoughts or activities, then it has a great lesson for me and it is of great interest to me. I am giving this rather personal reaction to events because I think it might interest some of you, and especially those connected with museums.

Now, there is this grave danger in the modern world that people, in their desire and in their necessity to specialize, lose perspective of other things. They become specialists and very fine specialists in their jobs undoubtedly. They can do better than anybody else, but they lose the larger view of things and therefore, perhaps, they might be said to be, only specialists and nothing more. Some of you may know, a line or two, by some English poet, "a primrose by the river's brim, a yellow primrose was to him and it was nothing more", like a botanist who studies Latin names of flowers and loses all sense of the beauty of flowers. So, we in our desire to specialize as we must, we face this danger that we may spend all our energy over that one department, which we specialize in and but remain deprived of many for the rest of our life. In other words, we become expert of something and lack in wisdom about everything else, and perhaps, in the world today, the people are so learned in so many subjects, and yet there is so little wisdom. We all know, something about a little part of life, and very little about the larger scheme of things.

Now, coming back to the museum—a museum, which is a collection of all kinds of things of beauty or utility of the past and the present, should convey to us some idea of the larger scheme of things. It should, like everything else, ultimately lead to an understanding of the present scheme of things or

help to some extent to that end. I like museums of antiquity. I have spent very long hours, and yet I always felt that I could spend much more in a museum—in some of the museums of Europe and in art galleries. But there is that other type of museum, which perhaps antiquarians consider of a lower species, that is the type which might be represented by, let us say, the Deutsches Museum of Munich, or some museums in Paris or some in London—the South Kensington Museum. That is of modern life, modern activity, the growth of all kinds of things, which modern life uses. You can see scientific growth, the pre-scientific period and the rest. It is a fascinating thing to see such places which provide more education than a year's course in any college or university. Now, that is also a thing which I should like to grow, as a part of general education, college education, school education, call it what you like.

Lastly, the whole point of museums is, whatever they may be, whether museums of antiquities or museums of modern life, the whole point is that, more and more number of people should visit them and should learn from them. They should not be confined to visiting by the directors of museums from other countries, but large number of people should come and should learn from them. In fact, the facilities for their learning should be given, that is to say that some arrangements be made for lectures to be given to ordinary folk who come there, and there should be guides to explain to them what those exhibits are so as to arouse their interest in the museums. Arrangements should be made for school children and college boys and girls who come there, so that they can learn from them. That is the main purpose of museums. I would not mind very much if no adult came to a museum because his mind is rather tied up and is not always capable of learning much; but in the formative period of childhood and youth, it is very necessary that they should come to museums and learn all they can. They might be affected by those articles, by the objects that they see there. So I should like this part of a museum, of any museum, to be developed greatly. The public appeal, to encourage them to come, to invite the people to come, and to invite not only the people who normally would come, but in fact, if I may say, to search out such people to come, who may not come otherwise. Explain it to them, to their children. They are the parents of the children, so explain it to them, so that they may widen their vision and feel that the world is bigger than they normally thought it was.

You would forgive me for these odd reflections. As I grow older, I tend to philosophise and dole out my advice to others. But I am happy to be here, to participate in this centenary celebration of this oldest of India's museums, and I hope it will flourish and expand, and expand in the direction that I have indicated.



### 3. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 7, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Your next budget, I take it, will be more or less a carry-on budget. Nevertheless, I would greatly welcome your making some provision in it, if that is at all possible, for the encouragement of cultural and like activities. You need not give too many details and these can be thought out later. But some such encouragement would not only be good in itself but would also be greatly appreciated by large numbers of people. It will indicate that we have some interest in the finer aspects of life. I should like to encourage literature, drama, music, dancing, etc.

Apart from domestic needs, I think we should definitely cater for Indians abroad. This can be done in two ways — scholarships and libraries at selected places. We give some scholarships already and they have borne very good fruit. The whole of Africa has been influenced by this act of ours and looks up to India. My Ministry has prepared two notes for discussion with you. These notes deal with this question of scholarships to students from overseas countries and libraries abroad. The idea is to do something on a very much smaller scale of the kind that the British Council does. Dutt<sup>2</sup> has prepared two notes on this. I am not sending these to you directly now, but I am asking Dutt to have a talk with the Finance Secretary<sup>3</sup> so that it might be easier for you to consider this. I have not myself considered the notes, but I agree entirely with the principles involved.

I should like a sum of roundabout Rs 50/- lakhs to be put aside for the encouragement of cultural activities in India and abroad. If you think this is too much, it might be reduced.<sup>4</sup> How we spend it will, of course, have to be considered carefully.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (229)/52-PMS.

2. Subimal Dutt, Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs at this time.

3. K.R.K. Menon.

4. Although in his letter to Nehru of 16 February, Deshmukh had promised to consider the Education Ministry's proposals for augmenting the existing activities within a ceiling of an additional Rs 25 lakhs, his actual budget allocation for cultural activities for 1952-53 was only about Rs 8.5 lakhs, out of which Rs 2 lakhs were provided for promoting cultural relations with foreign countries and the rest for encouraging educational and cultural activities in India.

#### 4. Quality of Films<sup>1</sup>

I had hoped to visit the International Film Festival which is taking place in Bombay.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry that I am unable to do so. This film festival is not only the first of its kind in India, but also in Asia, and I am glad that more than twenty-five countries have sent in entries and a considerable number have sent their delegates. It is fitting that this festival should take place in Bombay, which is the biggest producing centre in India. India, I am told, is the second biggest film producer in the world, coming only after the United States of America. This quantity production is impressive, but I would like to lay stress on quality. I hope that the Indian film industry, which has made such great progress in the past, will make every effort to improve the quality of our films also.

The film has become a powerful influence in people's lives. It can educate them rightly or wrongly. There are the educational and documentary films which are important and which should be encouraged. But even the other films can be made to influence our people in the right direction. I do not mean that they should be propaganda films in the rather crude sense of the word. I mean that they should introduce artistic and aesthetical values in life and encourage the appreciation of beauty in all its aspects. I hope that films which are just sensational or melodramatic or such as make capital out of crime, will not be encouraged.

If our film industry keeps this ideal before it, it will encourage good taste and help in its own way, in the building up of the new India.

The Festival and the Exhibition<sup>3</sup> will bring new ideas from other countries. I hope that we shall profit by these ideas.

I wish all success to the Festival.

1. Message to the International Film Festival, New Delhi, 14 January 1952. J.N. Collection,
2. The main festival was held in Bombay from 24 January to 1 February 1952. The festival was later held in Madras, Delhi and Calcutta also. Nehru inaugurated it in Delhi on 21 February. Twenty-three countries and the United Nations participated in the festival with forty feature films and about a hundred short films.
3. An exhibition of film equipment was held during the Bombay and Calcutta sessions of the festival.



## 5. National Art Treasures Fund<sup>1</sup>

I am interested in the building up of a museum containing national art treasures and I think that the proposal to have a National Art Treasures Fund is good. (I do not see why it should be called Purchase Fund). I do not quite understand why we are unable to take advantage of the money with us or promised by Governments for the purchase of art treasures before the financial year ends. This should have nothing to do with the inauguration of the Fund. The money is there and it can be used.

2. However, the Fund certainly can be started formally on a suitable date and I am prepared to inaugurate it.<sup>2</sup>...

1. Note, 5 February 1952. File No. 40(25)/56-PMS. Extracts.

2. See the next item.

## 6. Art Museums<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,  
I have accepted with pleasure the task of inaugurating this Fund<sup>3</sup> not because I happen to be a particularly suitable person in matters connected with art, but as an inexperienced layman who greatly admires it. Anyhow, I do consider it very important, if I may say so, that the artistic side of a nation's growth, the aesthetic side, should be given prominence. Naturally, a Government has to deal primarily with what might be called the primary needs of the people. One can hardly think of anything before the primary needs are satisfied. Nevertheless no country, no people, can subsist only on these primary needs; certainly they cannot grow. One has to provide them with other fare, apart from food, clothing and other necessities of life. After all, when we talk of

1. Speech at the inauguration of the National Art Treasures Fund, New Delhi, 23 February 1952. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Abul Kalam Azad, Union Minister for Education.

3. The National Art Treasures Fund was created to purchase and preserve suitable art objects for the National and State Museums. A joint and cooperative organization of the Central and State Governments, the Fund was administered by a non-official body.

the growth of a people, of civilization, of cultural life, we think of all manner of things, apart from these primary needs. We think of their mental, intellectual and spiritual growth, and of the artistic and aesthetic sides of their lives. We think also perhaps of the danger that some of these primary needs of life might suffer if other tendencies grow, which are very important provided they are kept within proper bounds and not allowed to become the masters of human destiny.

We stand here today in Delhi. Delhi has not got a really proper museum. We have some small and good collections here but they are practically nothing compared to the great museums of Europe and America. And that is what we need, more especially for our children who get their ideas of beauty or lack of beauty, from such institutions where children see articles of beauty and artistic merit. If I may say so with all respect, the Governmental structures of Delhi are not all very beautiful to look at, although some of them are obviously meant to impress. If you want to see beauty, to see India architecturally, you have to go back to the older buildings of another age. So it is important not only from the point of view of keeping these treasures intact and available and reachable, but also from the point of view of rising generations, so that they can look at them and get some idea of India in regard to these finer aspects of life, and not merely think of it, well, in terms of the type of history that we read. I should personally imagine that any proper teaching of history should include this as an essential element, i.e., the artistic and cultural development of a people. Apart from that it becomes a string of events, of battles and of kings, which cannot possibly inspire anybody or do much good. It does not really very much matter if you remember the names of kings or not, or if you remember the names of a few battles or not, but it does very much matter that you remember the artistic achievements of the race.

In India we have some good museums, I believe, though even they can hardly be compared with the great museums and galleries of the West. But essentially the type of great art that we have got has to be seen on the site itself. It is not normally a thing to be placed in a museum, sometimes because it is part of big structures and sometimes because it has almost grown out of the very rocks and it is part of the natural scene, like some of our great sculptures, or caves and frescoes and the like. Well, that is right, and these places should become even much more than they are now, places of pilgrimage for us, artistic pilgrimage, so that we may learn something from them not only of the past but something of the grace of life which can perhaps affect our present life also. We cannot transport these big architectural monuments but there are plenty of art treasures in India to keep together. It is important that we should keep these things for ourselves, not only for ourselves but also for our friends from outside India who may come here and who may like to



see them assembled in a few places rather than to have to hunt for them in all odd places all over India.

I think that this step which is proposed is an important step in this direction because art like some other things should not become just a governmental thing and should not depend entirely on Government's encouragement. Governments should of course encourage it, but Governments have a peculiar way of working and they become rigid and, somehow, unfortunately, they lose touch with the popular mind. Therefore, it is right that we should bring in others into this organization; in fact, if I may say so, give the lead to them, to our people, people who love art, to take part in it and to build up these great art-collections.

Here is this city of New Delhi and there is old Delhi nearby. Well, there are many things in old Delhi which perhaps many of us and many of you do not like. They are capable of improvement. Nevertheless there are many things in old Delhi, for instance, old buildings, which stand out pre-eminently. But there is something more than that. There is the spirit and the genius of an ancient city, where almost every stone tells you a story, where history is embedded even in the dirty lanes, history of events, history of a people going through happiness and sorrow through long ages past. There is this ancient city with much that is good and much that is bad, but it has a definite and positive atmosphere which you can feel in your bones if you go there, especially if you know something about the tremendous past of old Delhi which itself is supposed to be the seventh city of Delhi. New Delhi attracts large numbers of people on business or pleasure, maybe, and it has put up some big and impressive buildings, and plenty of offices. Large numbers of people sit here in these offices and work away in connection directly or indirectly with the governance of India. But New Delhi has always seemed to me a place without a soul, without a spirit. In spite of its large structures of stone and brick and, in spite of certain attractiveness which some of New Delhi buildings may possess, New Delhi is not an attractive place. This is not so because of the buildings; I am talking more of the atmosphere that surrounds it. Now, you cannot have the right atmosphere develop in a city quickly. But, at any rate, you can lay the foundation for it; you can help that atmosphere to grow.

Art galleries, museums and the like are windows in a great city which look out towards the broader and the richer and deeper things of life. I feel somewhat ashamed that in this great capital of India we really have got nothing really worthy of being called a museum. We have got plenty of good things. There is a place with a board "Central Museum of Asian Antiquities". Once I went there and I found that the last visitor had come three months ago. Well that is really odd. It struck me as odd that there should be a visitor, on an average, once every three months to the Museum of Asian Antiquities. When I went there, naturally, people in charge were somewhat upset—they were not



AT THE FIRST CONFERENCE OF RAJPRAMUKHS AND GOVERNORS, 14 MARCH 1952





ADDRESSING SILVER JUBILEE SESSION OF FICCI, NEW DELHI, 29 MARCH 1952

expecting visitors and they had to be sent for from all over. People were working in an office in a murky and dusty atmosphere. That is the typical way in which a purely governmental apparatus might work. It is not interested in the public seeing the exhibits, it is interested in tabling and docketing and presenting a report at the end. Now even that may have some value for the future. But certainly the value it has in the present practically disappears because that Museum should be a part of the life of the people, not, merely, of the officials who sit there. The whole idea of museums, somehow, seems to be unconnected thus far with the life of our people. It lives in the upper atmosphere of officials. That is not good enough and the question arises how we can make them a living part of our peoples' life, of the lives of our school children and of college boys and girls who can come and see and learn from them and be inspired by objects of art, and thus develop their own creative talents by looking at the great creations of the past. So I welcome the creation of this Fund, in the hope that this will lead to the creation of that atmosphere even in this official ridden city of New Delhi and also in other places, in other great cities of India. I should like the whole country to be dotted with museums. They cannot all be very big. You cannot spread out the treasures all over. They have to remain concentrated more or less and properly looked after, but to some extent they can be duplicated in a small way at other places. What I am anxious about is this, that every child of India should see something of these artistic treasures, should understand something that has gone to build up India in the past, should assimilate, even in a small measure, the genius of India, which, adapted to the modern conditions, should make the country grow.

I have great pleasure in inaugurating this Fund.

## 7. Culture and the Creative Spirit<sup>1</sup>

A true culture never remains within the boundaries of a country but belongs to the world at large. With the modern methods of communication each national culture transcended beyond the national boundary and fringed on others. Nobody knows what the ultimate result will be.

Real wisdom of the world is the history of the human mind. But a proper realization of the international character of culture has to be based on the

1. Speech at a cultural conference, Calcutta, 24 March 1952. From the *National Herald* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 25 March 1952.



rock-bottom of appreciation of our own national culture and sound knowledge of the particular branch of knowledge, each one of us is pursuing. Without understanding our own selves, we cannot possibly hope to know others.

The biggest change in the world has come with the Industrial Revolution in Europe. It has created something like a machine culture. It is producing great things, good as well as bad. This machine culture is affecting two countries most, though the two powers are opposed to each other. The countries are the Soviet Union and America. Both are worshippers of machine, though their ideologies are different.

It is very difficult to define culture. In fact, all processes of development, human and material, may be culture. But one may be called cultured when one's outlook is not limited, when one feels at home everywhere. Anything that limits one's mind is certainly not the right type of culture.

I request the Chief Minister, Dr B.C. Roy, who is to inaugurate the conference to encourage all cultural activities in the State. I am also prepared to recommend to the Finance Minister in Delhi to provide money for encouraging cultural development. But mine is not likely to be the final word in financial matters. Still, I hold, and I do it strongly that it is important to give every encouragement to the development of this aspect of national life.

Everyday in man's life reflects the culture of an individual or of a nation. A man of culture does not speak of culture, but acts culture, and in fact, lives culture.

Culture must be creative. It should have its roots in the soil of the country, but at the same time it must not be limited to a country, much less to a province. Fine arts should be developed in the country in every possible way because it gives grace and tone to our life. But unfortunately, life everywhere and even in India is becoming a more rough, less gracious and not a little devoid of culture. This phase has overtaken the whole world and I do not know how long it will continue.

When we look at the cultural achievements in different parts of India, we find that in regard to the fine arts, Bengal has advanced, even in recent times, more than any other part. But the point is not only to keep this going but to have the creative spirit. Creative spirit must be encouraged and then your creative culture will advance.

I am shocked to see people doing all sorts of things while the national anthem was sung. When the national anthem is sung all must stand to attention as soldiers do. It means that for the time being they are listening to the voice of India. *Bande Mataram* and *Jana Gana Mana* though written in Bengali are national songs and not Bengal's alone.

**STATE MATTERS****I. Madras**





## 1. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 21, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I need not tell you how much we have been distressed at the results of the Madras elections, more especially at your defeat in these elections. I am writing to you separately about this matter.<sup>2</sup> But, in addition, I should like to have a personal letter from you advising me as to what you think should be done in Madras now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the next item.

## 2. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I wrote to you yesterday.<sup>2</sup> I hope you will come to the Working Committee meeting on February 2nd in Delhi. That will give us some opportunity of discussing the situation.

I have an impression that the result of the elections in Madras has rather unnerved some of our colleagues there. I can understand their sense of disappointment. But there is no need to get upset by anything, and specially by the result of elections. In any event, no step of any kind should be taken in a hurry and without reference to us. We shall have to consider carefully what we should do. And I see no reason whatever why we should be hustled into a decision. We must wait till the end of the elections and then decide.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the preceding item.



### 3. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

I returned last night after my election tour. I do not propose to go out again on election business. We have now to consider what we should do. The first thing that is clear to me is that we should not be hustled into any action. We should wait till the end of the elections and then decide what should be done. I find that some people have been rather unnerved by these election results. They have been disappointing, of course, in some States, notably in Madras, but there is no reason that I can see for feeling upset about them. Perhaps in the long run they will do good. A shock was necessary.

I shall be grateful to you if you will let me have your appraisal of the situation, specially in South India — Madras and Travancore-Cochin. I am keeping my mind quite open till I see the full picture. My present reactions are that Congress should not form a Ministry in any State unless it is strong enough to do so. If others are in a position to form a Ministry, they should do so. In any event, I do not think we should be hustled into any action.

We are meeting in the Working Committee on the 2nd February to consider the situation. This will be before the elections are over and we will not have the full picture. Nevertheless, I thought that an early meeting was desirable. We shall probably have to meet again a little later in February when we have more facts before us.

I would very much like you to attend the meeting of the Working Committee on the 2nd February. Your presence will be very helpful.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

#### 4. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 24, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I see that you have released a detenu who has been elected to the Legislature.<sup>2</sup> That is right. I think that it is improper for us to keep any person who has been so elected in detention, unless there are very strong and obvious reasons to the contrary. I do not know if there are any other persons who have been elected and are still in detention in Madras.<sup>3</sup>

I hope to meet you here early next month.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Nagi Reddi, a Communist detenu, who had been elected to the Madras Assembly from Anantapur constituency, was released from the Bellary Central Jail on 23 January.
3. P. Ramamurti, the Communist leader, who was elected to the State Assembly from Madurai (North) Constituency had been detained under the Preventive Detention Act and was released on 22 January. He was re-arrested immediately but released on bail on 29 January.

#### 5. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 29, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of the 28th January. I am very sorry to learn that you are not well.

There is a great deal in these elections which is distressing. Oddly enough we are doing well in areas which were considered weak and we are doing badly where we had hoped for better results. In any event one has to take things as they are.

We shall probably have another meeting of the Working Committee round about the 20th of February. I hope you will be able to come then.

It seems to me quite clear that it would be improper and unwise for the Congress to try to form a Ministry without a stable majority. The one thing

1. J.N. Collection.



we must avoid is giving the impression that we stick to office and that we want to keep out others at all costs. That would make the position worse later on. Therefore I think some kind of an opportunity must be given to others to form a Ministry. I am sure they cannot succeed and, even if they form a Ministry to begin with, it will fail. It will be time then for the President to step in.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 6. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 2, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,

I am enclosing a note<sup>2</sup> embodying the talk we had today and the decisions we arrived at. These decisions are inevitably rather provisional and for a temporary period. They may have to be varied as circumstances require. We have discussed the matter fully and you know our minds. The note is also a fairly full and clear one.

Personally, I think and hope that the course of action we have suggested should take us to the end of March or so. There are great difficulties in the way of our having President's rule at this stage and it should be avoided as far as possible.

I am sending a copy of the enclosed note to the Governor also with a covering letter. Indeed I am sending this cover to you, so that you can deliver it yourself to him.

This situation requires great tact on your part as well as on that of the Governor. I am sure you realize this and will handle the situation effectively, always keeping in view the larger aim we have, that is, to affect public opinion favourably.

When changes take place in the Ministry as suggested above, a suitable notification should issue stating that the Chief Minister had offered the resignation of himself and his Government but that the Governor had asked him to continue as a caretaker Ministry pending a further consideration of the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the next item.

situation. Meanwhile that he had accepted the resignation of so and so. The notification will of course be suitably worded.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Formation of a Ministry in Madras<sup>1</sup>

The situation that has arisen in Madras, as a result of the elections, is difficult and complicated. While the Congress Party is still the biggest party in the new Assembly, it is definitely in a minority. At the same time there is hardly any chance of the other groups joining and functioning together to form a majority group. It may thus not be possible to have a stable Government based on a majority party or a coalition which holds together.

2. There is a faint possibility of some Independents and the like joining the Congress Party and being accepted by it. Even if this results in some kind of a bare majority, this is likely to be unstable. The situation will have to be watched carefully during the next two months or so.

3. As Madras has a second chamber, the legislature will not be fully constituted till the end of March. Thus the question of the new legislature functioning does not arise within this period. The immediate question is what should be done during this intervening period from now onwards till the new legislature starts functioning. It is *prima facie* improper for a government that has been defeated in the elections to continue in office. At the same time no obvious alternative Government is available. There will have to be a meeting of the old Assembly some time in March to pass a vote on account. No new Ministry which has not got a majority in the old Assembly can easily function then.

4. During this period, i.e., till the end of March, there are three possibilities:

1. The present Ministry continuing as it is;
2. The Ministry resigning *en bloc* and President's rule for this period at least;
3. The defeated Ministers resigning while the others carry on. These others, however, are not capable of carrying on by themselves. None

1. Note, 3 February 1952. J.N. Collection.



of them can possibly be Chief Minister. Therefore, one is driven to the conclusion that the present Chief Minister should continue in office, for this intervening period, while the other defeated Ministers resign. This would mean a small caretaker Ministry consisting of the present Chief Minister and his three or four other colleagues who have not been defeated.

5. The first course mentioned above should, I think, be ruled out. It is lacking in propriety and constitutional decorum. It is likely to have adverse reactions on the public. It is also possible that some of the Ministers might not function as caretakers and might indulge in activities which are likely to be criticized. In the circumstances, there is a likelihood of conflict with the other major group consisting of the Communists and their allies, who will no doubt create friction and difficulties. Thus, the Ministry will have to face continuous tension, criticism and difficult situations.

6. Course (3) might also lead to the conflicts and difficulties mentioned above in course (1), but these will be minimized considerably by the fact that some defeated and presumably unpopular Ministers have gone and the Ministry is functioning as only a caretaker one for this relatively brief period.

7. The second course, i.e., President's rule, is something that should be accepted only as a last resource. It is not desirable to have it unless there is no other way left open.

8. We have thus two alternative courses open to us for this intervening period: (1) President's rule immediately, and (2) the Chief Minister and other Ministers resigning, the Governor however accepting the resignations only of the defeated Ministers but not of the Chief Minister. The Governor would thereupon ask the Chief Minister to continue to function with his remaining colleagues as a caretaker Ministry in the peculiar circumstances of the case and because there is no alternative for the present and he is averse to recommending President's rule if he can avoid it.

9. On the whole the second course appears preferable at least to begin with.

10. It is suggested therefore that (1) the Chief Minister goes to the Governor and tells him that as a result of the elections, he feels that he ought to offer his own and his colleagues' resignations. The Chief Minister should previously have with him the individual resignations of each of his colleagues, that is, both those who have been defeated as well as others. The Governor might say that he appreciates the motive of the Chief Minister and his colleagues. All he can do is to refer the matter to the President for his advice. Therefore, pending further developments, some kind of a caretaker Ministry has anyhow to carry on. That caretaker Ministry must be headed by the present Chief Minister, even though he has been defeated by a small margin of votes,

as no other suitable Chief Minister is for the present in view. He is, however, prepared to accept the resignations of all the other defeated Ministers immediately. That would mean that, for the present, the Chief Minister and three or four of his colleagues, who have not been defeated during the elections, should carry on as a caretaker Ministry until further developments take place. He would refer the matter for advice to the President.

11. The Chief Minister should, in the circumstances, accept the proposal of the Governor and carry on as a caretaker Ministry with these three or four colleagues of his.

12. The matter will be referred to the President by the Governor with his own comments on the situation and the likely developments that might take place. These developments should be carefully watched and public reactions observed. If these reactions are not in favour of the formation of this small caretaker Ministry, even for this period, then this should be reported.

13. It is desirable to avoid President's rule during this period, as this involves a number of complicated steps being taken. These steps would, in any event, take some time and the intervening period would be lessened thereby. While avoiding this, it cannot be ruled out completely.

14. The caretaker Ministry should function strictly as such and avoid controversial measures or action which can be legitimately criticized as being controversial. Of course, law and order will have to be maintained and the business of Government carried on.

15. When the time comes for the new legislature to meet or a little before that, the position may be a little clearer, though still difficult. It might be possible then for the Congress Party to add to its party strength by the association of some others and be in a position to form a Ministry. But it would be undesirable for any steps to be taken, which seem to imply that the Congress Party is anxious to continue in office. No alliances should, therefore, be made which go against the principles of the Congress.

16. If the Congress Party is not in a position even then to have a majority or to form a fairly stable Government, then other avenues will have to be explored. Presumably the other parties will be still less in a position to form a stable Government. The Governor should send for the leaders of other groups and discuss the situation with them without committing himself in any way. The mere statement of a group that they are prepared to form a Government will not be enough. Some proof of its being able to command a majority should be produced.

17. In the event of it being clear that there is no possibility of any party or coalition succeeding in forming a stable Government, the question of President's rule will have to be considered afresh. This can only be done at the time and no decision can be arrived at about it at this stage.

18. The President's rule cannot be normal or prolonged in the



circumstances. It must yield place either to a Government envisaged in the Constitution or to a fresh election.

19. The course of action indicated above is in consonance with the Constitution and keeps in view public opinion and reactions. It is important that the administration should be carried on; it is also important that the public should not imagine that a Government is being imposed upon it against its will. Anyhow, the Congress Government should avoid any appearance of hankering after office.

20. The situation demands constant attention and the Governor should keep the President informed of all developments, and the Chief Minister should remain in frequent touch with the Prime Minister.

## 8. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 3, 1952

My dear Mr President,

During the last two days we have had full discussions with the Chief Minister and some other Ministers of the Madras Government, in view of the situation that has arisen as a result of the elections there. This situation is difficult and delicate. I have written a note on the provisional conclusions reached by us.<sup>2</sup> This note contains our advice both to the Chief Minister and the Governor. I am giving a copy of the note to the Chief Minister and sending a copy to the Governor. I enclose a copy of this note as well as a copy of my letter to the Governor.

As I have said, we have to avoid President's rule unless we are forced to have recourse to it. I may point out that in the event of this becoming inevitable, it would be necessary to change the Governor there. The present Governor will probably not like to shoulder this heavy burden.

I understand that the Governor has already indicated to you his desire to relinquish his post soon. I think that, in any event, we have to think of a new Governor.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 11(6)/52, President's Secretariat.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Sri Prakasa was appointed as the Governor on 22 February 1952 in succession to the Maharaja of Bhavnagar.

## 9. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,

I have had a talk today with Kamaraj Nadar<sup>2</sup> and T.T. Krishnamachari.<sup>3</sup> In the course of this talk, T.T. discussed with me the question of your issuing some kind of a statement. He showed me a rough draft. I do not like this draft at all. I told him the type of statement that you should make. To make this clear, I am writing this letter to you also.

First of all, I do not think that you should make any statement till you have actually gone to the Governor. You might then briefly state that you have offered the resignation of your colleagues and yourself. You may soon after issue the statement.

As I have written to you in my last letter, the Governor should himself issue some kind of a statement or press communique. This will be a brief one. Your statement should naturally fit in with what the Governor says. It should not bring in the discussions in the Working Committee though you might mention at the end of it that you have consulted your colleagues of the Congress Working Committee.

You can easily draft the statement yourself, but I might indicate the points. You would say that in view of the results of the elections, you and your colleagues in the Cabinet have thought it desirable to offer your resignations to the Governor. You have, in fact, done so. The Governor pointed out that in any event the administration of the State has to be carried on till some other arrangements are made. This could be done by some kind of a caretaker Ministry for the present. He asked you to continue as Chief Minister of this caretaker Ministry pending further developments. He has, however, accepted the resignations of such of your colleagues as have been defeated in the elections. In view of the Governor's request, you accepted his proposal for you to be in charge of a small caretaker Ministry for the present. You might add that during your visit to Delhi, you consulted the President and Members of the Congress Working Committee and the action you have taken was in accordance with their wishes.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1903-1975); President, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, 1940-54; Chief Minister of Madras, 1954-63, and President, Indian National Congress, 1963-67.

3. Member, Provisional Parliament and elected to Lok Sabha from Madras constituency at this time.



This is all you need to say. No reference should be made to the discussions in the Working Committee or to what other people have said or done, or criticisms made.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To K. Kamaraj Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1952

My dear Kamaraj,

Thank you for your letter of February 9th.

I have read this and I appreciate the many reasons you have given for the defeat of the Congress Party in Tamil Nad. Those reasons no doubt have some force. But equally good reasons can be advanced in many other provinces where we did rather well.

I think that it would be very wrong for us to cast the blame for our failures on others. We must squarely accept responsibility for it. This necessarily leads to the conclusion that the Tamil Nad Congress Committee has been a complete failure and that it has lost all public confidence. We must therefore face this issue properly and think in terms of reorganizing that Committee completely. Nothing is more harmful than to ignore the obvious lesson of these elections.

It has repeatedly come to my notice that the quality of the candidates we have put forward, barring a few, has been very low from the point of view of competence. The result of this is that if we have to undertake any responsibility, we have very few good men. If those good men lose, then we have nobody to take their place. That is a bad outlook. Apparently people have been chosen as candidates with little regard for their competence. Since many of them have lost, it shows that they were not even popular. Nothing therefore can be said in their favour.

I am anxious that in selecting persons for the Upper House of the legislature in Madras and of course for the Council of States, we should put forward names which impress the public. It would be fatal just to try to put in men because they happen to be party supporters and have no other qualifications.

1. J.N. Collection.

We must remember also that these men must be eminent in some field of activity as is mentioned in the Working Committee's Resolution. In regard to Labour people the INTUC should be consulted.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 11. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 11, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,

I enclose a copy of a letter I am sending to Kamaraj Nadar.<sup>2</sup> I confess that I have not much faith left in the Tamil Nad Congress Committee after its showing in the elections. Unless something is done to it, we shall carry this heavy load and get drowned again and again.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See the preceding item.

## 12. To T.J.M. Wilson<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 12, 1952

Dear Mr Wilson,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 11th February and the memorandum.<sup>3</sup> I agree with you that Christians should be properly represented and I am sorry that they have not been elected in the recent election.

1. File No. CS-11/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Convener, Action Committee of Indian Christians of Madras State.
3. In the memorandum, it was stated that since no Christian got elected either to the Parliament or Madras Assembly from Andhra where they were "faced with the threat of totalitarianism," the Christians appealed to Nehru and the Congress not to neglect the Christians and to secure for them a fair representation in both the upper and lower houses of Madras State through indirect elections.



It is hardly necessary for Roche Victoria<sup>4</sup> to come here just to interview me on this subject. I am terribly busy at present. If he comes however, I shall try to see him about the 21st of this month.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. J.L.P. Roche Victoria (1894-1962); a businessman of Tuticorin; Minister of Food and Fisheries, Government of Madras, 1949-52.

### 13. To P. Subbarayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 13, 1952

My dear Subbarayan,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 1st February which I have read with great interest. It is easy to find excuses for what has happened in Madras. The basic reason of course is the incompetence of the Congress there and the Ministry. If we do not realize this, then we will not make good. We have developed narrow-base politics. The same fate would have come to other parts of India too but for the very active and continuous campaigning. Here our chief opponents were the communal parties. We fought them aggressively in a straight way and defeated them thoroughly.

I do not think that we need be greatly alarmed by the turn events have taken. We deserved it all and we shall deserve it further if we do not pull ourselves up.

Your suggestion about Rajaji is attractive but his mood at present appears to be such that it will be difficult for him to assume responsibility.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A former Chief Minister of Madras.

14. To T.T. Krishnamachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 13, 1952

My dear Krishnamachari,

Thank you for your letter of February 11th.<sup>2</sup>

I confess I do not understand why people should criticize the present arrangements that have been made in Madras. No others were possible. All that can be said is that these arrangements should not last long.

I do not see how we can suddenly have Governor's rule in Madras. I am quite sure that any such step on our part would be bitterly criticized and would lead to a weakening of the Congress. Constitutionally, it is not justified and it will be described as trickery on our part. We have to look ahead and not be frightened by some present development.

The fact of the matter is that the Congress organization in Madras has failed miserably. So also to some extent the Ministry. It is not necessary to find other reasons for our defeat.

Therefore we have to think of removing this basic defect. Looking at the members elected on behalf of the Congress, it is extraordinary how poor the quality is. How can we attract people if we function in this narrow-minded way? We have lost touch with the people completely in Madras. And now we are just waiting for them to turn to us because of fright of the Communists! That is poor policy. Unless we can build from below upwards, we have no future in Madras.

I agree with you that there should be change in Governors as soon as possible. It is not easy to produce competent men at short notice.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Krishnamachari wrote that press reactions to the reconstituted caretaker ministry in Madras were generally unfavourable. While one section objected to the inclusion of Kumaraswami Raja, another favoured that only the newly elected form a ministry. Agreeing with Kamaraj that "the sooner the caretaker ministry is terminated the better", he urged that an alternative government should be decided upon quickly.



## 15. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 14, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,

I have your letter of the 13th February. I appreciate your delicacy in this matter and the fact that you feel somewhat embarrassed in your present position. I do not, however, understand the justification for any criticism of a temporary arrangement which was inevitable in the circumstances. We should like this arrangement to stand as far as possible.

I do not understand how I can recommend the President to take charge of the administration in the circumstances. I do not think that would be in consonance with the letter or spirit of the Constitution. The Constitution has not broken down, and the mere fact that the elections have resulted in a certain way does not mean that the Constitution has broken down. The alternatives, therefore, in case of your resignation being accepted, are:

- (1) the Governor should send for the leader of the Congress Party, newly elected, and ask him to take charge of the administration, or
- (2) send for leaders of other groups and ask them if they can do so by means of a coalition.

If both fail to do so, then the question may arise as to what other steps might be taken. I should like you to consider this matter and then advise me as to what you think proper. I am quite clear in my mind that we cannot advise the President to take charge so long as we have not gone through all other available processes.

We are giving thought to this matter and I shall be glad to have your reply.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

16. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

Ranikhet

February 17, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

I have come to Ranikhet for two or three days. The excuse is elections. But the real reason is that I wanted to be in the mountains for a brief while to clear my mind and to get some little rest.

You have expressed your views repeatedly in favour of President's rule in Madras. I confess I do not see how we can impose such rule without going through all the constitutional formalities and exploring every avenue in terms of the Constitution. The mere fact that a party does not get a majority surely cannot lead to President's rule by itself. In future it is quite likely that no single party gets a majority in many places.

For entirely practical reasons I feel sure that our introducing President's rule in this way will have a bad effect. In fact the very first thing that is likely to happen is a combination of most of the other parties, to challenge that rule and possibly to present a list of names (more than half of the total) indicating that this group is prepared to form a Ministry. How then will we be able to carry on with President's rule?

I hope that the new Governor will be going soon to Madras. I propose to instruct him to explore the possibilities of having a Ministry commanding a majority in the new Legislature. I am not personally afraid of any coalition opposed to the Congress. I do not think that, in the circumstances, it is likely to be formed, or, if formed it can last at all. But to prevent its being formed will probably make it easier to form it later....

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.



## 17. To V.V. Giri<sup>1</sup>

Ranikhet

February 17, 1952

My dear Giri,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of February 6th was handed over to me by Lal Bahadur Shastri. I am sorry for the delay in answering it.

I have read your letter with care. It will serve little purpose to discuss past happenings. Probably you are right that an independent inquiry into Prakasam's charges would have been desirable.

But it seems to me that all these factors are relatively unimportant. The main thing is that there was no Congress organization functioning in Andhra and hardly any in Tamil Nad. I am amazed at the incompetence of the Congress there. After all, we have to face more or less the same type of difficulties in every province. In the Punjab our difficulties were apparently far greater than in Andhra. Yet we won handsomely. We did so because we worked hard for it. Even in my own constituency, which was a very large one consisting of 7,47,000 voters spread out over a large area, I think every village was visited by our workers. The fact of the matter is that some of the leaders of the Congress in Madras have failed completely. We can no longer deal with the people in the old manner or trust them to accept our word. We have to justify it and work hard for it. Where we work hard, we succeed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. He was elected to Lok Sabha from Pathapatnam constituency, Andhra Pradesh.

## 18. Ministry-Making in Madras<sup>1</sup>

Some members of the Congress Working Committee, including the President, Maulana Azad, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant and the Secretaries, met on Friday,

1. Note sent to President Prasad, 22 February 1952. J.N. Collection.

22nd February afternoon and considered carefully the position that has arisen in Madras as a result of the elections. Dr Kailas Nath Katju was also present.

2. They were of opinion that if Congress refuse or are unable to form a Ministry, then the other groups must be given a chance to do so. If these other groups also fail and it is clear that no Ministry can be formed commanding a majority, only then can the question of President's rule be considered. Such President's rule cannot last for long. If it does not lead to a Ministry within a reasonably short time, then the question of a re-election will have to be considered.

3. They were given to understand by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, who had recently been to Madras, that there was a fair chance of a number of newly elected independent M.L.As joining the Congress Party. Also that there were a number of other small groups which might join the Congress Party and would in any event not join any opposition group led by the Communists. There was, therefore, a fair possibility of the Congress Party commanding a majority in the Assembly and thus being in a position to form a Ministry.<sup>2</sup>

4. They considered that the Congress Party should be prepared to form a new Ministry if the conditions were favourable and should informally explore the possibilities for doing this. It will not be proper, however, for any commitments or arrangements being arrived at, which are contrary to Congress principles. An excessive eagerness also need not be shown.

5. For the Congress Party to refuse even to try to form a Ministry under proper conditions would be a failure to discharge a responsibility cast upon it by the Constitution. It should only so refuse in the event of its being unable to command a majority.

6. The first step to be taken is for the Congress Party, that is the elected M.L.As, to choose a leader of the Party. It is not necessary to wait for the election of the Legislative Council members before doing so. Without a leader, no other steps can be taken. The sooner, therefore, such a leader is chosen, the better. The leader so chosen should not be Shri Kumaraswami Raja but should be from amongst the elected members. This leader need not be a permanent leader. In case Shri Kumaraswami Raja is subsequently elected to the Assembly, it will be open to the party to choose him as the leader.

2. The Government of Madras had resigned on 8 February. But at the request of the Governor, Kumaraswami Raja formed a caretaker Government excluding the five defeated ministers. He held negotiations with left-wing groups for forming a coalition Ministry on the basis of a minimum programme but with little success. Finally, in April, the Governor called upon C. Rajagopalachari, as a leader of the largest single party, to form the Government. The Congress Government led by Rajagopalachari was sworn in on 10 April 1952.



7. It will be desirable for Shri Kumaraswami Raja to contest an election for the Assembly at a suitable moment and from a suitable seat when an opportunity offers itself.

8. Shri Kamaraj Nadar, President of the Pradesh Congress Committee, has submitted his resignation from that office. It would, on the whole, be better for this resignation to be accepted and for a new President of the P.C.C. to be chosen. Shri Kamaraj Nadar will of course be there to guide and advise. But, in the circumstances, a change in Presidentship would be helpful.

9. The present caretaker Ministry can continue till the new Ministry is formed and a new Legislature comes fully into existence. If Shri Kumaraswami Raja does not wish to continue, he may resign from the Chief Ministership. The new leader of the Party can then take his place in the caretaker Ministry, even though he is not a member of the present outgoing Assembly. The caretaker Ministry can continue till the end of April. The old Assembly will then have to meet about the middle of March to vote grants, etc.

10. If, however, the caretaker Ministry cannot for some reason continue, then the question of President's rule will have to be considered. It should be clearly understood, however, that this President's rule will only be supposed to continue till the new Legislature comes into being and can function. After that, attempts should be made to form a Ministry. The Congress Party will be first asked by the Governor to undertake this responsibility. If they are in a position to do so, they will agree. If not, then the other groups must be asked by the Governor and given a chance. If they also fail, then the Congress Party should be asked again.

11. In the event of no party or coalition being in a position to form a Ministry, President's rule will continue for the time being. The question of a date for another election will have to be considered.

12. The present Governor of Madras having submitted his resignation, Shri Sri Prakasa has been selected to take his place and has agreed to do so. This is being announced. The date for his taking charge has not been fixed yet. He might be able to go by the end of the first week of March.

## 19. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 22, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,

We have been discussing the situation in Madras and considering all that you have written to me. As a result of this, we have come to some conclusions

1. J.N. Collection.

which are embodied in the note enclosed.<sup>2</sup> A copy of this note is being sent to Kamaraj Nadar.

I think that this deals with any situation that might arise. Of course any fresh development will require further consultation between us.

I would like to repeat here that the first step is for the newly elected members of the Congress Party to elect their leader who might function as such temporarily.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See the preceding item.

## 20. To P. Subbarayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 28, 1952

My dear Subbarayan,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th February.<sup>2</sup>

I do not in any way underrate the importance or significance of the Congress defeat in the South, nor do I underrate the forces opposed to the Congress. Nevertheless, I see no reason why this or any other conceivable situation should upset us.

I entirely agree with you that the cause of our defeat is the badness of the Congress organization in the South. An obvious step to take is to get out of the present rut and to change the leadership. This does not mean any censure of present leaders. It does mean that a fresh outlook and a fresh approach are necessary.

We have to win the people and we cannot just rely on the governmental apparatus as some of us seem inclined to do. We can win the people where we try.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Subbarayan wrote that attempts were "now being made to give up factionalism and to reorganize the Pradesh Congress Committee." He blamed the leadership for failing to take measures "to secure unity and enthusiastic cooperation of all Congressmen and to bring in the dissidents." Subbarayan added that Rajagopalachari felt the situation was very grave but declined to associate himself with the local Congress leadership because his advice did not receive adequate attention from the leaders who neglected organizational reforms.



As for my going to Madras, I should do so when the time comes for it. I do not propose to rush about needlessly.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

## 21. The Situation in Madras Province<sup>1</sup>

Question: If a non-Congress Government is formed in Madras, will you, as Prime Minister, give to it the same kind of cooperation as to the other State Governments?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The alternative to that is what? Do I consider it as part of India that has gone out of India?

Q: What is your actual attitude?

JN: If you are asking me what my attitude as Prime Minister is I shall say it will be treated exactly as any other Government.

Q: Would it not be better to divide the question into national and organizational?

JN: Yes, my attitude as Congress President, might not be quite the same.

... Q: As a result of the elections in the South, would you pursue the Hindi-izing policy of the Central Government as vigorously as you are doing now?

JN: This is the first time I have heard of the Government of India pursuing the Hindi-izing policy vigorously because I have received a number of complaints that we are not doing anything about it at all. I really fail to see why anybody whether in the South or anywhere else should object to that basic provision in the Constitution. It has to be done and there is no other way out if you want to hold India together and have a unified country and

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.

there is no conflict and there should be no conflict between the great provincial languages and the national language. If it is done tactlessly, then difficulties are created. There are other questions. For instance, if I may say so, I am disturbed sometimes when I go to my own province and see the kind of Hindi that is developing there. I just can't understand my own language when I go to my own province. I see all kinds of boards put up totally incomprehensible to me. What they contain, I just don't know. I feel I am an alien in the U.P., in my own province. That personally I do not like at all. It is totally artificial, unnatural and incomprehensible to most people. I do not think there is any real difficulty about language unless some people, it is true, become aggressive about it and that is resented. You cannot impose a language by legislation or by rule. We can only do so by consent, by generally developing it.

... Q: The Tamil Nad Congress President<sup>2</sup> said yesterday that the Congress Party would be prepared to shoulder the burden of Government if others of the Congress way of thinking join them. Do you think of coalition or you want the other members to join the party?

JN: It is always desirable to have non-coalition governments because coalitions somehow are slow-moving. They pull in different directions. Coalitions are formed for particular purposes, say war, say any internal crisis, and all that. At the same time, nobody can rule out coalitions under a particular set of circumstances. We have got twenty-five State Governments in India and to imagine that in all these there will be an overall majority for a single party always, is not very reasonable. So circumstances may arise when coalitions become necessary to carry on Government or when Government fails. One has to deal with each case separately and see what can be done. There is in the Constitution a provision for a breakdown and reversion to President's rule. But obviously that is for an emergency and is not a normal thing. It is an abnormal thing for presumably a limited period till normality comes back. We cannot think in terms of President's rule for any length of time as the same Constitution has to be worked and Government has to be carried on. It is only when it fails absolutely and there is no way of carrying on the constitutional Government with stability that one can think of President's rule and it should also be followed, not too long after, either by a stable ministry or elections. You were talking about Madras. If a person wants to join the Congress and accepts the Congress policy, he is taken in. That becomes an individual question.

Q: Those who are prepared to support the Congress but not join it?



JN: The position will be they will support and we will accept the support.

Q: Will you form a Government with your party in a minority?

JN: In certain circumstances, yes. Because you must remember it is not a party business. Government has to be carried on and the majority party in a State has a certain responsibility and it cannot, merely for the party's sake, escape from that. We will not do it. It is not the right attitude. On the other hand, it is a wrong attitude for any party, Congress or others, to be so eager to form a Government that it tries to do so by all kinds of devices. But if the responsibility is cast upon it and there is no other way, then it should assume that responsibility. After all what can happen. It might happen that having assumed the responsibility later on it is defeated in the Assembly. If it happens, on an important issue, it resigns. The matter ends. Something else takes its place.

Q: You said that it is the democratic duty of a party even if it does not have a majority, if it is the largest single party and if invited to form a Government, then it should undertake the responsibility to form a Government? Is it correct?

JN: I said that every party must face a situation like this with a sense of responsibility, more specially the biggest party. The biggest party can only discharge it if it has adequate support in the Assembly. Whether it has it or not may be quite clear or doubtful. If it is clear there is no difficulty. If it is clear that it has not, then also there is no difficulty but there may be many cases where it is not clear. It may be presumed to have that support though at some subsequent occasion it may lose it. If it can be so presumed, it should take the responsibility.

Q: As Congress President would you be in favour of re-election there?

JN: As Congress President I should say this. In law President's rule should only happen when there is no other means of carrying on properly and constitutionally. One does not like elections every other day. They come in the way of work but if it is necessary, they have to take place.

Q: Would you agree to join hands with the Muslim League in Madras, who, during the elections, carried on their campaign with Pakistan flags?

JN: I am glad you raised that question. Our policy not only Congress policy—

but, if I may say so, governmental policy is opposed to communalism.<sup>3</sup> In these elections I laid the greatest stress upon that and I am glad to say that our viewpoint on the whole prevailed with the public, with the electors. Naturally, when I am speaking in northern India or in greater parts of India, I don't have to refer to Muslim communalism because it does not exist there. I don't mean to say completely, individuals might be there but in an organized way it does not exist. I referred here to Hindu and Sikh communalism but if I go to Madras I refer forcefully to Muslim communalism. Because it does exist there in a small way but nevertheless in a bad way and I don't think the Congress should have anything to do with any communal parties, Muslim, Hindu or Sikh. If that party wants to support the Congress, it can support it; we welcome the support but my point is that we should not come to any agreement with it and in this connection I should like to say that your example of the Tamil Nad Muslim League Party is perfectly clear. That is not only a communal party but presumably it has certain sympathy and extra-territorial allegiance which is highly objectionable.

Now another question has arisen quite recently in Bombay in regard to municipal corporation elections.<sup>4</sup> I did not know very much about the internal politics of Bombay but these matters have come up before me just recently and we propose to go deeper into this because so far as I have been able to find out, there has been no alliance or agreement of any kind between the local Congress there and the Fourth Party as it is called.<sup>5</sup> A number of seats were left uncontested by Congress and I find that every year some seats were left uncontested in the municipal corporation for various reasons—nothing to do with communalism—so also this time; but apart from this municipal corporation, it does appear to me that the Fourth Party in Bombay is definitely a communal party and some relic of the old Muslim League there. Therefore, the Congress there or elsewhere should have nothing to do with it, and cannot and should not come to any arrangement whatever with it. That is quite clear.

3. When the matter was discussed in the Parliament on 5 June 1952, the Minister of Home Affairs, Kailas Nath Katju, denied the report to be true. He said the green flag used by the League in a village in Malabar was not the Pakistani flag but the Muslim League flag.
4. Bombay Municipal Corporation elections were held from 6 to 8 March 1952 on the basis of adult franchise for the 125 seats in the 41 wards and 272 candidates in the field.
5. It was reported in *The Bombay Chronicle* on 3 February 1952 that seven Congressmen wrote to Nehru about a secret deal between the Congress and the Fourth Party, a local offshoot of the Muslim League in Bombay. They alleged that when nominations were invited for the municipal elections of Bombay, S.K. Patil announced that Congress was not interested in contesting municipal elections from Muslim areas. See *post*, letters to S.K. Patil, pp. 354-362.



Q: Would you have any truck with Congress rebels who fought independently in the elections and won and are now ready to join with the Congress?

JN: So far as I am concerned I think that now that the general elections are over, I would like to put an end to the various controversies that arose during the elections so that we can have the largest measure of cooperation. I am not talking of parties. There is the Socialist Party, there is the K.M.P. Party, etc. They will continue no doubt and they can continue but what I am suggesting is that we should, while maintaining our identities, nevertheless, try to seek the largest field of cooperative effort. I hope that in the near future we shall start on a big scale a scheme of development in India and there is no reason why we should not cooperate. It may vary perhaps due to individuals or personal factors in various States but in the all-India situation, I would welcome the cooperation of the Socialists and K.M.P. parties in these fields of activities.

Now coming to these people who you call Congress rebels, I would treat them in the same way. I have no difficulty in cooperating with anybody in work, but if you want me to take them back into the Congress, that is another matter which has normally got to be judged in each individual case. Normally speaking, I should say that it is not a good thing for people to shift about their allegiance from one group to another overnight. It is not good for them and not good for the group, but it is possible that a step taken in haste may have proved wrong and might cause repentance later.

Q: But how can the defeated candidates cooperate with you?

JN: Everybody can cooperate in work.

## 22. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 4, 1952

My dear Kumaraswami Raja,  
Thank you for your letter of the 2nd March.

I am glad you are agreeable to continue in charge of the caretaker Ministry.

1. J.N. Collection.

We shall discuss the situation in Madras further in the Working Committee.<sup>2</sup> It is for you and other friends to judge of the necessity or otherwise of electing a temporary leader of the new Congress Legislature Party.<sup>3</sup> I do not myself see how the Party can function without some leader. The time will come soon when the Governor will have to take some steps. Who is he to send for? He can hardly send for you so long as you are not a member of the Assembly.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Kumaraswami Raja wrote that the members of the Congress Working Committee from Madras who would soon visit Delhi for a meeting of the Committee would apprise Nehru of the chances of the Congress forming a ministry with the support of the Independents and other like-minded groups.
3. Raja also added that his colleagues thought electing a temporary leader now followed by a permanent leader later would create complications affecting the party solidarity.

### 23. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 4, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

I have received your two letters. I have returned today from a rather strenuous tour.

I do not think that I am too much addicted to Euclid,<sup>2</sup> though I suppose logic and Euclid have some place in life. What I am concerned about is how to influence people in the mass and to win them over to what I might consider to be the right course. I have some capacity for doing that and some understanding of how people feel. It is from this point of view largely that I have tried to judge this situation.

I do not see how, without going through certain preliminary steps, we can impose President's rule in Madras. To do so hurriedly would, in my opinion, lead to unfortunate consequences later in Madras. Elsewhere too the consequences would be regrettable.

As far as I can judge, both the Congress and the Government of Madras have lost grip completely and what is still more unfortunate, they do not seem

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (c. 300 B.C.); a Greek mathematician.

Rajagopalachari had complained that Nehru was taking too logical a position. "I can see the Euclidean steps that lead to the conclusions you have arrived at, and who can question Euclid?"



to know what to do. If they cannot recover themselves somewhat and show some vitality, the only alternative is for others in the Congress or others outside the Congress to function. I am not thinking merely of Government. It is evident that the Congress and Government in Madras have failed utterly in the primary business of democracy, i.e., of winning people to their side. This might have happened in many parts of India. To some extent I managed to stop it. Also in other parts of India a large body of young workers, often unconnected with the official Congress, came to our help. Our political campaigning was intensive and extensive and not a single village was left out. For the first time in many years, we did our job rather well. Evidently in Madras this was not done or things had gone too far for it to be done. Somebody will have to do it now. If the old set of leaders have proved helpless and lacking in capacity, we shall have to search for new ones.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 24. To P.S. Kumaraswami Raja<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 5, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I enclose copy of a telegram I have sent to you about the reported famine conditions in parts of Madras State. I am very anxious to help you in this matter so far as we can. But there must be a proper scheme for this and it must involve public works to give purchasing power to the people, as well as fair price shops. You may indeed give even foodgrains instead of money payment, though it is perhaps easier to give a money payment and have fair price shops also.

I have written to you previously about the Muslim League of Tamil Nad. I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>2</sup> from Shri V. M. Obaidullah,<sup>3</sup> M.P., which gives

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Obaidullah, Vice-President of T.N.C.C. wrote on 4 March that Anwar, a Muslim League candidate from North Arcot, had in his election meetings asked Muslims to treat it as their religious duty to vote for Muslims.

3. (1905-1958); a merchant and Congressman from Vellore; imprisoned five times during the freedom struggle; Vice-President, T.N.C.C. for seven years; member of A.I.C.C. for ten years, of Provisional Parliament, 1951-52, and of Rajya Sabha, 1956-58.

certain facts which are in his personal knowledge. I suggest that you call upon Mr N.A. Anwar and ask him for an explanation of what he is reported to have said. We must pursue this matter energetically and not be content by the Muslim League issuing statements occasionally denying their communal character. From their activities it appears clear to me that their organization is intensely and rabidly communal. Not only that, but they are anti-national also and we must make it clear to them that we cannot tolerate this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 25. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 5, 1952

My dear Prakasa,  
Your letter of March 2nd.

We have made it a rule that Chief Ministers should belong to the Assembly and not to the Legislative Council. Also that a person who has been defeated in his election to the Assembly should not be put up by us for election to the Legislative Council through the Assembly. A defeated person can of course stand in a by-election for the assembly.

An apparent exception has been made in the case of Morarji Desai. This is not really so because he is standing for election to the Assembly very soon and will probably be elected to it before the new Legislature meets. Meanwhile, we have permitted him to stand and get elected to the Legislative Council from a Local Board Constituency. This was to get over the difficulty of a non-member being elected leader. In reality Morarji's case is no exception because he is elected by a wider constituency and even this is proforma because he is standing for the Assembly also. Also he lost by bare 19 votes.

The Upper House should certainly not be neglected. But there is very strong opinion that no Chief Minister should come from the Upper House.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.



## 26. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 12, 1952

My dear Prakasa,  
Your letter of the 11th March.

We had fairly full talks with the Madras people who were here some days ago. I do not think that we can do anything from here at present. I am absolutely clear that Rajaji is wrong in this matter and on no account should we, at this stage, impose Governor's rule.<sup>2</sup> That is the opinion of everyone here.

As for having V.V. Giri there, I do not think we should impose anyone from here.<sup>3</sup> It is for the people of Madras, more especially those who have been elected, to decide as to who should be their leader. If they want Giri and can make arrangements for his election, I have no objection.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Sri Prakasa wrote that Rajaji was "still of opinion that it would be dangerous to allow Communists to function as legislators and it would be best to have President's rule," and was "very disappointed that he was not able to convince you."
3. Sri Prakasa wrote that Rajaji felt none of the elected persons except V.V. Giri, who had been elected to Parliament, could become the Chief Minister as he "commands respect and confidence", was "tactful and dignified", and it would be "a good gesture to the Andhra people" and "acceptable to Tamil people as well."

## 27. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 19, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

I wrote to you, as I was going away to Bombay, about the Madras famine situation.<sup>2</sup> I am greatly worried by this in the context of political and other developments in the South. Partly because of this I have postponed my proposed visit to Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Gangtok early in April. This would enable

1. J.N. Collection.
2. See *ante*, p. 238.

me to meet you after your return from Karachi and to discuss this matter with you. Later I might go to Madras and to the famine area myself.

In the South, more specially in Madras State and Travancore-Cochin, there has been continuous propaganda that the Government of India is more or less a northern Government and ignores and does not care for the South. Every ill that they have suffered from has been laid at the doors of the Government of India and us Northerners. There is talk of Northern imperialism. The decision to have Hindi as the national language is supposed to be a part of this. The rice scarcity in Madras etc., it is said is deliberate. We spend our money on big projects, very largely in the North and do not care to encourage development schemes in the South and so on and so on.

Much of this of course is nonsense but the fact remains that not only is it repeated but is believed in by large numbers. That is the basis of communist propaganda. Our own people there, including the present Government and their colleagues, have lost nerve completely and look on helplessly. To ask them to do much appears to be rather futile. To ask them to do something which will make them still more disliked is wholly impracticable in the circumstances because they simply cannot do it.

In a month or five weeks the question of a Ministry in Madras will be decided one way or another. It is conceivable that a Congress Ministry comes in. It is also conceivable that no Ministry can function with any stability and that, whether we want to or not, we shall have to take charge again, in a few months, say six months or so. This instability and uncertainty is affecting the services in Madras and they cannot function properly. Meanwhile the Opposition with no responsibility can forge ahead. Presently we may well have food riots and the like and other deliberately organized demonstrations. It may become difficult to deal with these demonstrations if the Government itself is not opposed to the demand made and if the services do not know which way to look. After these demonstrations and riots, if we give in, that means a surrender to the wrong kind of approach and an encouragement of that type of approach. We must therefore think out our steps carefully and not allow ourselves to be hustled later because of lack of foresight now.

We have in fact to deal with the Madras situation in a very special way and not merely as we might have dealt with some other province which suffered from scarcity. Madras has had four years of drought and scarcity in some form or other and this long period has had a powerful effect on the people there, not only physically but mentally. We have to deal with them jointly and in a friendly way, otherwise we lose grip of the situation. Reports in Madras newspapers of the famine areas are distressing. All Madras newspapers shout loudly for help from the Centre. We have thus a united demand from all groups and parties and unless we go a good way, we shall have to meet with some kind of a united opposition.



Because of this it is not right that we should do something that is patently wrong. But it does lead to the conclusion that we must go pretty far in giving them the help which both human and other considerations require. In what manner this should be given is a matter for us to consider. But we cannot treat it as a normal case to be judged by normal standards.

I hope to meet you on the 1st April after your return from Karachi. Meanwhile I suggest that you discuss the situation fully with Munshi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 28. To K. Kamaraj and Nadar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 28, 1952

My dear Kamaraj,

I have been repeatedly approached by people from Madras and asked to induce Shri Rajagopalachari to take up the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party in Madras. I have today received a telegram signed by 62 newly elected M.L.As to the same effect.

All this puts me in a difficulty. Generally speaking, I do not wish to do anything which would mean imposing my wishes on our Party. In this particular case of Madras, I do wish the M.L.As to exercise their own choice and my doing anything is likely to be misunderstood.

My own view has been that owing to Rajaji's weak health and age, putting on him the burden of administration would not be fair. It is fortunate that Rajaji is in Madras and is always available for advice and guidance. This advice may well have greater effect coming from a person not directly in Government.

Also one hesitates to bring in a non-elected Member. Of course, in certain very special circumstances some special remedies have to be sought.

It is, therefore, for you and other colleagues and elected Members to consider the whole position and come to some decision. I am clear that my intrusion would not be desirable.

1. J.N. Collection. A similar letter was sent to P.S. Kumaraswami Raja.

I shall be grateful if you could communicate the purport of this letter to some of the Madras M.L.As who have been good enough to send me their message.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 29. The Choice of a Congress Leader<sup>1</sup>

I have received a letter, dated 29th March, from Shri P.S. Kumaraswami Raja, leader of the Madras Legislature Congress Party. In this letter he has conveyed to me the resolution passed by the Madras Legislature Congress Party yesterday to the effect that

1. The Party is strongly of opinion that in the present political situation in this State the services of an eminent statesman like Shri Rajagopalachari are needed and therefore requests Shri Rajaji to take over the leadership of the Congress Party of the Madras State Legislature.

2. I have already expressed my views on this subject in my letter of March 28th addressed to Shri Kumaraswami Raja and Shri Kamaraj Nadar.<sup>2</sup> In that letter I pointed out some difficulties, but finally I left it to the elected Congress members of the Madras Legislature to come to a decision. I stated that I would abide by that decision. I did not wish to impose any decision on them, but left them perfectly free to choose.

3. That is my position still. If the Congress Legislature Party has come to the unanimous decision that Shri Rajaji should be requested to take over the leadership of the Congress Party in the Madras State Legislature, and if Shri Rajaji is agreeable, I would accept that decision.

4. It must be understood, of course, that early steps will have to be taken for Shri Rajaji's election to the Madras Assembly.

5. This is a matter, therefore, to be decided finally between the Congress Party in Madras and Shri Rajaji. As I have said above, any decision so arrived will be accepted by us.

1. Note, 30 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.



6. I have met Shri Subramaniam<sup>3</sup> and Mrs Soundaram Ramachandran<sup>4</sup> who have come here on behalf of the Madras Congress Legislature Party and communicated the Party's resolution to me. It is after discussing with them that I have written this note.

3. C. Subramaniam (b. 1910); a Congressman from Tamil Nad who suffered imprisonment several times during the freedom movement; member, Constituent Assembly of India, 1946-51; Minister holding various portfolios, Madras Government, 1952-62; and Central Minister between 1962 and 1967 and again from 1971 to 1980 holding portfolios of Food, Planning, Industrial Development, Finance and Defence; Governor of Maharashtra, 1990-93.
4. (1905-1984); a medical doctor and Gandhian constructive worker; founder, Gandhigram in Tamil Nadu, 1947 and its director for many years; member, Madras Legislative Assembly, 1952-62; Deputy Minister of Education, Government of India, 1962-67, and Chancellor, Gandhigram Rural Institute, Dindigul district, 1980-84.

### 30. To C. Rajagopalachari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 30, 1952

My dear Rajaji,

As you know, I have been formally approached by the Madras Legislature Congress Party and the resolution passed by them yesterday has been communicated to me. C. Subramaniam and Mrs Soundaram Ramachandran have also come to see me.

I have known, of course, that there has been a considerable demand in Madras to request you to take the lead. I can very well understand and sympathize with that demand. I had, however, remained a little aloof for two reasons. One was that I did not feel justified in pressing you to undertake this heavy burden, specially as you were not at present a member of the Party. The second reason was that I wanted the Madras Party to decide completely by itself without the slightest pressure or even indication from me as to what they should decide. If they decide anything unanimously or more or less unanimously, that itself becomes a very important factor to be considered. For my part I naturally accept it and will gladly give such help as I can.

I have written a note<sup>2</sup> in answer to Kumaraswami Raja's letter to me. I enclose a copy of this note.

I suppose that it is proposed to make an attempt to form a Congress Ministry now.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

**STATE MATTERS**  
**II. Bombay**





## 1. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 19, 1952

My dear Morarji Bhai,<sup>2</sup>

I have not written to you partly because I was touring about incessantly and partly because there was nothing to say immediately. Naturally your defeat in the elections by a very narrow margin came as a shock to us not only personally, but because of its larger consequences.<sup>3</sup> It is clear to me that you should stand again and the sooner you do so the better. There is no point in delaying this. This would presumably involve somebody resigning and creating a vacancy. I think this should be done. Where this is done will be a matter for you to consider with your colleagues.

I had a brief talk with Gulzarilal Nanda tonight and I told him so. I suppose we had better wait till further election results are out before taking any final decision about the matter. But, in any event, you should stand for election again. Of this I am quite sure. We shall be meeting early in February and we can come to a decision then. But I would like you to give thought to this matter so that we can be in a position to come to a final decision then.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Minister for Home and Revenue in the Government of Bombay at this time.

3. A prospective Chief Minister of Bombay State, Morarji Desai's failure to get elected to the Legislative Assembly had given rise to a crisis of leadership. See also *ante*, pp. 36 and 40.

## 2. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 24, 1952

My dear Morarji Bhai,

I have already written to you some days ago.<sup>2</sup> I see that there is a great controversy going on in the Bombay newspapers about your election to the leadership of the Congress Party in the State. As I have already written to you, I think that you should stand for election to the State Assembly. I would not like you to go to the Upper House in the State.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See the preceding item.



But, I was wondering if it would be the better course for you to be elected as leader of the Party now or a little later. Much can be said on either side. Perhaps, the more desirable course might be for the Party not to elect a formal leader at this stage, or at any rate till the meeting of the Working Committee is over and some direction has been given by it. Instead of electing you as leader, the Party might well pass a resolution expressing its confidence in you and requesting you to stand for election to the Assembly and come back to them. The Party might elect a Secretary just to carry on business during the brief interval.

My own mind is not entirely clear about the procedure and I am, therefore, putting these aspects before you.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 26 January, Desai suggested that to meet the constitutional requirements for his becoming leader of the Bombay Congress Legislative Party he should (1) be elected to the Legislative Council and then get elected to the Assembly at a by-election; (2) be elected as the leader even without being a member of the Legislature and get elected to the Assembly within six months; and (3) for the interim period a temporary leader may be elected in April to form the Cabinet.

### 3. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 4, 1952

My dear Patil,<sup>2</sup>

I sent you a telegram yesterday.<sup>3</sup> This was after seeing in the papers that some kind of an arrangement was being arrived at between the Congress and the so-called Fourth Party in connection with the municipal elections. I was troubled by this, because the Fourth Party is known to be the continuation of the old Muslim League. It is true that this Party helped the Congress in the recent elections. There is no harm in our accepting individuals from it and allowing them to enter the Congress. But an alliance between the Congress and such a Party does raise important questions of principle. We have taken

1. J.N. Collection.

2. President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee at this time.

3. Not printed.

our stand in these general elections of not having any alliance, and other parties have rather suffered by opportunist alliances.

I have therefore been troubled by this piece of news. I spoke to B.G. Kher and Morarji about it and both said that they did not know anything about it and that they have not been consulted. I suggested to them that they might have a talk with you. Please consult them immediately.

I might mention that already I have seen criticisms about the Congress entering into such an alliance and I have no effective answer for them. You must remember that any action we may take in Bombay or any other particular place, immediately will have its reactions on the all-India situation. We cannot afford to lose our general position in order to make such relatively petty gain somewhere.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 6, 1952

My dear Patil,

I sent you a telegram on the subject of some kind of an arrangement between the Congress Party and the so-called Fourth Party in Bombay in regard to the Corporation elections. I saw the report in the press and I was somewhat disturbed by this. In my telegram I suggested that you should discuss this matter with Shri B.G. Kher and Morarji Desai. I mentioned the matter to them here too. They did not know much about it, but I gathered from them that they were unhappy about this report.

I could not say much in the telegram because it was *en clair*, and I wrote<sup>2</sup> to you subsequently also. Possibly you did not receive my letter before coming to Delhi. I am sending you a copy of it.

This matter, although confined to the Corporation, raises rather important issues. We have criticized other parties for making opportunist alliances and we have taken credit for avoiding them. An arrangement with the Fourth Party, which is a relic of the old Muslim League, served as such an opportunist alliance and has already been criticized as such.

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to B.G. Kher. Extracts.
2. See the preceding item.



I am told that members of the Fourth Party in Bombay supported Congress candidates in the general elections. There is no reason why we should not, therefore, encourage them to cooperate with us. But to recognize a communal group as such and to come to an arrangement with it is definitely opposed to what we have repeatedly stated. I am, therefore, worried about this matter and I hope that you will put it right....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1952

My dear Kher,

I am rather intrigued about the news I had that the Congress in Bombay had come to an arrangement with the Fourth Party in regard to the municipal election. S.K. Patil sent me a telegram that the news was quite untrue. I have had no further intimation from him.

And yet, I continued to get reports about it from various people. These are to the effect that the Congress has agreed not to run candidates from the Muslim localities and to leave these to the Fourth Party. I am even told that I am likely to have soon a deputation from nationalist Muslims of Bombay to protest against this arrangement.

I am quite clear that if any such arrangement has been arrived at, it is wrong and must be put an end to. Not only is it wrong in itself but our whole reputation will suffer. I hope, therefore, that steps will be taken early to make this clear. Otherwise I shall have to make some statement at a later stage, which might upset all the arrangements made in Bombay.

S.K. Patil said he was writing to me about it. But I have not received his letter yet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

6. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 8, 1952

My dear Patil,

Thank you for your letter of the 6th February. I have read it carefully. Nevertheless, the position is not wholly clear to me. As far as I can understand it, it means that you are leaving 15 seats to the Fourth Party and running 5 Muslim candidates yourself.

There is no particular harm in your not contesting a seat somewhere. But definitely not to contest, by arrangement or otherwise, 15 seats and leaving them to an obviously communal party (whatever its constitution) appears to me to be a dangerous precedent. We were asked in these general elections to leave seats vacant for strong candidates, communal or other. We decided not to do so and even to lose some of them, because we felt that a straight-forward policy in regard to communal organizations was essential. It so happened that that policy paid us and, in the whole of north India at least, we have inflicted a severe defeat on the Hindu Mahasabha, the Akalis, etc. For the first time, we have curbed Sikh and Hindu communalism in the north by giving it a straight challenge. No Muslim in North India can stand on a communal ticket, although there are many constituencies in which they are in a majority or near majority. We have got Muslims elected from purely Hindu constituencies and Hindus elected from largely Muslim constituencies.

Unfortunately, the Muslim League still flourishes in some parts of Tamil Nad. There it is open and aggressive and the weakness of the Congress organization in Tamil Nad has allowed it to flourish. In Bombay, the position appears to be a middle one. Some relics of the Muslim League have carried on as the Fourth Party, although in name and constitution they do not appear to be communal. In fact they are so. Are we to encourage them? I think this is wrong and dangerous policy, even though it might bring us a few seats in an election.

The Tamil Nad P.C.C. wanted to come to some understanding with the Muslim Leaguers. We did not agree. I recognize that your case is not quite the same and that the Muslims of these areas have helped you in the general elections. Why is it not possible for selected men from them to be nominated by the Congress and stand on the Congress ticket? A Muslim Leaguer need not always be a Muslim Leaguer. In the U.P., we accepted as Congress candidates some old Muslim Leaguers who had joined the Congress.

As I have said above, your not running a candidate in a few constituencies

1. J.N. Collection.



need not be objected to. But a big group like this in a particular area does seem objectionable and liable to criticism.

I should like you to reconsider this matter and to consult Shri B.G. Kher about it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1952

My dear Kher,

Thank you for your letter of the 9th February.

I do not think it is so much a question of believing S.K. Patil or not believing him. I believe him when he says that he has not entered into any arrangement with the Fourth Party. But there can be informal understandings. Such an understanding may sometimes be right and sometimes wrong. One has to judge by the public reaction to them and what the public thinks. All these matters have to be taken into consideration.

We should not be afraid of losing a seat or two in an election nor does it matter if a few seats are left uncontested. But any impression that we are encouraging a communal party is a bad one.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

## 8. Bombay Corporation Elections<sup>1</sup>

We are entirely opposed to any alliance or understanding for election purposes with any communal party. We have discussed with the President, Bombay

1. Message to the candidates of Bombay Corporation elections, 25 February 1952. File No. P.B. 5(1)/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

Pradesh Congress Committee, the question of Bombay Corporation elections, and are satisfied that there has been no such alliance with the Fourth Party for purposes of Corporation elections. We find that Congress has actually set up some Muslim candidates for these elections. In view of these facts, the President desires that you should withdraw from the elections. If withdrawal date is over, you should issue a statement in the press announcing such withdrawal.

I trust that you will immediately take steps indicated above.

## 9. To B.G. Kher<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 28, 1952

My dear Kher,

Thank you very much for the two letters of February 24th and 25th about the Corporation elections. You have taken a lot of trouble on this matter and I am grateful for it.

I have a great deal of sympathy for some of the Congress Muslims who had been treated much too casually in this election. But circumstances being what they are, I advised them to withdraw their candidatures.

But I propose to take this matter up in the Working Committee and to issue very specific directions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

## 10. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 28, 1952

My dear Patil,

I am sorry I could not see you again the day you were here. Anyhow, in the present circumstances, we took some decisions and these were communicated

1. File No. P.B.(1)/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.



to some Muslim candidates who claim to be Congressmen and who are standing.<sup>2</sup>

I wanted to see you again to discuss the whole approach to this question, quite apart from the present Bombay municipal elections.

I have since seen many other papers and received long notes from Shri B.G. Kher, who evidently took a great deal of trouble over this matter. I have seen press-cuttings not only from the opposition group of papers but some papers belonging to the Bharat group with which you are, I believe, associated.<sup>3</sup>

All these papers lead me to this conclusion:

There is no adequate proof that any arrangements were arrived at between the Congress and the Fourth Party.<sup>4</sup> At the same time a powerful impression is created in my mind to the effect that there was a tacit understanding to begin with, or, at any rate, that the other party, i.e., the Fourth Party, were led to believe that there was such an understanding.

Apart from this matter, I am more concerned with our general policy and the way it is acted upon. Reading the Fourth Party press there can be no doubt that the Fourth Party has functioned in a communal way. In fact it functions to some extent as the Muslim League of old. This appears to me very dangerous. People in North India have to deal with a great deal of communalism. We decided very definitely and precisely not to have any truck with any communalist organization or individual. We contested seats which we were bound to lose and sometimes did in fact lose.

If this is the correct policy, then both Bombay and Madras have not acted fully in accordance with it. Whatever the small gain to you may be in the Corporation elections, we cannot function in this opportunist way at the cost of the principles we stand for. The Fourth Party is definitely communal. We have formally declared even in Parliament that we will not support or encourage a communal organization in any way. Following that policy we gained real strength for the Congress in the North. We lost a few seats which we might have won otherwise. But there is no doubt that the public appreciated our straight attitude.

Today at my press conference<sup>5</sup> I declared quite clearly that the Fourth

2. Seven Congress Muslim candidates from Bombay city who were suspended by the President, B.P.C.C. for protesting against Party's decision had filed nominations on their own accord to contest the Bombay Municipal Corporation elections.
3. Patil, who worked as a journalist for five years from 1927 to 1931 for *The Bombay Chronicle*, a nationalist daily belonging to Bharat group of publications, had retained his contacts with it.
4. The press had carried such reports on 27 February 1952.
5. See *ante*, p. 341.

Party being a completely communal body, whatever its declared objectives might be, we should keep away from it.

Your own statements<sup>6</sup> to the press and other statements which we have had demonstrate this quite clearly. I do not understand at all what is meant by an all-India organization of the Fourth Party. You referred to this in your interviews. What is this and where does it exist? I was not aware of any all-India body, formal or informal.

I am quite clear in my mind that we should encourage Congress Muslims and we should have no dealings with communal groups like the Fourth Party. We cannot follow an illogical dual policy, each part of which is opposed to the other. Even from the point of view of strategy and tactics, we cannot afford to play into the hands of the Fourth Party.

I propose to ask the Working Committee at its next meeting to lay down clearly our policy in regard to such communal organizations. It would be a bad thing for the Congress if we compromise the basic principles on which we stand. It is far better to lose seats than to do that.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. S.K. Patil informed the press on 27 February that the Congress had decided to put up only very strong candidates in Muslim constituencies leaving others for the Fourth Party as the latter had cooperated with them during the past few years.

## 11. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 5, 1952

My dear Patil,

I have your two letters of March 4th.

I did not write to you what I thought. I wrote to you that B.G. Kher had said that certain impressions had been created. From your various statements you had made your position clear. But unfortunately the fact remains that these impressions were created. I agree with you that some people were bent on doing mischief and misrepresenting you. But you gave them some ammunition for it and I think acted rather unwisely at the beginning.

There is no question in this matter of my not having confidence in you. I have to deal with rather intangible things, i.e., public impressions. I have

1. J.N. Collection.



plenty of opponents and people who feel hostile to me, but no one gets a chance of accusing me of any deviation from the non-communal path because I take care of this and because I feel strongly on the subject.

For some little time past we have been trying to deal with the Tamilnad Muslim League, which, I think, is a most objectionable organization. It has created a considerable stir not only in Madras but in other parts of the country. On top of this comes the news (however wrong it might be) that the Fourth Party is in terms of cooperation with the Congress in Bombay. This created quite a stir and I took this matter up without any person complaining to me. I was satisfied with your explanation insofar as you were concerned but some mischief has been done and it has to be cleared up.

I have a feeling also, and B.G. Kher appears to be of this opinion, that while we may agree in our objectives regarding communalism, our approach to it seems to be different. I wish to give no quarter to it. That is the attitude we have taken up in Punjab and U.P. and U.P. was pretty bad in this matter. We have shattered the Muslim League in the U.P. and no other organization of the kind has had the chance to grow up there. A number of Muslim Leaguers have joined Congress as individuals and after testing them for some time we have even made them our candidates. This step that we took has not been misunderstood by any one because of our general approach and policy.

It seems to me that you have been soft with the Fourth Party which is undoubtedly a relic of the Muslim League and this has given rise to a good deal of misapprehension.

I referred to a press statement by you when you mentioned the all-India organization of the Fourth Party. I had never heard of such an organization previously. It is from your letter that I gather now that this is the Madras League.

I would not like the Fourth Party as a group to merge in the Congress. That would probably mean that some kind of grouping continues in the Congress.

I wanted you to come to the Working Committee meeting because I should like to make our position regarding communal organizations clear beyond misconception. I am sorry you are not coming. I should like the position to be dealt with generally.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE OF IIT, KHARAGPUR, 3 MARCH 1952





WITH ELEANOR ROOSEVELT AT CALCUTTA, 23 MARCH 1952

**STATE MATTERS****III. East Punjab**





## 1. To Chaman Lal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 18, 1951

My dear Chaman Lal,<sup>2</sup>

You will appreciate the state of mind I am in when I tell you that I have only now read your letter of November 13th fully.<sup>3</sup>

I am exceedingly sorry for the confusion and mess that was caused at the last moment in regard to the Punjab nominations. I did not know about these various developments which took place in a hurry at the last moment. Occasionally references were made to me, but these related to Nagoke.<sup>4</sup> I told Nanda<sup>5</sup> and Pratap Singh<sup>6</sup> to decide finally if some new development took place. I was thinking entirely of the Sikh situation and the talks with Nagoke.

Some time ago you sent me a report of a talk you had with Gopichand. I was surprised to read what Gopichand had said to you then. I am afraid I have no opinion left at all about Gopichand.

I am completely tired out with this nomination business and, but for the fact that I cannot rid myself of the responsibility, I would have been far away from it.

You mention the Delhi constituency.<sup>7</sup> It is no good my giving advice because there are so many strings being pulled and I do not know what the position is. All I can say is that I would like to have you in Parliament.

I have just received your note about the displaced persons in Delhi.<sup>8</sup> I am afraid it is not possible to postpone the elections. Various attempts were made for the electoral rolls of some places to be revised, because they were totally

1. Dewan Chaman Lal Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. A prominent Congressman and trade union leader from East Punjab.

3. Chaman Lal wrote that in spite of his unwillingness, Maulana Azad first wanted him to contest from Shimla Assembly constituency but later on asked him to contest from Karnal, either for the Lok Sabha or for the State Assembly.

4. Udham Singh Nagoke, President, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee at this time.

5. Gulzarilal Nanda.

6. Pratap Singh Kairon, President, Punjab Pradesh Congress at this time.

7. Chaman Lal wrote that representatives of refugees were pressing him hard to stand as a candidate from the outer Delhi constituency and asked Nehru's opinion on it.

8. Chaman Lal suggested that the elections should be postponed to enable inclusion of the names of the refugees who for various reasons had not been enrolled in the voters' list.



inadequate, but these attempts have failed. Anyhow this is a matter entirely for the Election Commission to decide and Government does not come into the picture.

I do not know what I can do in the matter by interviewing representatives of the displaced persons. If they wish to approach anybody, it should be the Election Commissioner. I am feeling rather worn out.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Pratap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 6, 1951

My dear Pratap Singh,

Public life in the Punjab appears to sink to ever lower levels. The more I see of it, the more distressed I feel. The way that Dr Gopichand and some of his colleagues have behaved is shameful.<sup>2</sup> But I am not concerned with that so much.

I am, however, concerned with what our own people do and say. I find that there is no discipline left and wild charges are flung about. It is the Congress practice that if charges are to be made, it should be done privately to a superior committee or authority and should not be made in public. In spite of this definite rule of the Congress, people in the Punjab made charges publicly in the press and on the platform.

I have received a reference to a resolution<sup>3</sup> passed by the Punjab Pradesh Congress Working Committee requesting the Congress High Command to take necessary action against Sardar Baldev Singh<sup>4</sup> because he was engaged in activities which are against the interests of Congress candidates.<sup>5</sup>

1. J.N. Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 11-13.

3. On 3 December 1951 by the Punjab Pradesh Congress Working Committee presided over by Darshan Singh Pheruman in the absence of Pratap Singh Kairon.

4. Union Minister for Defence at this time.

5. Early in November, Baldev Singh had filed his nomination for the Lok Sabha as a Congress candidate from Nawan Shahr, and as an independent from Ambala, where he was to oppose the official Congress nominee. On 12 November, Singh withdrew his candidature from Ambala and issued a statement refuting allegations of anti-party activities. In December, the Punjab PCC alleged that Singh was seen in discussions with Gopichand Bhargava and Swaran Singh, the dissident leaders, and that he had asked his followers to campaign against Jagat Narain, Congress candidate from Chandigarh.

It would be right to draw our attention to any wrong activity, but to condemn openly a Congress candidate and to publish the resolution in the press is completely without precedent and most objectionable.

I have further been informed that Lala Jagat Narain<sup>6</sup> has made serious charges against Sardar Baldev Singh in his newspaper. Also that Sardar Baldev Singh has been attacked in speeches delivered at public meetings.

All this is highly irregular and injurious to the Congress. No opponent of the Congress could do anything to injure us more than this.

If there is any substance in the charges made, then full particulars should be sent to me for further enquiry. I am going to investigate this matter as it cannot be allowed to rest in this way.

Will you please meanwhile see to it that no Congress candidate or Congressman attacks another in public?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. (1899-1981); a well-known Congressman and Hindi journalist from Punjab; suffered imprisonment several times during the freedom struggle; General Secretary, Punjab P.C.C., 1951-54; Minister for Education, Transport and Health, Punjab, 1952-56; left Congress, 1956; member, Rajya Sabha, 1964-70; killed by terrorists.

### 3. To N.S. Gill<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 1951

Dear Nirranjan Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter of the 21st November some time ago.<sup>3</sup> I find it difficult to answer it because I agree with you partly about the general atmosphere in the country and the way things have been done. Partly I do not know the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. A Congressman from Majithia in Amritsar district.

3. Gill wrote that while the Congress candidates were being selected the Congress in East Punjab was rocked by factionalism, opportunism, intimidation and division. He added that the group of Surjit Singh Majithia which supported Nagoke overtly to please the Congress High Command was secretly supporting Master Tara Singh.



facts. I confess that I have not liked much that has happened and the state of affairs in the Punjab distressed me beyond measure.

But I cannot accept defeat because circumstances are not as I would like them to be and I have to continue to struggle for improvement. To you I suggest that you should not be distressed and down-hearted.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### **4. To Congress Members of the Punjab Assembly<sup>1</sup>**

February 11, 1952

Dear Comrade,

I should like to congratulate the recently elected Congress Members of the Punjab Assembly on the success that the Congress has had in the Punjab in the general elections. This success, while very gratifying, brings a tremendous responsibility on each member. It brings an obligation to keep up high standards of public work and to avoid faction and groups within the Congress Party.

Everybody knows that the Punjab has splendid human material. In our struggle for freedom, the people of the Punjab took a brave and leading part. And yet, much of that great effort was vitiated by faction and internal conflict.

The last Ministry that functioned in the Punjab was not a success and the unusual course of suspending the Constitution had to be adopted. The fact that this very unusual course was approved by the people at large was itself a sufficient justification for it. The recent elections have provided further justification. The people of the Punjab were dissatisfied with the way the Government was run in those days because of this spirit of faction and group making, which unfortunately became a feature of Punjab politics. Communalism also cast its dark shadow over this province.

In these elections we have put up a straight and square fight against communalism and we have won. That is a matter for congratulation for the people of the Punjab. But there is another and deeper malady which has to be cured. This is the spirit of faction. The members elected to the Punjab Assembly, as to other legislatures in India, have to realize that they cannot possibly function properly or do credit to themselves, to the Congress or to their province, if they allow this spirit of faction to prevail. Therefore this

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.

must be put down at all costs. Any member who encourages this in any shape or form proves himself unworthy of the trust that the people of the Punjab have reposed in the Congress.

I hope therefore that in the days to come members of the Congress Party in the Assembly will function as a united and disciplined group and will accept all decisions, even when they do not like them, with good grace. Presently there will be the question of electing the leader of the Party and other decisions will have to be taken. I trust that there will be no canvassing or taking of signatures or otherwise functioning in groups in this or any other matter. We should of course consult each other in the proper way and try to arrive at unanimous decisions. I shall be glad to help whenever my help is needed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 26, 1952

My dear Sachar,<sup>2</sup>

After giving a great deal of thought to the question of the Punjab, we have come to the conclusion that we should suggest your name for the leadership of the Congress Legislature Party there.<sup>3</sup>

You know well that the position in the Punjab today is a test and a trial for all of us, and requires the greatest tact, ability and perseverance. In particular, it requires unity and joint working. The electorate has favoured us with their confidence and goodwill.<sup>4</sup> That favour is accompanied by a tremendous obligation for all of us to work to the utmost of our ability to achieve results. We have to pull out the Punjab from the morass of internal strife and grouping which has been its curse for some time past. We have to

1. Bhimsen Sachar Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. A prominent Congressman who became the Chief Minister of Punjab on 17 March 1952.

3. Nehru as Congress President advised the Punjab Congress Assembly Party on 26 February to select Bhimsen Sachar as leader of the party.

4. In the general elections the Congress won 98 seats while the Akali Party won 13, Communists 5, Zamindara League 2, Forward Bloc 1, Lal Communist Party 1 and Independents 6.



make the administration efficient and smooth-working. We have to put down corruption and nepotism at all levels. And we have to make rapid progress.

All this can only be done if we maintain the closest contact with the public and retain their cooperation and goodwill. For this it is essential that there should be full cooperation between the Government and the Congress organization. Our success in the elections is largely due to many good Congress workers and to the organization there and to the leadership of Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon. In the Punjab today I rely more particularly on Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon and you. It is necessary, therefore, that there should be the fullest cooperation between you two as well as between both of you and others.

I have mentioned above that you should make the administration efficient and free from corruption. While that is essential, you must also remember that the way to do it is not to run down the Services, but to enthuse them and make them work well. If any member of the Service fails to keep up the standards aimed at, he should be dealt with as the situation may require. We must be strict, but we must also be fair and just and produce a sense of security in the Services. There has been a tendency to run down the Services in a wholesale manner. That is neither fair nor is it the way to reform them.

I attach the greatest importance to the cooperation of the public. In this matter, naturally, the Congress must play its full part. And Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, who has played such an important part in these elections and before, will naturally be one of our strongest pillars to bring this about.

I want your election to be unanimous because I want the Punjab to take this new step with strength and with goodwill. We must give a new look to our Government and administration there and we must make the people realize that we are undertaking this work in a crusading spirit and not to advance the interests of any individual or group.

The question of the Ministry in the Punjab will have to be discussed with you and Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon a little later. The first step is the election of the leader.

I should like to see you for a brief while today. Please see me at 3.30 p.m. today in Parliament House.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**STATE MATTERS****IV. Rajasthan**





## 1. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 8, 1951

My dear Gopalaswami,<sup>2</sup>

I had a talk with Jainarain Vyas<sup>3</sup> this evening. He gave me a rather alarming account of the law and order situation in Rajasthan. I have received some other reports from Congress sources also of the rapidly deteriorating situation. Indeed in some of these reports, it is said that if something is not done to check this deterioration within the next two weeks or so, the situation may become very bad indeed.

We have been hearing of murders and dacoities for a long time past. These are not ordinary dacoities, but have a definite political element in them and apparently have some connection with the jagirdari element. I should not be surprised if the Maharaja of Jodhpur's<sup>4</sup> men were connected with it also. Among those killed have been the President of a local Congress committee; a relation of a candidate for election was abducted.

A major incident occurred at Malar and Bhudava in Jodhpur where 16 men were killed. This kind of thing is spreading and the so-called dacoits have automatic weapons. Obviously this is connected with the elections and will increase as the elections grow nearer unless it is scotched.<sup>5</sup>

I think that some strong steps must be taken as soon as possible. Obviously the present police arrangements are inadequate or the man in charge is not good enough to deal with this situation. I should imagine that we should have a campaign against these gangs which should be organized by a special officer who must be made responsible for dealing with them. Apart from the police effort, it might be desirable to bring in the Army. The whole thing should be tackled not only speedily but in a big scale way. It is hardly any good doing it in patches.

This attempt at terrorism by the jagirdars and their supporters is partly no doubt due to the elections and partly to the fear of being deprived of their jagirs by legislation. It seems to me necessary now more than ever that the

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Union Minister for States and Transport and Railways at this time.

3. Chief Minister of Rajasthan at this time.

4. Hanwant Singhji.

5. *The Bombay Chronicle* of 24 December carried a report that since incidence of crime and dacoities was on the increase in the rural areas of Jodhpur and Sirohi, the people found it difficult to pursue their daily activities and political workers had urged the Election Commissioner and the Governments of India and Rajasthan to postpone the elections in those areas.



Jagirdari Abolition Bill should be passed very soon.<sup>6</sup> I have not seen this Bill, but I suggested to Jainarain Vyas today that it would be a wise step to limit the application of the Bill, as a first step, to the major jagirs, say those having an income of Rs. 5,000/- per annum. This may not be a logical step, but it is a reasonable and practical one. It would isolate the big jagirdars, who probably number about 200 or 300 only. They are the dangerous elements and they ought to be dealt with first.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In November 1951, the Rajasthan Government announced the abolition of the jagirdari system in the State through the "Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagir Bill" which became law from 19 February 1952.

## 2. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 13, 1951

My dear Gopalaswami,  
Yesterday Venkatachar<sup>2</sup> told me something about your talks relating to the abolition of jagirdari in Rajasthan. I was in a hurry and did not quite understand what you had decided or whether you had decided anything at all. I had a vague idea, however, that, for the present, you did not think it feasible to enact any measure and that you intended to issue some kind of a press statement to the effect that a jagirdari abolition measure would be introduced later.

I am rather unhappy about this delay. For many months now, I have felt a sense of great urgency in regard to the land problem all over India and more particularly in places like Rajasthan, etc. Taking a broad view of developments in Asia, the land problem stands out as the most important and vital question of the day. To the extent that this is dealt with, other problems become easier. I have expressed this opinion in public on many occasions and I have written about it. I have expressed my regret also at the delay all over India in implementing our promises and our programme. In our election manifesto, we have given this topmost priority.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. C.S. Venkatachar, Secretary, Ministry of States at this time.

While all this applies to the whole of India, it applies particularly to places like Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and other old Indian States where some kind of semi-feudal tenure existed and still exists. I do not think any real progress can be made there till the land problem is solved. Delay will make it worse and the law and order situation will also deteriorate. What is worse is that we shall lose grip of the public mind and if that happens, then the situation becomes difficult to handle.

There are of course administrative difficulties and they must be got over. But I feel that we cannot wait for administrative perfection before taking up vital reforms. Indeed it might well be that the administration does not really improve unless this problem is tackled and a new atmosphere of public support is obtained. I am envious of what has been done in China in regard to land reform.<sup>3</sup> Of course we cannot function in that way, but the contrast between our way of handling this and the Chinese way is tremendous. People's minds are constantly comparing the speed of things in China in this matter with our own dilatoriness and slow progress. The mass mind is affected and that weakens us politically and otherwise. The Chinese have simply taken charge of a new area and proceeded with their land reform schemes, which are far-reaching, and only then built up the administrative apparatus. We cannot function in that way. But we can do something which will impress the people and bring some relief to them.

I shall be touring the country in December and January and delivering speeches. Everywhere I shall have to refer to the land problem. How am I to deal with it? It is not enough to say that this is our programme and we will implement it in due time. We have said that for some years now. I have to point out some effective steps that are being taken. Part B States, being much more under our control, are our immediate responsibility.<sup>4</sup> It is bound to get known that the Rajasthan Government is eager to have land reforms, but we are delaying matters.

I do not know the details of any scheme and I am quite sure that they must be rather complicated. But we can simplify this as much as we like and confine it to particular areas which are settled and to a limited number of the bigger jagirs. We can make the measure an enabling measure or proceed in any other way we like. But it does seem to me desirable that something

3. Under the land reform law enacted on 28 June 1950 all land acquired without compensation from corporate owners like temples, monasteries, churches and individual owners was redistributed with each individual farmer being given a minimum of .066 hectare of land and a family of five getting nearly one hectare.
4. Under the new Constitution all former British provinces were designated as Part A States and the unions formed by the integration of princely states were termed as Part B States. The distinction was abolished in 1956 by an amendment to the Constitution.



should be done as early as possible, both because it is necessary and in keeping with our policy and because delay will react on the political situation and the elections. It would be wrong to hurry through something merely because of the elections. But if we are decided upon a step, as we are, then the sooner we give effect to it, the better.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

Jodhpur  
December 8, 1951

My dear Gopalaswami,

I have spent two days now in Rajasthan and have visited a number of important places—Bundi, Kota, Udaipur, Bikaner and Jodhpur. I have already been to Jaipur and am going tomorrow, before returning to Delhi, to Bharatpur. This will end my Rajasthan tour.

At all the places that I have visited there have been tumultuous welcomes and enormous public meetings, apart from largely attended smaller meetings of workers, etc. In Jaipur I was the Chief Minister's guest. I went, however, for breakfast to the Maharaja.<sup>2</sup> In Udaipur the Maharana<sup>3</sup> insisted on my being his guest and I accepted it and was put up in the guest house. He gave me a tea-party also. The old man came to receive me at the airport and got slightly pushed about by the crowd.

In Bikaner<sup>4</sup> and Jodhpur the Maharajas wanted me to be their guest, but I excused myself, as both were standing as candidates against the Congress.<sup>5</sup> Anyway, I was only present in Bikaner for three hours. The Maharaja came to see me and we had a talk. He appears to me to be an inexperienced and rather weak person, but on the whole decent. The Jodhpur Maharaja came to receive me at the airport and that is all that I have seen of him. As you

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sawai Man Singh.

3. Bhopal Singh.

4. Karni Singh (1924-1988); became the ruler of Bikaner in September 1950; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and 1957-62.

5. In Rajasthan, the princes who contested against the Congress candidates in the 1952 elections were: Hanwant Singhji of Jodhpur, Karni Singh of Bikaner, Laxman Singh of Dungarpur, Girraj of Bharatpur and Brijendrapal Singh of Karauli.

perhaps know, I have a very low opinion of him and this has been confirmed by what I have heard about him here. I am staying in Jodhpur as the guest of Rao Raja Hanut Singh, the famous polo player.

The Jodhpur Maharaja circulated some leaflets at my public meeting here while I was speaking. I saw these afterwards. They were somewhat impertinent and certainly not becoming of him. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party also circulated some leaflets and questions. I did not refer at all in my speeches to the Bikaner or Jodhpur Maharajas standing for election.

I have had some evidence here about the intrigues of the Jodhpur Maharaja. This evidence has come, of course, from many Congressmen, but also from the jagirdari element. One of his chief confidants appears to be Mohan Singh whom I have known for a number of years and who, I think, is a bad influence on anybody. The Jodhpur Maharaja was telling a friend of mine today that he and his friends had more or less formed a group from Pepsu to Saurashtra, including Rajasthan, etc., and they hoped to win in the elections and form what he called a right-wing Government in these provinces and subsequently to upset present arrangements. He seems to have imagined that because Churchill had come into power in England, there was some chance of his group doing so also in these parts of India. He has hinted at the possibility of Jodhpur and Bikaner reverting to something like their previous status.

There are numerous complaints of the jagirdars, under the influence of the Maharaja, terrorizing the Jat peasants round about this area and telling them that they must vote for the Maharaja or else they will get into trouble. I had a large group of Jats, about thirty or more in number, visiting me this evening. They were mostly women and children and some men. They came from that area of Jodhpur district where in recent weeks a number of murders have been committed by gangs. You know about these murders. These people were in a state of terror. The women were either widows or relatives of the persons killed. Apart from the murders, some people have had their noses and ears cut off. There is no doubt that theft was not the motive because hardly anything was taken away. These murders were largely political, meant to frighten the neighbourhood into submission. I cross examined the people who came to see me. They told me that four prominent Congress workers have been killed in that area and that this gang told them to vote for the Maharaja or else take the consequences.

I do not know, of course, what the result of the elections will be, but I imagine that the Congress will get a substantial majority. I am not sure what might happen in Jodhpur if jagirdari terrorism continues over these sparsely populated areas.

Jainarain Vyas accompanied me during this tour. He has stayed behind in Jodhpur.



I find that some kind of a notice has been issued in Jaipur stating that I have declared that no step will be taken about the jagirdari abolition till after the elections and when the new Assemblies and Parliament meet. I have said no such thing of course. What I have been stating here and elsewhere is that it is our definite policy to put an end to the jagirdari system and we want to do it as early as possible. We have of course to do it in the proper way after giving full thought to the method and after consulting the people necessary, but we are convinced that this should be done as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To Jainarain Vyas<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Jainarainji,

...Apparently, your Government is not anxious now for speed in this matter. I think that speed is desirable even though the elections are practically over. If we do not get the jagirdari bill through now in some form or other, there will inevitably be considerable delay later. And that will be bad. The Bill can only be enacted if your Government agrees to the changes suggested and recommends them to the President. I hope therefore that you will do so so that we can go ahead with this measure.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

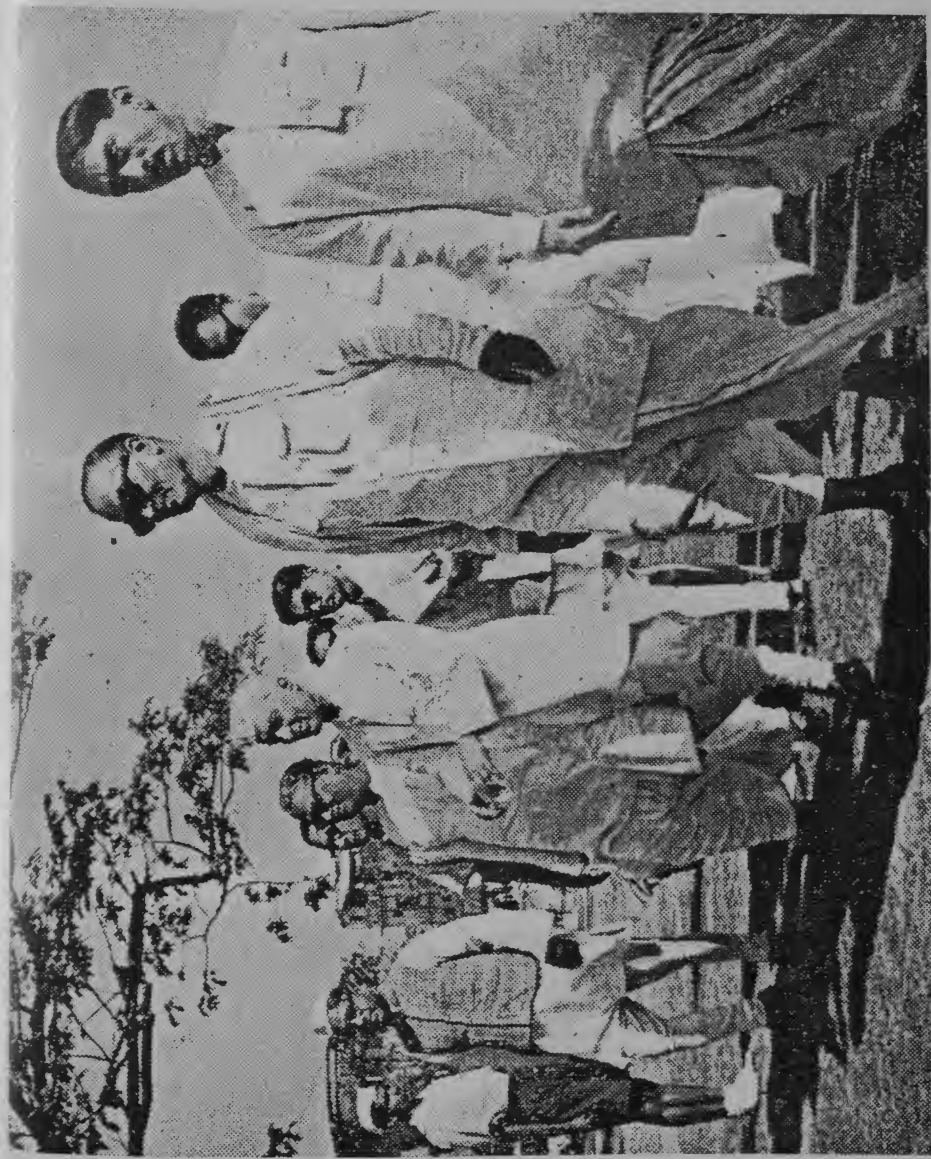
#### 5. To N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 3, 1952

My dear Gopalaswami,

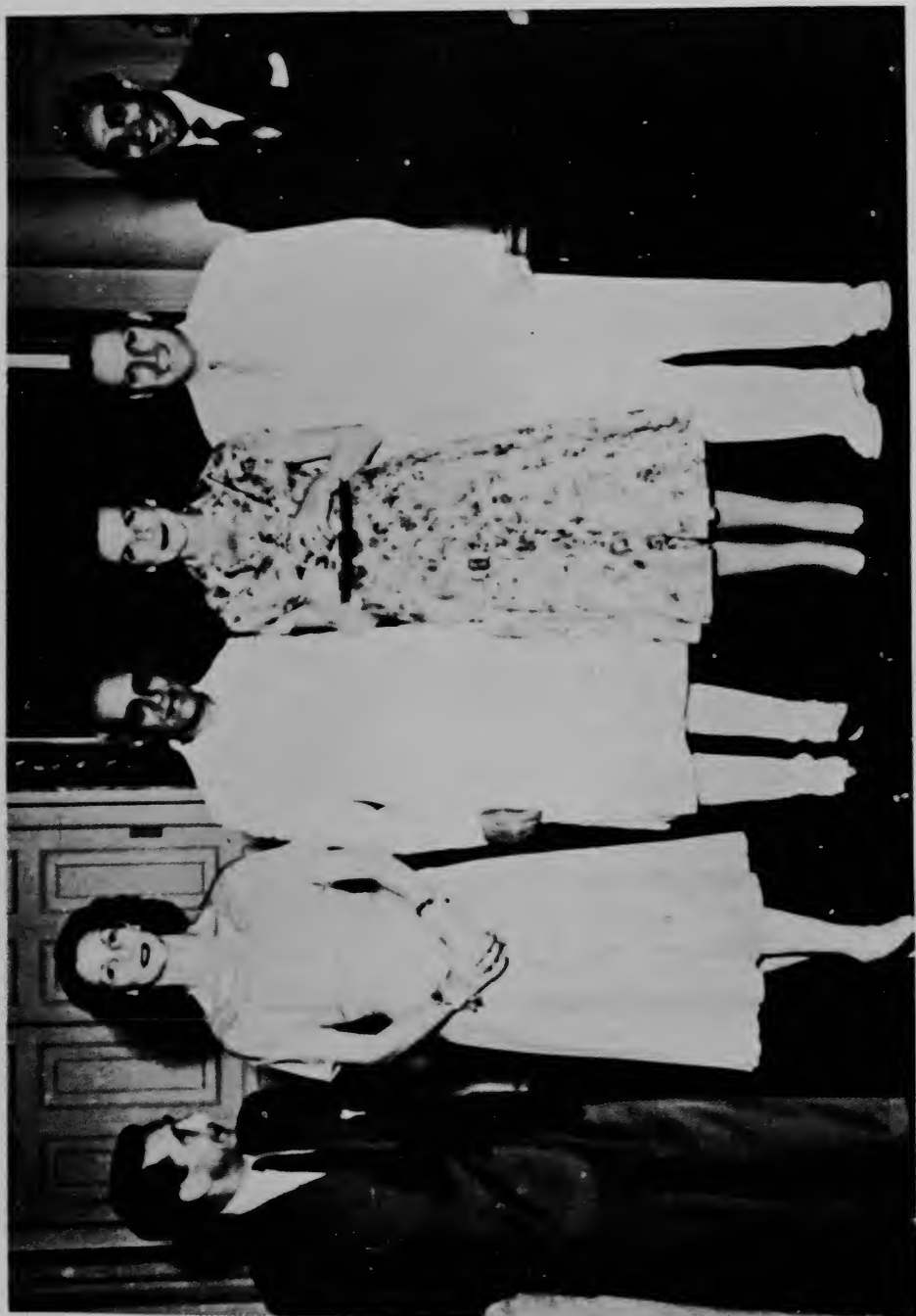
At our Working Committee meeting today, the Rajasthan Ministers had a long and woeful tale of the activities of the jagirdars etc., in connection with

1. J.N. Collection.



ARRIVING AT THE AICC SESSION, CALCUTTA, MARCH 1952





WITH YEHUDI MENUHIN AND LADY MOUNTBATTEN, CALCUTTA, 28 MARCH 1952

these elections, and of the inactivity of the police in checking all this and sometimes even at conniving. Numerous instances were given and I must say that they produced some considerable effect among our members.

We all know that the Rajasthan Ministers are not upto the mark. I think however that it is clear that the jagirdars, especially in Jodhpur district, have been misbehaving badly and have certainly terrorized people in either not voting or voting for them. We were told that people who had voted for the Congress were now being punished or harassed.

This is an old story. I have seen a number of reports, including Intelligence reports, which indicate that these allegations are somewhat exaggerated. Probably they are. But we have an uncomfortable feeling that there is a good deal of truth in them and that there is no effective machinery to deal with them. Further that even the existing machinery is not eager or is not competent to take effective steps. For a long time past we have had complaints about the ineffectiveness of the Inspector General of Police there. All the U.P. Ministers who have known him say that he is ineffective.

Unfortunately there has been a good deal of lack of cooperation between the Ministers and our senior officials there. This no doubt leads to reports on either side being not objective enough.

Among the minor officials there, there are bound to be many who are partial to the jagirdars or are even connected with them somehow. Then there are far too many arms about with the jagirdars and practically none with anybody else. The mere presence of these arms, which are paraded frequently, must have an overpowering effect on the villagers.

I would suggest that some competent police officers from outside might be sent there to deal with the situation. Some action should be taken against those persons who have misbehaved during these elections.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To K.N. Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 10th February.

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Union Home Minister at this time.



I appreciate the difficulty you have pointed out. But I am not quite satisfied with the policy of wait and see. I have no doubt in my mind that the jagirdars have intimidated in a big way. It is quite easy for them to do so having regard to the social structure and geography and scarcity of population of Rajasthan. They have talked openly, in some places, of marching on to Delhi. I saw a printed notice about taking possession of Delhi. A few guns that exist there are of the jagirdars and, even according to official reports, they display them frequently enough.

This is not a question of dealing with a particular election or indeed dealing with elections at all, in the narrower sense of the word, but rather of removing a certain feeling of fright among the people. I have had a number of reports to the effect that people who have voted for the Congress are being harassed and terrorized. Sometime before the polling about 15 or 16 persons were killed.

Surely we cannot remain quiescent for fear of appearing to interfere with the procedure prescribed in the Constitution. This is not an election dispute. It is something much bigger.

I confess that I am not satisfied with some of the officers who have been functioning in these States. They have allied too much with the Maharajas and the like and look down with disdain on popular ministers. The popular ministers have undoubtedly been much at fault in regard to many administrative matters. The result has been a kind of diarchy with each part opposed to the other. This kind of thing can never succeed.

What I suggested to you was not a formal enquiry but rather that some really competent and independent officer should go there and report. To ask for reports from the local officers is not good enough because their own reputation is somewhat involved. It does seem to me odd that the Chief Minister should be fired at and excuses should be put forward by the local officers and little action taken....

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

**STATE MATTERS****V. Assam**





1. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 30, 1951

My dear Ajit,<sup>2</sup>

During my brief visit to Cachar, I have been surrounded almost everywhere by groups of displaced persons. They have given me lists of complaints and have complained bitterly of their present condition. I enclose a few of these papers.

I have had a talk about this matter with Shri S.K. Dey who has recently visited and inspected these places. I understand that he is going to present his report to you soon. I think urgent attention should be paid to conditions here in Assam in regard to rehabilitation. We have, in the past, criticized the Assam Government a great deal for what they have not done. The criticism was largely justified, though I understand that something is being done now. But it appears that our own work, directly undertaken in Cachar, has been an even greater failure. The tea garden people have not helped and what little money was given as a loan has vanished without producing any firm results. Indeed there appears to be no proper scheme for such results to follow. Some so-called Work Centres have been established but they are not at all satisfactory and indeed practically no good.

Shri S.K. Dey is of opinion that, in all the circumstances, it would be better to hand over Cachar rehabilitation schemes<sup>3</sup> to the Assam Government, under our supervision of course. At present the Assam Government does not take the slightest interest in them because the responsibility is that of the Centre.

In any event the problem has to be viewed in its entirety. Small loans are no good at all because there is no scope in Assam either in industry or in retail trade. Assam from this point of view is very backward and practically depends for everything on Calcutta.

And yet Assam is potentially a very rich province—the soil is good, there is very fine timber in abundant quantity, there are vast numbers of bamboos, etc., etc. S.K. Dey thinks that some regular training centres should be started as soon as possible—one in the Brahmaputra Valley and the other in Cachar. These will of course absorb only a few persons but they will raise the morale

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Union Minister for Rehabilitation at this time.

3. The Central Government initiated a number of rehabilitation schemes including educational facilities for Bengali Muslims who migrated to the Cachar region of Assam from Sylhet district in large numbers when most areas of Sylhet went to East Bengal following partition.



and at the same time train people who can help in the rehabilitation of larger numbers.

There is also the possibility of a township being created near a deserted airfield where there are a good many unoccupied hutments.

Assam cries aloud for development and it should be worthwhile either for a private individual or for Government to start industrial schemes, small or big.

The problem has to be viewed both from the short-term and the long-term point of view. The short-term ultimately is to raise morale and prepare the ground for bigger schemes.

I hope you will discuss these matters with S.K. Dey soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Jairamdas Doulatram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 2, 1952

My dear Jairamdas,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your two letters of January 30th and 31st. The photographs you have sent are very interesting. I am very glad that you are undertaking these tours in these remote areas of the Naga Hills. I am sure they are doing a great deal of good.

Your answer to Zapu Phizo<sup>3</sup> was the right one. What I told him was final so far as their demand for independence is concerned. I invited him, however, if he so wanted, to make any proposals to me of a different kind to ensure their autonomy in other ways. It is for him to take the initiative, not for us. There is no point in his coming to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Governor of Assam at this time.

3. President of the Naga National Council at this time.

### 3. To Bisnuram Medhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

March 13, 1952

My dear Medhi,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of March 9th.

I was surprised to read it. I do not remember your complaining to me previously on this subject.

The Tribal Areas in Assam have become far more important for us than they ever were before, because of developments in Tibet. They are a vital frontier for us and we have to give a great deal of attention to them and to the border. What is likely to happen in the distant future, I do not know, but it is quite clear that these areas must remain under the direct charge of the Government of India as border areas for some considerable time.

In these areas there are several kinds of problems. One is that of internal administration or rather of opening them out for administration. The other is the strictly frontier problem. So far as the latter is concerned, it is almost a military problem and has to be dealt with on a top-secret level. Even our Cabinet here is not informed of details there. We receive information about happenings on either side of the border and have to issue instructions frequently as to what should be done and what should not be done.

In regard to the administrative aspect of the Tribal Areas, I am beginning to feel more and more that our approach to these areas, not only in Assam, but elsewhere, such as Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, etc., has to be very carefully considered. We cannot treat them rather casually as we might treat any other part of India. They have to be dealt with in a special way; indeed, each area might be dealt with in a particular way suited to it. In Chhota Nagpur in Bihar we have lost nearly all the seats in the election to a new party representing the tribal folk.<sup>3</sup> This means a failure of our approach to them and we have, therefore, to think afresh.

We have not only to think out our policies carefully, but, what is even more important, to choose men to work there with exceeding care. These men must have very special qualifications and must be people who can mix freely with the tribal folk and not merely function as officers. We have seen how successful the old missionaries were and how our own people failed often

1. J.N. Collection. Also available in Bisnuram Medhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Chief Minister of Assam at this time.

3. The Jharkhand Party, with the objective of creating a separate State comprising the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singbhum, and Palamau, and the Santhal Parganas in the Chhota Nagpur region, secured 32 seats in the State Legislative Assembly.



enough. Indeed, it is difficult to get our people to go there. We may even have to train a special group of persons for this particular work.

When the new Government comes into being and I have a little leisure, I hope to consider this problem in its all-India aspects and to evolve some more effective way of dealing with it, wherever it occurs.

While this is so, it is quite clear to me that any State Government which is concerned with these Tribal Areas should be kept in full touch by the Governor or other representative of the Central Government. That appears to me to be essential, and I am surprised and sorry that there has been any such lack of touch. I am writing to the Governor on this subject.

While we should not try to isolate the hill people from those in the plains, we have also to take particular care that the former are not interfered with by the plains' people. Their culture and way of living is quite different and interference with this will not only be undesirable in itself, but might well give rise to trouble. We have to deal with a delicate situation and with a people in some ways primitive and in some other ways remarkably democratic, much more so than the plains' people. A suitable person who goes there should be a bit of an anthropologist as well as a bit of a missionary, and, in any event, a person who wholly sympathizes with these people and is prepared to live with them as one of them. To attempt to change them quickly would be disastrous and I am not quite sure if in any event it would be desirable. We should maintain their autonomy and their customs. It is for them to change their own customs and not for us. Above all, we should give them a strict assurance that they will not lose their lands or be otherwise exploited.

I saw Zapu Phizo and two other persons the other day. I told him very clearly and bluntly that I would not have any more of this talk of independence. But I was perfectly prepared to help the Nagas to maintain their cultural and other autonomy and to see to it that they were not interfered with. I wanted to help them to develop themselves and not to impose anything upon them. He was not satisfied and he went away.

As I have said above, I am writing to your Governor to keep in touch with you not only about common problems which arise within the Agency and the Tribal Areas in the State, but about general policies also. This seems to me essential.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

STATE MATTERS  
VI. Mysore



STATE OF NEW YORK  
COUNTY OF ALBANY

IN SENATE,  
January 10, 1907.

REPORT  
OF THE  
COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE,  
IN ANSWER TO A RESOLUTION  
PASSED BY THE SENATE,  
MAY 1, 1906.

ALBANY:  
J. B. LEECH, STATE PRINTER,  
1907.

## 1. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 15, 1952

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I am sending Lal Bahadur Shastri, the General Secretary of the Congress, to have talks with you and others. After that he will come and report to me.

I am exceedingly anxious that we must put up a brave and joint front in Mysore. I would much rather have this disciplined front than choose this or that person. Each one of us must think in wider terms and forget himself. We cannot have personal animosities governing politics all the time. We must therefore be clear about this and, whatever decision is taken, we must abide by it in a disciplined and loyal way. Thus we not only increase the prestige of our organization but our own prestige also.

Mysore is in a peculiar position. On all sides of it difficult problems have arisen. If Mysore does not behave with discipline then we shall stand to lose a great deal.

I hope you will help Lal Bahadurji in every way and enable him to meet others whom you think he ought to meet.

I am sending a similar letter to Hanumanthaiya.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Mysore at this time.

3. President, Mysore Pradesh Congress Committee at this time.

## 2. To K. Hanumanthaiya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 14, 1952

My dear Hanumanthaiya,

As you know, I have been giving careful thought to the situation in Mysore and to the election of a leader of the Congress Legislature Party there. Normally, the old or present leader continues, unless there is some particular reason for a change. I was, therefore, inclined to think that K.C. Reddy should continue as leader. He had done his work well.

But the major consideration before me in regard to Mysore as well as other States was to find out what was the best way to carry on our work effectively and harmoniously. Naturally, I have to be guided in this by the

1. J.N. Collection.



opinion of the Congress members elected to the Legislature. The choice is theirs, though I have no doubt that they would do me the courtesy of giving due weight to my advice. I am exceedingly anxious that after these general elections our State Ministries should function as a team in harmony with the Congress Party and work with speed to achieve results. We can no longer merely carry on. The situation demands hard and cooperative work. I have laid great stress on several occasions on this and on the need for absolute discipline in the Congress Party. Whatever differences might have existed previously must be put an end to and all of us have to pull together for the good of the cause. Individuals may be important, but the cause we serve is far more important and each one of us must learn to think of the cause and not of his or her own self.

I have, therefore, tried to consider this matter as objectively as possible. I have discussed it with several persons from Mysore and my colleague, Lal Bahadur Shastri, has paid a visit to Mysore and met, I believe, almost all the newly elected members of the Legislature there. As a result of all these consultations, I have come to the conclusion that it would meet the wishes of a considerable majority of the Party if you are elected as leader. I recommend, therefore, that this should be done.

This means that a high responsibility is cast upon you at a critical moment in our country's history. As leader of the Party, you are not and should not be connected with any particular group, but must function impartially as the leader of the entire Party and seek to promote the harmonious working of that Party. As leader you will be called upon to form the Ministry and accept the high office of Chief Minister of one of our leading and most important States. I have every hope that you will carry the burden and responsibility of this high office with dignity and wisdom, and that you will seek to gain the confidence of every member of the Party and, indeed, of the people of the State generally.

I understand that a meeting of the old Assembly is going to be held about the 20th of this month. It will be desirable to have the election of the leader after this Assembly meeting is over or towards the end of it. In the present Assembly, it is right that K.C. Reddy should function as leader and Chief Minister. After the Assembly is over and you have been elected as leader of the Congress Party, Reddy can submit his resignation to the Rajpramukh.

When you are called upon to form a Ministry, I hope that you will make your choice in consultation with us and will select as colleagues those who are most suited for the work of Government by integrity, competence and experience. The choice should be such as is welcomed by the people of Mysore. First impressions count and, therefore, the first impression should be good. This will enable you to begin your work in a good atmosphere.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**STATE MATTERS**  
**VII. West Bengal**





## 1. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 25, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I find it a little difficult to keep pace with election returns from all over India. I noticed, however, that a Communist, who had been a detenu, had been elected in Bengal.<sup>2</sup>

I think that any person elected cannot continue under detention, unless there are very grave and obvious reasons for doing so. It is better to put an end to his detention and not wait for a big agitation for it.

Yours,  
Jawahar

1. J.N. Collection.
2. Ranendranath Sen was elected a member of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly from Manicktala.

## 2. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

Calcutta

March 24, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

I spoke to you about Nadia today. I do hope you will please send some really competent man to enquire about the state of affairs there. We have a succession of complaints from there reaching us in Delhi. Mostly they refer to the problem of the Muslims who have returned there and generally it is said that the superintendent of police, Taraknath Banerji, is not functioning fairly at all.<sup>2</sup> The district magistrate, B.K. Sinha,<sup>3</sup> is said to be good but weak and not keeping good health.

It is stated that on the 4th of March 1952, the house of Surat Ali Khan, a very old Congress member of thirty years' standing, was burnt down.

1. File No. 29(159)/49-PMS.
2. Roy wrote back on 5 April that "all the allegations" made by Banerji's rival Haripada Chatterjee, were found to be untrue after enquiries by different district officers and C.C. Biswas, Union Minister of State for Minority Affairs.
3. Entered Government service in 1926, joined I.A.S., 1949.



The case of one of the police officers was mentioned to me, Binoy Babu; I think, of Nakasipara. He was suspended, transferred, then brought back and again after the incident of the 4th March demoted.<sup>4</sup> All this presumably because the S.P. thought that he did not fit in with his policy which was rather anti-Muslim.

I was also informed that one of the border police outposts in Mubarakpur was actually housed in one of the pucca Masjids there for many months. This is extraordinary. I understand that this has been removed now.<sup>5</sup>

Generally speaking, it is said that there are long delays by the authorities in dealing with Muslim cases with the result that a great deal of pressure is exercised. It is said that this is meant to squeeze out Muslims.

The person who is said to be backing this anti-Muslim policy is reported to be Taraknath Banerji, who was a Congress candidate and who has lost in the elections.

I suggest that not only an inquiry be made, but some special officer be appointed to dispose of these Muslim cases as rapidly as possible. A running sore is a nuisance and may well affect surrounding areas too. Nadia is a border State and quick decisions are desirable for the settlement of the displaced persons.

There was some talk at one time, and I think I wrote to you about it, of clearing the border areas of Muslims. This seemed to me then a wrong policy to adopt and likely to cause further difficulties, apart from the unfairness involved.<sup>6</sup> It may be that this is not a regular policy, but it is, nevertheless, followed to some extent in practice.

Yours,  
Jawahar

4. Justifying the action, Roy wrote that even after his transfer to Hanskhali, the sub-inspector's work was found to be "very unsatisfactory."
5. In his reply on 5 April, Roy refuted the allegation that any mosque was under the occupation of the police.
6. Roy wrote that approximately fifty per cent of the villagers in the border areas of Nadia were Muslims.

# STATE MATTERS

## VIII. Uttar Pradesh





## 1. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

Roorkee

January 19, 1952

My dear Pantji,

Wherever I go, I have a brief talk with the district officials. In Moradabad I had such a talk with the district magistrate.

Among other things, he told me that one of your Government's G.Os restrict Muslim recruitment to services to 14 per cent. This might be fair for the whole province but it worked out unfairly in areas where the Muslim population was very considerable, as in Moradabad where it is 40 per cent or more. There are some towns in Moradabad district with a majority of Muslim population. The result is that often competent Muslim young men, sometimes better than others who come forward, cannot be taken in because of the limitation of the percentage. Thus not only does quality suffer but also there is a sense of unfairness and frustration.

I think that something should be done to meet this difficulty and in these relatively Muslim areas the percentage should be advanced or some latitude should be given in this respect. Presumably this applies to the lower services, clerks, police, etc., more than to the higher services. It is right that in an area like Moradabad there should be more Muslims in evidence in the services.

I hope you will look into this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

## 2. To Kailas Nath Katju<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 22, 1952

My dear Kailas Nath,

I suppose you know about the Ayodhya Mosque affair. The district magistrate of the place, Nayar,<sup>2</sup> behaved very badly, disobeyed his Government's orders

1. J.N. Collection.

2. K.K. Nayar (1907-1977); joined the I.C.S., 1930; served in various capacities in the U.P., 1930-52; voluntarily retired from service in 1952 and practised law at the Allahabad High Court; member, U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1965-67, and of Lok Sabha, 1967-71.



and generally created a difficult situation.<sup>3</sup> This made me very angry at the time and I asked Pantji to take strong action against him.

Subsequently I heard that Nayar was involved in some other undesirable transactions affecting him personally. The U.P. Government wanted to proceed against him in a court of law but for some reason, which I have been unable to understand, our Home Ministry was against this and preferred some kind of a departmental enquiry. A High Court Judge was asked to undertake this. This particular Judge fell ill and there the matter stands. Apparently the U.P. Government has referred the matter to your Ministry and suggested some other High Court Judge's name.

I think it is a great pity that this man, Nayar, was not tried publicly as he is altogether a bad hat. I suppose it is not easy to go back on the decision taken, more especially as his wife is now standing as a Hindu Mahasabha candidate in the elections.<sup>4</sup> Anyhow, I should like this matter to be expedited by your Ministry. I should also like to know why he has been dealt with so leniently. There has been much comment on this.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 14, Pt. I, p. 445.

4. Shakuntala Nayar was member of the Lok Sabha, 1952-57 and of the U.P. Legislative Assembly, 1962-67.

### 3. To Paramjit Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 7, 1952

My dear Paramjit Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 31st January. As the matter relates to the States Ministry, I am sending it to my colleague, the States Minister, who will no doubt give it every consideration.

You refer to the Uttar Pradesh legislation regarding the abolition of zamindari. This legislation has been very much before the public for the last four or five years. Indeed it has been a basic item in our programme for the last twenty years or more and we have been rather put out by the great delay

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Maharaja of Kapurthala.

in giving effect to it not only in the U.P., but in other States. If there is one major lesson that one has to learn from the modern world, it is that the zamindari system cannot endure and has to go. I am sure you will appreciate that it is hardly possible for a differentiation to be made between one zamindari estate and other.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





## STATE MATTERS

## IX. Other States





1. To C. Kesavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 24, 1952

My dear Kesavan,<sup>2</sup>

I see from some newspaper reports that the Congress Parliamentary Party in Travancore-Cochin has been meeting and considering the situation. It is stated that the Party was of opinion that it should undertake the responsibility of forming the Ministry, even though it did not have a clear majority.

No such decision should be taken till the matter has been considered by the Congress Working Committee in all its aspects. My own present inclination is that a Congress Party in a Legislature should not assume the responsibility of office if it cannot form a stable Government. I am also opposed to alliances with other groups unless such alliances are real and not artificial. I do not rule them out, but I would examine them with the greatest care. In any event, no decision or step should be taken without reference to us. You and the President<sup>3</sup> of the Congress Committee as well as Verghese<sup>4</sup> have been asked to come here for consultation at the time when the Working Committee is meeting early next month.

I think that nothing would be more undesirable than any impression being created in the public mind that the Congress wants to remain in office by some means or other. That will be very harmful to the Congress and no Ministry formed artificially will survive. The situation in Travancore-Cochin is a difficult one and there can be little doubt that the public, as a whole, have not affirmed their confidence in the Congress or the Ministry there.

There are, I believe, a number of communist detenus who have been elected to the Legislature. Unless there are very strong and special reasons to the contrary, any person elected to the Legislature should be released if he is in detention. Please let me know what the position is.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1891-1969); Chief Minister, Travancore-Cochin, 1951-52.

3. K. Sanku Pillai, President of Travancore-Cochin P.C.C. at this time.

4. T.M. Verghese, Speaker of Travancore-Cochin Assembly at this time.



## 2. The Situation in Travancore-Cochin<sup>1</sup>

The Congress Party, which form the Government in Travancore-Cochin, has suffered a serious defeat in the elections.<sup>2</sup> The Ministers, however, have been re-elected. This produces a delicate and difficult situation.

2. There is no second chamber in Travancore-Cochin and therefore the new Assembly can meet fairly early, probably about the second week of March. We have thus to deal with this period of four or five weeks as also with the situation that will arise at the end of that period.

3. In terms of the Constitution, the present Ministry should carry on till a new Ministry is formed on the eve of the meeting of the new legislature. There is, however, some impropriety in a party which has been defeated at the polls and which is in a minority, continuing in office. At the same time there is no alternative Government available at present.

4. The Congress Party being in a minority cannot form a Government, unless it can increase its numbers or form some kind of a coalition. It is undesirable for it to add to its numbers at the cost of its principles. Coalitions also should be avoided if they involve a breach of principles.

5. It is unlikely that any other group or coalition can have a majority and form a Government. The U.F.L.<sup>3</sup> is the largest group next to the Congress. It is highly unlikely that the Socialists or the Tamil Nad Congress Party will join them for forming a Government. A few of the Independents might do so, but most of them will probably not. The consequence is that they will not be in a position to have a majority or form a Government. If no party or coalition can form a Government, then the only alternatives are: President's rule or elections, or President's rule followed by elections as soon as feasible.

6. No final decision need be arrived at and developments should be watched during the next month.

7. Meanwhile, the following course of action is suggested: The Chief Minister should offer his and his Government's resignation to the Rajpramukh. The Rajpramukh, while appreciating his action in the circumstances, asks him to carry on with his Government for the present till he explores other possibilities. The Rajpramukh meets the leaders of other groups and discusses

1. Note to C. Kesavan, Chief Minister of Travancore-Cochin, 3 February 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. Forwarding the note Nehru wrote: "Our talks were fuller and I have not put everything in the note, but I hope you and your colleagues will keep in mind what was said at our meeting," and advised Kesavan to discuss the matter with Gopalaswami Ayyangar.
3. United Front of Leftists.

the situation with them without committing himself in any way. He tries to find out if there is any possibility of a suitable Ministry being formed by the U.F.L. and their allies. Presumably he comes to the conclusion that such a stable Ministry is not possible.

8. The existing Ministry meanwhile carries on a caretaker Ministry. When the time comes for the new legislature to meet, the situation should be viewed afresh. If it is still not possible to have a fairly stable Ministry, then the only alternative is President's rule and, later, elections.

9. It must be remembered that the present Rajpramukh obviously cannot be asked to shoulder the responsibilities of President's rule and some other adequate arrangement will have to be made. In any event, Travancore-Cochin being a Part B State will have a senior adviser or perhaps two of them, and the Centre's supervision will have to be continuous.

10. It must be borne in mind that under no circumstances must the Congress Party and the present Ministry act in such a way as to appear to hanker after office. It is for this reason that it is suggested that the Chief Minister should offer the resignation of his Government. This fact should be notified to the public, also that the Rajpramukh had asked him to continue as a caretaker Ministry till further arrangements are made.

11. The Congress Party should not make any commitments to any other group which may be contrary to Congress principles. They should not accept any such new members as previously applied for the Congress ticket and then opposed the Congress candidates. Subject to this, however, they may accept the membership of any persons who are suitable. But even this should not be attempted in a way which leads to the impression that they are terribly anxious to get some support by any means in order to form a Ministry.

12. Developments should be reported and advice taken from the Centre.

### 3. To Raghbir Singh<sup>1</sup>

February 24, 1952

My dear Col. Raghbir Singh,<sup>2</sup>

After giving a great deal of thought to the election of a leader for Pepsu and the formation of a Government there, we have come to the conclusion that you should be chosen as the Leader of the Legislature Party there and consequently as the Chief Minister. The position in Pepsu is a delicate and

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1894-1955); Minister, Patiala State, 1936-39; left Akali Party and joined Congress in 1947 and headed the State Government in 1951-1952 and 1954 and the State Congress for many years.



complicated one and many matters have to be kept in view. The first thing of course is that the Congress Party must hold together and function with unanimity. This is most important. We cannot tolerate any groups, but even apart from formal groups, we should not have any informal groups pulling in different directions. Therefore it is necessary to have a clear understanding of this point.

The second point is that we must pay special attention to reforms. This applies to the whole of India and more particularly to certain rather backward areas, socially and economically speaking, like Pepsu. Results have to be shown and a progressive policy adopted. The Party must be clear on this issue. We cannot afford to delay matters any longer.

As leader and Chief Minister, the chief burden will fall on you to carry all the members of the Party. This burden should be shared particularly with Brish Bhan,<sup>3</sup> who is probably much more in touch with most of the other members of the Party. In fact there should be the closest cooperation between you and Brish Bhan.

I should like to discuss with you and Brish Bhan the question of the formation of Government. The first step of course to be taken is to elect the leader of the Party. This should be done unanimously. Government will be formed later. But we might have an informal talk with you tomorrow, Monday 25th February. Could you please come to my office in External Affairs at 5 p.m. tomorrow?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1908-1988); participated in the states people's movement; imprisoned in Patiala, 1939-41, 1942-44 and in 1945; Deputy Chief Minister, Pepsu, 1951-52, and Chief Minister, January, 1955-56; joined Janta Party, 1977.

#### 4. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 13, 1952

My dear Dhebar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 1st March which I read with great interest.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (1905-1977); a lawyer from Rajkot, participated in the states people's movement and was imprisoned thrice between 1936-39; Chief Minister of Saurashtra, 1948-54; President, Indian National Congress, 1957-59; Member, Lok Sabha, 1962-63; and Chairman, Khadi and Village Industries Commission for many years.

We have been following closely your drive against the ex-Rulers and jagirdars.<sup>3</sup> I am very glad indeed that you have taken strong action in this matter. I have sent a copy of your letter to the States Minister.

What I am concerned with a great deal is, how far this jagirdar conspiracy in Saurashtra extended to Rajasthan. I am sure this must have been so. Indeed I think the Rajasthan lot were in some ways perhaps even worse. I should like you to try to find out what contacts or connections there were with the people in Rajasthan.

I have communicated parts of your letter dealing with Evacuee Property<sup>4</sup> to the Rehabilitation Minister here. I think that it is monstrous that large numbers of innocent persons should suffer because of the consequences of the Evacuee Property Law.<sup>5</sup> I am very much concerned with this matter and I think it is against the whole spirit of our Constitution. I have long been worried over this because the problem is not one of Saurashtra only. I hope that we shall amend the law fairly soon but I should like to give relief even before that is done. I am not prepared to accept any narrow interpretation of the law in a matter which affects the well-being of a large number of our nationals. Apart from this it may be possible to give relief in some other way. Anyhow, I have written to the Rehabilitation Minister here to look into it. If you like you can give him further information on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Dhebar wrote that a former ruler, a taluqdar, and two princes were detained as for sometime past they had been spreading disaffection among the villagers, especially the cultivators, and terrorizing the people during the elections. He sought the State Ministry's "concurrence to the policy of asking Rulers to hold arms only under licences notwithstanding their privileges."
4. Dhebar had wanted evacuee property to be given a clear legal definition so that its sale transactions could be confirmed by the custodian. He also suggested that for proper maintenance, some valuable buildings constituting the evacuee property be given to refugees on an ownership basis.
5. Dhebar also wrote that several Muslim petty traders were almost being forced by circumstances to leave India due to their inability to raise loan or funds against their property which the prospective buyers or the mortgagees had been warned by the registering authority may be declared as evacuee property at a later date.



## 5. People and Administration of Manipur<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you letters and other papers given to me by some representatives of the Manipur State Congress Committee. I have seen them also.

2. I told them that, although it is our policy to have autonomy in various States, Manipur is a difficult area for us from many points of view. It is a frontier area and therefore a special charge on us. Therefore, at present we could not go beyond the Act<sup>2</sup> that had been recently passed. Whenever it is possible, we should like to have some kind of a legislative assembly there.

3. It may be possible, I said to them, that the electoral college might later function as some kind of a consultative body, not in continuous session, but meeting occasionally for this purpose.

4. As for the appointment of Advisers, I did not commit myself in any way and told them that the best available talent should be used. I feel, however, that when some kind of elections have taken place and an electoral college formed, it would be difficult to go outside these elected members in the choice of Advisers. It may be possible to get better men outside, but they will probably come in conflict with this electoral college as well as with the Congress organization there. Probably, other organizations may also object. Normally speaking, after an election, we should rely upon the majority group to give us Advisers or rather that the Advisers should be chosen from among them. If this is not done, the likelihood is of an agitation for something much more, i.e., responsible Government. In this agitation practically all the groups, including the Congress, may join and the position of the Chief Commissioner, whoever he might be, become difficult.

1. Note to the Minister for States, 19 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

2. Manipur which became a Part C State in 1952 under the Part C States Act of 1951, could have a Legislative Assembly in 1963 only under the Union Territories Act of that year.

**STATE MATTERS****X. Demand for Andhra Pradesh**





## 1. To D.R. Bindu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 9, 1951

My dear Bindu,<sup>2</sup>

I see from the newspapers that the Hyderabad Congress has been talking about a linguistic division of Hyderabad State.<sup>3</sup> I am worried about this. I am quite clear in my mind that any division of Hyderabad State in the foreseeable future would be harmful to all concerned. It would upset much of the work that is being done not only in Hyderabad but elsewhere, and delay all progress. For a long time we would be all tied up with this process of division and we would not settle down at all. I am personally all against this division. I cannot of course tie up the future. When I come to Hyderabad, as I hope to do soon, I propose to make this quite clear. I wish that the State Congress did not give a lead on this issue which is opposed to what we think.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. G. Digambar Rao Bindu, President of Hyderabad State Congress at this time.

## 2. Creation of Andhra State<sup>1</sup>

The Government of India does not want to delay or to stand in the way of the creation of an Andhra State.

You have got the Andhra province, take it, but take it in the right way and not in the wrong way, go about it in a friendly way and you will proceed much faster than by any other way.

The Government of India are not going to compel any one or any large group in order to bring this about.

Personally I am not in favour of linguistic provinces. But that does not apply to Andhra province as I feel that the Andhra province for a variety of reasons has justified itself, because the Andhra people want it.

1. Speech at a public meeting at Vijayawada, 27 December 1951. From the *National Herald*, 28 December 1951.



To carry this question of linguistic division to its utmost limits means splitting India again and promoting provincialism at a time when the greatest need is to keep India united.

The position of the Government of India has been already clearly stated. The matter is entirely in the hands of the people and I do not come in the way at all. I think some of the methods employed by persons demanding the new State have come in the way and have delayed matters. I want some kind of general agreement. There are some administrative matters also to be considered, and it is possible to come to a large measure of agreement. I cannot go about compelling and forcing people. I am prepared to agree to a demand provided there is general agreement and not to demands which you yourselves do not agree about. I must have general agreement....

Provincialism is a disrupting and weakening factor in India and that unity is required more than ever to achieve economic Swaraj.

I am not at all in favour of highly centralized government. I do not want all powers centred in Delhi. I too believe in decentralization but I want it to come gradually and go further and further into the villages.

But I do believe that we must take first things first and the first thing in this independent Republic of India is her unity and her consolidation.

The process of consolidation has not yet been finished because ultimately that consolidation is not merely political, but is something of the mind and the heart. When millions of Indians feel that they are Indians first and everything else afterwards and remember that they are the citizens of India, they would be proud of the fact and realize that above everything else they have to serve the Republic and that their individual or provincial future is all secondary.

If India prospers everything prospers. It is time we put an end to this business of division and disruption....

### 3. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 10, 1952

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I see from your list of engagements that you are meeting Swami Sitaram<sup>2</sup>

1. File No. 164-GG/47, President's Secretariat. Also available in J.N. Collection.
2. G. Sitaramiah Sastri (Swami Sitaram) (1885-1960); one of the earliest advocates of a separate state for the Andhras; launched a non-violent satyagraha movement in August 1949 to press for an Andhra province; also fasted for 35 days in August-September 1951 but was persuaded by Vinoba Bhave to give up the fast; in February 1952, revived the movement and gave call for satyagraha before government offices.

tomorrow evening at 6 p.m.<sup>3</sup> As you are seeing him, I am informing you of certain recent developments.

I had a telegram from Swami Sitaram two or three days ago asking for an interview on the 10th or 11th. I had an answer sent to him by my Secretary to the effect that I was exceedingly busy during these days and it was difficult to find time for an interview. Apart from this, in view of his threat of satyagraha and his other statements, I thought that an interview would serve little purpose.

Swami Sitaram has issued innumerable statements in the past three or four months. These statements have usually been couched in terms of threats. They have not been confined to the Andhra issue; he has condemned our Government in the strongest language for corruption etc., and called upon people to get rid of it. During my Andhra tour he preceded me by a day or two in the places where I visited and tried to organize demonstrations whenever I went there. In most places he failed completely. In two places I think there were petty demonstrations which did not make any difference.

It was quite clear to me when I went to Andhra and even before that he was functioning much more in the political plane than any other in that he had allied himself with Prakasam and company. The Andhra province issue became only a part of this general campaign. When Rajaji was here he advised me repeatedly not even to send answers to Swami Sitaram's long letters to me which were seldom worded courteously and usually had an element of threat in them. Even after the elections he goes on talking about satyagraha in Andhra regardless of the novel and difficult situation that has arisen. He demands a declaration about the Andhra province within the next two or three weeks. That is obviously impossible and so far as I am concerned he will have no such declaration. It is perfectly extraordinary how a person like him can act irresponsibly in such matters. What we do to Andhra has powerful repercussions in Hyderabad.

During my tour in Andhra in the Rayalaseema area there was strong evidence of opposition to the Andhra province.<sup>4</sup> I do not see how we can force the Andhra province down people's throats who do not want it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Rajendra Prasad in a note of 11 February wrote that Swami Sitaram had suggested declaration by the Government about establishing an Andhra province after the formation of the new Ministry. The President replied to him that it was constitutionally difficult for the Government to take any action at this stage when the electorate had thrown out all the Members who actually had passed the resolution in the last Assembly favouring the creation of an Andhra province.
4. Most of the members of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee from Rayalaseema and Nellore were opposed to the formation of an Andhra State unless the city of Madras was included in such a State.



#### 4. Satyagraha for Andhra State<sup>1</sup>

Question: Coming to national affairs, in this morning's papers you have seen that Swami Sitaram has started a satyagraha movement in Andhra. Sometime back he had consultations with you. Can you say anything in regard to the demand for an Andhra province in the light of the satyagraha movement?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is really nothing I can add to what I have said previously in regard to an Andhra province, and that is this: that the Andhra province can come into existence as soon as the people of Andhra and those affected by the Andhra province being created agree to certain general principles. I am not talking of details, and I am not talking about everybody in Andhra agreeing, but the principal groups. An agreement was arrived at over a large number of matters previously, but one or two major matters remained. One was about the city of Madras, which is a big thing. And there was also some difficulty about the Rayalaseema area. That is not the difficulty of our creation. We are perfectly prepared to go ahead as soon as these difficulties are got over. I cannot understand any satyagraha or any other action taken to bring pressure upon us because we are not coming in the way. It is, let us say, the Tamil people of Madras or the Rayalaseema people. We are quite happy to take any step. Apart from that, there is the general position. I pointed out and explained this to Swami Sitaram that just at the present moment it would be exceedingly inappropriate and even improper for this Parliament or this Government at its last stage to take major decisions of this kind. But I will be perfectly prepared, provided an agreement is arrived, to take steps to work out the details.

Q: On this question of the future of Madras City, does it mean that proper agreement is necessary before further steps can be taken?

JN: That is right.

Q: Would any new provinces be carved if there was agreement just now, or would you like to postpone till the appointment of a commission to investigate?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.

JN: For my part, I am not at all eager to have new provinces. But where people desire it and there is no conflict involved, I do not wish to come in the way at all. We are perfectly prepared to have the Andhra province, that was declared long ago. Don't you see the appointment of the commission is to settle details. Whatever agreement we come to, there are innumerable details to be worked out, even in regard to the boundary; that is to say, the broad boundary is accepted but the accurate boundary would require some investigation.

Q: What is your objection to creating an Andhra State with your own boundaries whatever it may be.

JN: That means that you create an Andhra State and the question is unsolved and the agitation continues for further additions to it all the time. One must settle the question and not leave it open.

Q: But that is how Orissa was formed?<sup>2</sup>

JN: I was not connected with Government then. It was done in a different context by the British Government of the day which did not consider it necessary to consult people. They simply issued decrees and it was done and people were not too much interested.

Q: Unless you have a definite plebiscite in mind about the Andhra State, would you not treat the opinion of the newly-elected MLAs final on this issue?

JN: I have certainly no plebiscite in view. I can't say anything of the opinion of the newly-elected MLAs which no doubt goes a long way but MLAs of Andhra alone. When you make a province, you affect others—Tamil Nad, Karnataka etc. You cannot isolate one question from other questions attached to it. I have told the major questions resolve themselves now into Madras City and Rayalseema area. Swami Sitaram does not accept it, nor does Mr Prakasam.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, if Mr Prakasam had accepted that award three

2. Orissa province was formed in 1936 under the Government of India Act of 1935 by amalgamating the various tracts taken from the four provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Central Provinces and Madras.
3. T. Prakasam was leader of K.M.P.P. and United Democratic Front formed by Communists, K.M.P.P., the Forward Bloc, and the Justice Party.



years ago, probably there would be an Andhra province now.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, it is really Mr Prakasam and his friends who come in the way of Andhra Province all the time.

4. Prakasam had written a note of dissent on issues like location of temporary capital and division of assets and liabilities to the report of the Partition Committee appointed by the Madras Government towards the end of 1949 to enquire into the division of the province.







## 1. Kashmir and Other Issues<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: We met briefly over two months ago. It was in August and a great deal has happened since then. On what topics would you like me to speak?

Question: Will you be talking as Congress President as well?

JN: No, except that I am prepared to answer an odd question here and there. What are the subjects you would like me to touch upon?

Q: The subjects are as follows: Egypt, Middle East, the new approach to Pakistan, China, the Iranian oil dispute, the new government in England and the Commonwealth, Thakin Nu, Kashmir and Dr Graham's report.

JN: This talk about a new approach to Pakistan presumably relates to certain news items about some secret emissary having been sent there. All these stories are fantastic nonsense.<sup>2</sup> They are without the slightest basis. About Mr Chakravarty, we fixed up his going for a normal routine inspection many months ago. I subsequently found that he was in the same aircraft as Mr Casey<sup>3</sup> and the fact that he went with Mr Casey led to all kinds of speculation. It also so happened that Mr Chakravarty had served under Mr Casey and Khwaja Nazimuddin<sup>4</sup> in Bengal. He is a Bengal civilian. People have tied all this up.

So far as Pakistan is generally concerned, you can call it a new or an old approach. Our approach is friendly and one to take advantage of every opportunity towards a peaceful settlement of our problems. But nothing special has happened in this interval, except that I think certainly the death of Mr Liaquat Ali Khan—the shock of that tragedy—had resulted in a lessening of tension and a progressive realization that we have so much in common and

1. Introductory remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 3 November 1951. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 3-8, 481-482, 507-508 and 541-546.
2. It was reported in the press that B.N. Chakravarty, Joint Secretary, Ministry of External Affairs, had visited Karachi in October 1951 as a special emissary of Nehru with an important message for the Pakistan Prime Minister. There were speculations about the purpose of the visit in the Indian and foreign press. *National Herald*, 31 October and *The Bombay Chronicle*, 2 and 3 November 1951.
3. R.G. Casey, Governor of Bengal from 1944-46, and at this time Minister for External Affairs, Government of Australia.
4. Chief Minister of Bengal from 1943-45, and Prime Minister of Pakistan at this time.



that we should explore all avenues for a settlement if any opportunity offers itself.

Then about Thakin Nu.<sup>5</sup> He came here more especially to discuss our relations with Japan in relation to the consequences of the San Francisco Treaty.<sup>6</sup> This was fixed up before that treaty. In fact, the original idea was that Thakin Nu and possibly the Prime Minister of Indonesia might meet in Delhi just before the San Francisco Conference. But that could not be arranged. There was not enough time. Then, of course, as you know, Indonesia signed that treaty while Burma and India did not. They were not represented there. That made a difference and there was no particular need in this context for the Prime Minister of Indonesia to discuss that matter. It is not correct to say, as some people have said, that we invited the Prime Minister of Indonesia and he could not accept the invitation. There was no such invitation. The whole idea was Thakin Nu's and this was before the San Francisco Conference, and naturally we said we would welcome any meeting with Thakin Nu or anyone else. After the San Francisco Conference, the need for that particular purpose did not arise, and so Thakin Nu came here and we discussed that as well as so many other matters of common concern.

You ask me about the new Government in the U.K.<sup>7</sup> Speaking as Prime Minister here, it is not for us to discuss Governments in other countries. We welcome any Government in friendly countries and deal with it in a friendly and cooperative way. I believe there has been in the Indian press some reference to the past records of the leaders of the present U.K. Government in relation to India.<sup>8</sup> I think that is only of historical significance and of no present significance to us. It is a chapter which ended with Indian Independence and I am quite sure that the leaders of the present U.K. Government also look upon it as a chapter that has ended. I do not anticipate any difficulty in the cooperation of our Government here with the present U.K. Government in matters of common concern. We may differ, as Governments differ, in some

5. The Burmese Prime Minister was in Delhi from 21 to 24 October 1951. Apart from the issue of the Japanese peace treaty, his discussions with Nehru included the questions of bilateral trade and the presence of Kuomintang troops in Burmese territory.
6. Most of the fifty-two member nations of the U.N. met at San Francisco from 4 to 8 September 1951 and signed a treaty, drafted and sponsored by Britain and the U.S., to end the state of war with Japan. Burma and India did not sign the treaty, the former on the ground that it remained silent on the payment of reparations and the latter for its failure to give Japan a position of honour and equality among nations. India signed a separate bilateral treaty with Japan on 9 June 1952.
7. In the general elections of 25 October 1951, the Conservatives won by 27 seats and formed the government under Winston Churchill.
8. For example, the *National Herald* of 28 October 1951, expressed the fear that the return to power of Churchill might have far-reaching consequences in foreign affairs. Churchill was known for his opposition to India's freedom.

particular matters, but I think there is a desire to cooperate here certainly—and I believe at the other end too—and there should be no difficulty in regard to it.

About Kashmir and Dr Graham's report.<sup>9</sup> There is nothing much to be said about Dr Graham's report, which you all must have read. It is largely a factual report; he had confined himself to the one problem of demilitarization and, if you study that report carefully, you will see that he has gone a long way in exploring this matter. Though not with final success he went a good way towards success. It may be that the matters that remain are ticklish and difficult.

We talked about demilitarization. If you will refer back to the old resolutions of the United Nations Commission<sup>10</sup> you will see that they were all based on two major premises or considerations. One was that that part of Kashmir State which is occupied by Pakistan armies or their associates, whether they are called 'Azad Kashmir' area or whatever else, should be vacated. The Pakistan armies should leave it completely, partly because they felt that a new situation had been created by the entry of Pakistan forces. That was the original report of the Commission. Whatever the merits of the case there is no doubt that the Pakistan armies had entered into new territory which did not belong to them. It was aggression. You may argue as to their justification for doing so. So the Commission's reports were based on Pakistan going completely out of the 'Azad Kashmir' area, further that the 'Azad Kashmir' forces should be disarmed and disbanded. There was some argument about that but the argument was about the timing of it—namely as to when, whether before or after—but these facts were admitted, that Pakistan should leave completely the areas of Kashmir State which they have occupied and that neither their armies, their associate armies nor local armies raised there should be left there.

The second point that the Commission agreed to—that has been the basis of the premise—was that while in Kashmir State under the present government the Indian armies there should withdraw in bulk—the word "bulk" was not defined—the point agreed to was the retention of some part of India's armed forces there to ensure security from any possible incursion, invasion, etc.

These are the two basic matters on which we have been talking for

9. In his first report to the Security Council on 15 October, Graham had recommended that: (i) the Governments of India and Pakistan take immediate steps to improve their relations and avoid any war-like measures in Kashmir; (ii) the Security Council consider steps to secure agreement of India and Pakistan to a plan for demilitarization; and (iii) the Council instruct the U.N. representative to resume the negotiations and to report back within six weeks.

10. The resolutions of 13 August 1948 and 5 January 1949.



the last two or three years. The point of argument was, as I said, the timing of the disbandment of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces and the quantum of the withdrawal of the Indian forces—what you might call bulk, more or less.

During this period, that is since the ceasefire in Kashmir nearly three years ago (at the beginning of 1949) the first step was the withdrawal of the Pakistan forces but they have not withdrawn yet. Perhaps some troops may have gone back or forward, I cannot say, but anyhow they are in possession and the first step has not been taken yet. So far as we were concerned we were to take our step, that is the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian Army there, after Pakistan had taken their first step, which they have not done. Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, we withdrew from Kashmir about 42 per cent, to be accurate, of our armed forces there, and the process of withdrawal has been gradual and continuous till, I should say, sometime this year, (I cannot give the exact date) when we stopped it, because of growing tension, talk of war and *jehad*. That is the background.

Before Dr Graham, these matters came up, namely withdrawal of Pakistan forces and ours and you know that we have gone pretty far in agreeing, subject to a settlement on this issue, to withdraw far more than the bulk of our forces and the very minimum is hardly enough for any major operation, if Kashmir was invaded, but we were prepared to take the risk. We said that if conditions improved we would be prepared to reduce that minimum too. If conditions improved hundred per cent we would remove our forces hundred per cent, completely. That is the question that Dr Graham discussed and the matters at issue have been narrowed down so far as that particular matter is concerned, though no doubt, having regard to the attitude of Pakistan and India, they are difficult and ticklish.

One thing I would like you to consider is that Dr Graham has considered this issue of demilitarization only. That by itself, of course, is not the entire issue. That is the first and major step in the hope that this major issue once got over, we can tackle the other issues but it does not solve everything, obviously.

Q: You said "if conditions improved". Could we know what exactly you mean by this expression?

JN: I said that our troops are there to prevent any incursion, invasion, etc. If the Kashmir Government and we were satisfied that there is no crisis or danger, in the measure of our satisfaction, we withdraw. If we are completely satisfied from the security point of view, we shall withdraw completely. Our conditions are to be judged from various factors, obviously. There is the purely military factor which a soldier can judge, if there is an invasion from the point of

view of defence. There are other factors too such as the general condition of Indo-Pakistan relations, the talk or propaganda of war or *jehad* in Pakistan. All these are conditions which have to be taken into account.

Q: Is the Kashmir issue complicated by reason of the offer of Mr Zafrullah Khan<sup>11</sup> to send troops to fight in Korea or to mediate in the Middle East?

JN: I do not know what exactly that has to do with Kashmir at all.

Q: A new alignment of powers or countries may further complicate the issue. You have yourself repeatedly said that the Kashmir problem has been influenced by extraneous considerations.

JN: I am afraid this question is too deep for me to answer.

Q: In view of the Constituent Assembly in Kashmir and the draft resolution to be framed for accession to India, do you agree that the Paris session of the General Assembly will be the last on the subject for doing something decisive about Kashmir: If not, would they be overtaken by the time factor?

JN: We have made it perfectly clear before the Security Council<sup>12</sup> that the Kashmir Constituent Assembly does not, so far as we are concerned, come in the way of a decision by the Security Council or the United Nations. That stand remains completely unchanged. Naturally any Kashmiri as an individual or even as a group, has a right to declare his opinion about important matters and the Constituent Assembly as a matter of right can declare its views. What it will do I do not know. In what form or whether it will do it or not, at this stage, I have no idea. The primary function of the Constituent Assembly is to frame a Constitution for the Jammu and Kashmir State. In framing a Constitution one has to frame it on some basis. I presume that the only basis that they can frame it at the present moment is on the existing basis. What happens in the future may upset that basis—that is a different matter—but they frame it on the existing basis and go on with it. Anyhow, it does not come, so far as the Government of India are concerned, in the way of the Security Council considering this problem.

11. Foreign Minister and permanent representative of Pakistan at the United Nations at this time.

12. On 29 May 1951.



Q: Does the Government of India concede that they have a right to decide their own future?

JN: The Government of India not only concedes it but that has been the basis of the Government of India's policy right from the beginning that the Kashmiris must decide their future. So far as we are concerned, and others, they may be perfectly satisfied that the Kashmiris through their elected Constituent Assembly can express and decide about their future. I may be quite convinced, as I am. I have no doubt about the views of the people of Kashmir by and large on this subject. I never had any doubt about it. It is not a question of my wishing this or that, but I have been intimately connected with the people of Kashmir, I know what they feel and what they want and I have said that many a time. But you will remember that India unilaterally, of its own accord, had suggested long ago<sup>13</sup> a plebiscite which was later accepted by the Security Council. And if I may remind you, it was first not accepted by Pakistan, it was only later that they accepted that idea.

As a matter of fact, going back still further, even slightly before partition when no trouble had arisen about Kashmir between India and Pakistan, even then we had declared—memories are sometimes short—that the people of Kashmir should decide for themselves.<sup>14</sup> This was before partition, when partition was in the air, when it had not come. At that time our view was—and I had said so, not in Parliament but elsewhere—that the proper course would be for a Constituent Assembly to be elected by the Kashmir State to consider this question. That was before this trouble arose.

So, that has been our policy throughout. This trouble came in the way and it could not happen on those lines. So, we put forward this idea of the Kashmir people deciding it. Then the Security Council passed resolutions; we abide by all those resolutions. For my part, not that I had any doubt about the views of the people of Kashmir, but because I want to put an end to this business of the doubt of others, I welcome a plebiscite there as early as possible. I have no doubt what the plebiscite will say or do, but let us have it as early as possible and be done with it. Therefore, we stand by our commitment to the Security Council completely.

13. For instance, in a broadcast to the nation on 2 November 1947 Nehru had declared that, 'it has been our policy all along that where there is a dispute about the accession of a State to either Dominion, the decision must be made by the people of that State.' See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, pp. 306c-310.

14. Mahatma Gandhi had said on 29 July 1947 that the people of Kashmir alone had the right to decide as to which Dominion to accede to. Similar views were also expressed by Nehru and Kripalani, the then Congress President.

Q: You said in answer to a previous question that you would be prepared for complete withdrawal of your forces under certain circumstances. Does that also include the removal of security troops which are now manning the passes and which are looking after communications?

JN: What I said was that our troops are there because of a variety of reasons. The main reason for us to send them was aggression from Pakistan. If—it is a theoretical proposition which may become practical later—that fear of aggression, that apprehension goes completely then the justification for keeping troops for that purpose goes completely. But there is another thing which is entirely separate, which has nothing to do with the Indo-Pakistan issue, and that is: communications to be guarded or our borders to be looked after, our other borders. That is a separate matter entirely.

Q: Do you take it that Pakistan is agreeable to Dr Graham's proposal that the Kashmir question should not be settled by war or force of arms? They have accepted it more or less. Would you take it as a virtual declaration of no-war?

JN: I should like to take it that way, but I can hardly answer for Pakistan. You know I have been all along putting it to the leaders of Pakistan that we should declare quite clearly and unequivocally that as between India and Pakistan the problem should be settled peacefully, and even if it is unsettled for some time we should have no war about it. And I have been specifically including Kashmir in that. For my part I would go a step further if you like: I am prepared to have a no-aggression pact with Pakistan ruling out aggression of one party on another, but always including Kashmir in that. But you cannot have a pact and leave a certain area out of it.

Q: Dr Graham in his conditions mentioned this fact that both parties should agree to the proposition that there should be no settlement of the Kashmir issue by resort to arms, and I think Pakistan consented to that. So, that issue can be taken as settled?

JN: It is difficult for me to answer on behalf of Pakistan. So far as I am concerned, it is settled. The point is that all the talks that we had with Dr Graham were, it may be said, all preliminary talks, preliminary agreements subject to a final agreement. So, they have agreed, but the final agreement has not come.



Q: In view of the lessening tension between India and Pakistan and the lull in the cry for *jehad*, is there any move for a meeting of the leaders of the two countries?

JN: There has been no mention of that recently, except these speculations in the press, but so far as we are concerned we are always willing to have a meeting. At the present moment, you realize that with the matter coming up before the Security Council in a few days' time, a meeting can hardly overlap the meeting of the Security Council.<sup>15</sup> I would be perfectly prepared and be happy if the matter is left for us to consider and determined in the best possible way.

Q: Dr Matthai is reported to have said that the Government is spending Rs 35 to 40 crores annually on Kashmir alone. How far is that correct.

JN: First of all I have no desire to enter into an argument with ex-members of my Government. It is not becoming for them or for me. Secondly, Dr Matthai is somewhat out-of-date. He might perhaps talk with some authority of the period when he was here. Thirdly, I just do not know how to answer—about the figures I mean. I have not the faintest notion. I do not think it is correct to say that we are spending large sums of money there, because wherever the army is we have to spend money on its upkeep. The money is spent on the upkeep of the armed forces, not for fighting. You may say that the money will be saved if we reduced our army. That is a separate proposition not affecting Kashmir. Whether we should keep an army in its present dimension instead of demobilizing, is a different thing. We could certainly save money by demobilizing our army to a certain extent, and it is perfectly true that we probably would have demobilized as we did last year, that is in 1950, when we demobilized 52,000 men, and it was our intention to demobilize 100,000 this year, that is in 1951. But after the beginning was made, the second process had been stopped because of a critical situation. So you may say the money we spend is on keeping up an army which might have been demobilized—not on Kashmir. Minor items there may be like some special expenditure in travelling or transport.

Q: The suggestion has been made by Dr Graham that he should be given an opportunity to continue the negotiations. What is your reaction to that?

JN: Certainly, we can do so. We should like to give all the help we can give him.

15. The meeting of the Security Council took place on 10 November 1951.

## 2. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 14 dated 12th November.<sup>2</sup> We suggest that you ascertain from Graham procedure he intends following, in particular whether he contemplates joint meetings with representatives of India and Pakistan. Unless Graham himself is satisfied of reasonableness of our reply, it would be better to thrash out our differences with him first. You can ask him for points on which he needs further clarification or justification of our stand.<sup>3</sup> If military part of our proposals (withdrawal of our forces and quantum to be left behind) needs justification first, as seems likely from Devers' obiter dictum made casually to us here that four battalions should suffice for security of State on our side of ceasefire line, first step should be to clear up these doubts and Thimayya<sup>4</sup> and Manekshaw<sup>5</sup> can leave here whenever you want them to help you.

1. New Delhi, 13 November 1951. File No. 52/94/NGO, Vol. II, M.E.A.
2. Rau cabled that Graham wished to talk with him about the procedure for meetings between the parties to discuss the preliminaries. He awaited any instructions.
3. India proposed to Graham the retention of 28,000 troops plus 6,000 Kashmir State militia personnel while recommending for Pakistan a civil force of 4,000, half of which to include the recruits of 'Azad Kashmir' Government. Pakistan proposed 4,000 troops on each side including Kashmir State militia. On further discussion with General Jacob Devers, Graham's military adviser, India agreed to a further reduction of 7,000 troops plus 6,000 Kashmir State militia. To balance these, Pakistan side could keep three regular battalions, four 'Azad' battalions, and a civilian police force of 4,000. India accepted the Devers plan on 29 November 1951.
4. K.S. Thimayya, Quarter Master General, Army Head Quarters, 1951-53.
5. Sam H.F.J. Manekshaw, Director, Military Operations, 1948-52.

## 3. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Following are our comments on paragraphs of my letter to Graham dated 11th September<sup>2</sup> mentioned in your telegram.

Para 5: It is not our intention to delay withdrawal bulk of our forces beyond period of 90 days mentioned in para 6 of Graham's proposals, provided that Pakistan completes, within same period, processes (i), (ii) and (iii)

1. New Delhi, 18 November 1951. File No. 52/94/NGO, Vol. II, M.E.A.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 289-292.



described in para 7-A of proposals. Our reservation on this point was governed by two considerations:

- (1) Inability of Pakistan to carry out all processes referred to within period;
- (2) physical and administrative difficulty of our doing our share under 7-B (i). Some of our troops occupy remote posts which winter makes difficult of approach and exit.

Difficulty of adhering to time-limit of 90 days for any of these reasons was to be met, if it arose, by provision in para 6 of proposals: "unless another period is decided upon by the representatives of the Indian and Pakistan Governments referred to in paragraph 9 below."

Para 6: As Thimayya will be able to explain, and as Bajpai explained informally to Marin<sup>3</sup> in course of his conversation with him on 11th September, much of what we should have done under 7-B (ii) of proposals we have agreed to do under 7-B (i), in order to convince Graham and Security Council of genuineness of our desire to go so far as possible in direction of reducing our forces in the State to the minimum compatible with its security. (We should have reduced force to approximately one-fourth of what it was on 1st January 1949). It is impossible for us to suggest any time-limit within which further withdrawal or reductions mentioned in para 7-B (ii) of proposals will be practicable. We can only repeat assurance given in my letter to Graham of 11th September that "it is our policy to reduce our forces in the State to the minimum necessary to safeguard its security and that the greater the measure of security that the State enjoys from threats of incursion or aggression the smaller will be this minimum." Fact is that any substantial reduction below a figure agreed to under 7-B (i) will be impracticable and Thimayya should be able to satisfy any reasonable person of justification for this.

Para 7: Recruitment of both categories of persons will be made under supervision of U.N. authorities who in determining that a person is not a follower of 'Azad Kashmir', will be assisted by our representatives. Every applicant for recruitment, whether now resident in 'Azad Kashmir' area or a refugee on our side of ceasefire line, must of course belong to that area.

Para 9: Position has been explained in para 9 of my reply of 11th September. We still think it will be premature to fix now, day of appointment of Plebiscite Administrator. Once programme of demilitarization has been agreed upon, this matter can be settled.

Para 10: Assumption is correct. We should like it to be made clear that with implementation of 7-A and 7-B of proposals, 4 (a) and (b) of Resolution

3. Miguel A. Marin, Member of the U.N. Secretariat who accompanied Graham on his mission to settle the Kashmir problem.



of 5th January 1949, should be limited to location of forces within State in order to ensure that forces do not interfere with freedom and impartiality of plebiscite.

2. Statement in later part quote whatever view... down to... of these points unquote in IV of your telegram is correct. Point made by us with U.N.C.I.P. and other negotiations was not so much that build up of 'Azad Kashmir' forces was a "violation of para B Part I of U.N.C.I.P. Resolution of 13th August 1948" as that, had we known, at time of acceptance of that Resolution, what strength and quality of 'Azad Kashmir' forces was, we would have insisted upon disbandment and disarmament of these forces before agreeing to withdrawal of bulk of our forces.

3. We are glad of Graham and Schmidt's<sup>4</sup> confirmation to you of our own understanding that point raised by you would not be for decision under para 12 of proposals by U.N. representative who would settle only technical details concerning actual implementation arising out of agreed programme. Actually this period should be fixed in "demilitarization" agreement under para 6 read with para 9 of proposals.

4. Petrus Schmidt was Principal Secretary to Frank P. Graham.

#### 4. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 28, 1951

My dear Shaikh Sahib,  
I received your letter of November 18 as I was leaving Delhi. I sent it to Bajpai, who consulted Gopalaswami Ayyangar on the subject.

It seems to me that Sadiq's proposal<sup>2</sup> is not feasible. It would mean our going outside the Resolution of the 5th January 1949, which provided for the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator. Our putting forward a proposal of the kind suggested now would clearly mean that we are deliberately placing difficulties in the way and raising entirely novel objections. We can hardly have a kind of a commission to supervise the plebiscite.

I appreciate the points made by Sadiq in his letter to you. I think, however,

1. File No. 52/268/NGO/54, M.E.A.

2. G.M. Sadiq, minister for development in Shaikh Abdullah's Government since 1948, had proposed that an agency be created comprising India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Soviet Union and China to supervise and conduct the plebiscite. Should this fail, Sadiq favoured "a supervision commission representing all the members of the Security Council for ensuring free and fair plebiscite in the State."



that he has rather over-stressed them. Our position is, by and large, a strong one. I am referring especially to the strength of the National Conference under your leadership. If by any chance some kind of an agreement is arrived at on the issue of demilitarization, we must remember that the first step to be taken is for Pakistan to withdraw all their armed forces from the State territory. This itself will have a powerful psychological result in our favour.

We have been taking a certain attitude with Dr Graham. We can hardly go back upon it without a good deal of harm being done to our cause.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Following are our comments on your telegram No. 51 dated 28th November to Bajpai.<sup>2</sup>

(a) We hope to communicate to you tomorrow reduction that we can make in figure of 28,000 troops. (According to C.G.S., Thimayya is working on figures for a Division different from those used here. According to Army Headquarters, strength of one Division of four Brigades each of four Battalions is 27, 204, i.e., 692 officers and 26, 512 other ranks, not 23,000 as calculated by Thimayya). Meanwhile, we wish to re-emphasize that militia cannot be taken into account in any programme of demilitarization.

(b) Suggestion to introduce thousands of military observers is equivalent to introduction of U.N. Army. We have always resisted any such proposal and cannot accept it, either in form proposed by Graham or in any other form, and either for service in Jammu and Kashmir State or along frontiers of India and Pakistan. Far from creating sense of security, they are likely to cause disquiet and apprehension among people on our side of ceasefire line.

(c) We have no fresh suggestions regarding assurances or specific guarantees.

2. We do not favour idea of demilitarization in stages as suggested for

1. New Delhi, 29 November 1951. J.N. Collection. Also available in File No. 52/94/NGO, M.E.A.
2. Rau cabled that Graham sought clarification on whether India could (i) further reduce the number from 28,000 troops and 6,000 militiamen; (ii) consider deployment of thousands of U.N. observers along the border to maintain internal and external security; and (iii) make any further suggestions regarding assurances or specific guarantees to make demilitarization possible.

consideration in para 2 of your telegram.<sup>3</sup> Apart from military reasons, our main objection is that, after completion of suggested three stages, we shall again get involved in controversy when negotiations start regarding further stages. Pakistan is certain to insist that differences that may arise in these subsequent negotiations should be settled by U.N. representative and this we cannot accept.

3. Although discussion of this is not necessary at this stage, it must be borne in mind that, if agreement regarding demilitarization is reached, relating to phasing of withdrawal of our troops to that of withdrawal of Pakistan forces and disbandment and disarming of 'Azad Kashmir' forces will have to be most carefully considered. Rate of withdrawal on our side must depend upon what we consider to be satisfactory progress with withdrawal and disbandment and disarming on other side of ceasefire line.

3. Rau had suggested that instead of the quantum of troops at the end of demilitarization being fixed, a formula could be devised for a planned reduction of troops in stages. Thimayya and Manekshaw approved the idea since it reduced India's commitment while increasing its relative control over the situation.

## 6. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Continuation our telegram Primin 21796 dated 29th November. After consulting military adviser, we have decided to accept reduction of 7,000 from figure of 28,000 of troops, given by Thimayya....

You will doubtless emphasize that this leaves troops without any supporting arms and the strength to be retained (21,000) is minimum necessary (a) to prevent infiltration and (b) to guard lines of communication.

1. New Delhi, 30 November 1951. File No. 52/94/NGO, Vol. II, M.E.A. Extracts.



## 7. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Correspondence<sup>2</sup> resting with your telegram No. 62 dated 2nd December to Bajpai. We did not get impression from your telegram 59 of 30th November that conversations with Graham had reached an impasse; what we thought was that, after discussions between Devers and your military advisers, conversations with Graham would be resumed. Equally, it was not clear to us from your telegram No. 58 of 30th November that what Devers envisaged was demilitarization in two stages.<sup>3</sup> Having considered the matter in light of views of your military and Kashmir advisers and yourself, we have following comments:

2. As regards demilitarization in two stages, we have no objection so far as strength to be maintained at end of each stage on our side of ceasefire line is concerned. At the end of first stage, this strength will be total of 28,000, i.e., 23, or if 23 is not accepted, 20 infantry battalions plus supporting arms etc. as in your telegram No. 44 of 26th November, and 21,000 at the end of second stage. We also agree that, at the end of first stage, Pakistan should have 3 regular battalions to help disband and disarm 'Azad Kashmir' forces plus 4 'Azad Kashmir' battalions for internal security. By end of the second stage, however, not only must 3 regular Pakistan battalions have been withdrawn but 4 'Azad Kashmir' battalions must have also been disbanded and disarmed. Only justification given by Devers for retaining these is that they will be required to carry out functions to be performed by Civil Armed Force when ready (see 2(d) of comments of your military advisers in your telegram No. 59). Once Civil Armed Force has been formed, need to retain 4 'Azad Kashmir' battalions will have disappeared for there will be no functions left for them to perform.

1. New Delhi, 4 December 1951. File No. 52/94/NGO, Vol. II, M.E.A.
2. In a series of telegrams Rau dealt with demilitarization, Graham's assurances and views of the Indian delegation.
3. Rau cabled that Devers plan laid down the resumption of withdrawal of forces within 30 days of the D-day, sealing off the Pakistan border, an increased presence of U.N. observers for supervision and deployment of a police force comprising disarmed 'Azad' forces and civilians, Graham's assurances for the next stage were, withdrawal of forces upto a certain distance from the border; guarantees from both sides to check infiltration and finally deployment of several thousands of U.N. men on both sides. Rau added that Graham also enquired if India could further reduce the number of troops which had been stated as the minimum required for security. The Indian delegation considered that these proposals gave India a distinct advantage since India could bargain for the presence of its minimum troops in Kashmir.

We assume that both stages will be part of agreement that is being negotiated now.

3. Numbering and lettering is as in your telegram No. 58 of the 30th November.

"1". D-Day should reckon not from the date of any agreement that might be reached in Paris but from date of detailed agreement between representatives of two Governments referred to in paragraphs 6 and 9 of Graham's proposals of 7th September.

"2". D to D plus 30. We agree with comment of Thimayya that 30 will be impracticable and that more than 90 days will be needed to complete withdrawals on our side. We have to consider not merely closing of Banihal Pass until 15th March but impossibility of effecting withdrawals from Kargil and Gurez where forces are now in Brigade strength and may have to be reduced to battalion strength.

"(a)". We have already told you that we consider a large horde of U.N. observers as more likely to create apprehension than confidence. In any case, once Pakistan regular forces have withdrawn and 'Azad Kashmir' forces been disbanded and disarmed, there will not be two armies facing each other across ceasefire line and, therefore, less risk of violation of ceasefire agreement than now. Logically, therefore, it should be possible to reduce the number of observers. However, to facilitate agreement we are willing to accept number of observers suggested by Thimayya. But we should like elucidation of the phrase "elaborate administrative machinery." Decision on this must depend upon result of consultations with Government of Jammu and Kashmir.

"(b)". Pakistan forces maintained close to western border of 'Azad Kashmir' to secure unauthorized ingress from west, should be strictly limited to number necessary for this purpose and must not be maintained in such strength as to enable them to play aggressive role against State.

"(f)". Devers' proposals involve increase in armed strength of Civil Force from 2,000 to 2,400 and decrease in unarmed force from 2,000 to 1,600 or excess of 800 armed over unarmed portion of the Force. What armament is it intended to provide for armed section of Civil Force? If, apart from rifles, they are to be equipped with automatic weapons, their fighting strength will not only be substantially increased but will be in excess of what is needed for Force whose main purpose is maintenance of law and order.

4. We hope that you are keeping Dhar<sup>4</sup> in the picture.

4. A former finance minister of Shaikh Abdullah Government, D.P. Dhar went to Paris to advise the Indian delegation on the political implications of the Graham proposals when these were discussed in the Security Council.



## 8. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 6, 1952

My dear Dickie,

Thank you for your letter of the 21st December.

My time continues to be taken up by incessant touring. I come back to Delhi for a day and then go out again. I have covered India pretty thoroughly from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Today I went to Vindhya Pradesh. Day after tomorrow I am going for two days to Saurashtra and then for a day to Kutch where I shall open the new Kandla Port. After that the only place that remains is my own Province, U.P., which is the biggest job of all. I hope to finish this touring business by the 21st January. Indeed it cannot be continued longer because that is the last date for elections to commence anywhere.

Oddly enough, I am told that in my own constituency in Allahabad rural areas, there is going to be a stiff fight on a very special issue—the Hindu Code Bill. A ‘holy’ man,<sup>2</sup> who is much respected in the villages, has challenged me on this Bill and he is backed by all kinds of communal people as well as some big industrialists in Kanpur. They are spending large sums of money, while I have done nothing at all thus far and in any event I have no money to spend on this kind of thing. Money would not matter really, but what these people are doing is to excite people’s religious sentiments. There is the Magh Mela on in Allahabad and thousands of Sadhus have come there, who are being utilized by my opponent, and I am told that they carry about Ganges water to impress people and sometimes even to make them swear by it. Here is an aspect of the Indian election which has perhaps not been noticed by many people.

Thank you for your views about the Kashmir question. I do not quite understand your saying that we should take the initiative in offering that the plebiscite in Kashmir should be carried out during 1952.<sup>3</sup> Certainly we would gladly do that. But we have got stuck up about certain conditions and preliminaries to the plebiscite, whether this is held in the Valley itself or in other areas. I told Graham that I was anxious to have the plebiscite as soon as possible.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Prabhu Dutt Brahmachari.

3. Lord Mountbatten added: “You would be justified in suggesting that the plebiscite should either be confined to the Valley of Kashmir itself, or alternatively that the plebiscites in the Valley, in Poonch, in Jammu, and in Gilgit, should be held separately and counted separately. Then if there was an overwhelming vote in any single part of these areas, you could suggest that they should go to whichever country they have voted for.”

As for demilitarization,<sup>4</sup> we have gone far beyond our previous offer to the U.N. Commission. They had asked us to remove the bulk of our forces. We have offered to remove three quarters of them or even somewhat more. Even the remaining forces would remain there only so long as the situation demanded it. As a matter of fact, Pakistan newspapers continue their wild talk of war all the time. The forces we propose to leave in Kashmir after withdrawal would be barely enough to stop infiltration. They are not enough for any big scale operation. An assurance from Pakistan that they would not violate the frontiers of the State surely is of no value. The only assurance is the fear of war if they do so.

You might be interested to know that we are withdrawing considerable forces from the Punjab frontier. We are bringing them across the Beas river to more comfortable quarters. This itself shows that we are relaxing greatly in spite of Pakistan's continuous threats.

No question of Pakistan's water rights in the rivers flowing from Kashmir State arises.<sup>5</sup> I just do not understand how this has been raised. In fact it has never been mentioned in our talks because everyone realises that it is physically hardly possible for this to be done. But for propaganda purposes, mention is made of this in the press.

Of course the plebiscite, when it occurs, will be conducted with full publicity. As a matter of fact, the elections for the Kashmir Constituent Assembly were given full publicity and many foreign correspondents took advantage of this and went there.

The fact of the matter is that Pakistan's hold even in 'Azad Kashmir' has weakened considerably and there are many inner conflicts there. They are anxious therefore to get something dramatic done, which will restore their lost prestige.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Lord Mountbatten hoped that Nehru "would not oppose gradual demilitarization" leaving the maintenance of law and order to the Kashmir State Militia, if the U.N. undertook "to guarantee the inviolability of the frontiers of Jammu and Kashmir State"; the guarantee extending to violation not only by the Pakistan Army but also by frontier tribesmen under its control.
5. Lord Mountbatten wrote: "I presume you would offer in advance that the question of Pakistan's water rights in the rivers flowing through Jammu and Kashmir should be safeguarded for Pakistan in the event of India winning the plebiscite." Or "the existing rights to the supply of water and the extension of the uses of these waters, could be decided by a mixed commission..."



## 9. Deployment of Armed Forces<sup>1</sup>

I have read your note of the 6th January.<sup>2</sup> I should like to discuss this matter fully with you and the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee. I do not think we ought to vary our instructions, in any material particular, from those that had been previously sent. Our previous decisions were based on a full discussion of the Members of the Foreign Affairs Committee with Shaikh Abdullah and Mr Afzal Beg. We can hardly go back on that without another reference to all those concerned.

2. I think it would be desirable for you to give our viewpoint to the representatives of the U.K., U.S.A., France, Holland as well as U.S.S.R. Also, insofar as this is feasible, to the other countries in the Security Council.

3. As you point out, it is a little difficult to know what the Security Council might decide. We must have further elucidation. If, however, the Council is going to adopt formally Graham's views, as the U.K. have suggested, then we cannot agree to this. We cannot agree either to a reduction below the minimum suggested by us or to the retention of Pakistan or 'Azad Kashmir' forces in the 'Azad' area. Our acceptance of the numbers of 'Azad' forces, even in diminished numbers, staying on in that area, weakens our case greatly. The fact that they are there against our wishes is one thing. To agree to their continuance is completely different.

4. The only way we can conceive of some 'Azad' forces remaining there is during a phased withdrawal, when during an earlier phase, some forces continue.

5. Dealing with your paragraph 4, clause (i),<sup>3</sup> if this means reduction below our minimum and in accordance with Graham's wishes, then we cannot agree. Our minimum stands.

Clause (ii).<sup>4</sup> We do not agree to four battalions of 'Azad' forces retained on the other side of the ceasefire line.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 7 January 1952. J.N. Collection. Also available in File No. 52/628/NGO/54, M.E.A.
2. In this note Bajpai had dealt at length with Graham's report to be presented at the Security Council and its implications for India. He had raised certain questions regarding changes in policy and the stand India should take when the report was put up for discussion in the Council.
3. Bajpai enquired: "Can we commit ourselves... to the reduction of our forces by 15 July 1952, to the absolute minimum considered necessary for security?"
4. Bajpai also asked: "Do we accept, what in effect is Pakistan's contention, that some forces, may be only four battalions of 'Azad Kashmir' forces, be retained on the 'Azad Kashmir' side of the ceasefire line?"

6. About the Plebiscite Administrator, nothing more can be said than what you have already said in your telegram 24195 dated 24th December, paragraph 3.<sup>5</sup> I would merely like to add that we are anxious to have the plebiscite as soon as possible, but it must be under proper conditions.

7. I think it should be made perfectly clear that we cannot accept any arbitration or other imposed decision.

8. I do not understand at all what the U.K. mean by the Council adopting Graham's views. Clearly we cannot accept them as they are. Do the U.K. intend to adopt them in spite of our disagreement and if so, what consequences flow from this?

9. I had a talk with the American Ambassador<sup>6</sup> about Kashmir this evening. Nothing new was said.

10. If you like, you can consult Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar before he goes to Saurashtra on the 9th, that is, if you have to send a reply before we return to Delhi. It might be desirable to send some reply to Malik fairly early so as to prepare him. We may add to this later or send more specific instructions.

5. In this telegram Rau had contended that India was willing to agree to the appointment of a Plebiscite Administrator by 15 July 1952, provided that the programme of demilitarization was agreed upon and implemented by Pakistan.

6. Chester Bowles was the U.S. Ambassador to India and Nepal, 1951-53.

## 10. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 12, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

Thank you for your letter of January 7th. I do not like the idea of any foreign troops being stationed even in the so-called 'Azad' areas....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 11. To S.M. Abdullah<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 19, 1952

My dear Shaikh Saheb,

I have just come back here for the night and am going again on tour tomorrow morning for two days. I return on the 21st night. After that, I shall remain in Delhi.

As you must know, Setalvad<sup>2</sup> has agreed to go to Paris. Bajpai will also be going. He will be leaving on the 24th and Setalvad probably the day after. I am glad you are going. I think it best that you should have an independent position and not be made a formal member of our Delegation. You will be in a better position to help and advise and meet people in that independent capacity.

The Soviet attack<sup>3</sup> in the Security Council on the U.K. and U.S.A. may prove helpful. At the same time it will undoubtedly stiffen the attitude of most of the other countries there. Kashmir thus becomes a part of the so-called East-West cold war. I am not at all sure that this further development will be good. In any event we should be rather cautious about any statements. I was sorry, therefore, to notice that Ghulam Mohammed Sadiq had issued a statement praising Jacob Malik's speech and more or less linking up with the Soviet in this matter. I do hope that more care will be exercised and any comments or speeches relating to this will be avoided. The next fortnight or so will see many developments and we need not add to our difficulties.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. M.C. Setalvad.

3. On 17 January 1952, Jacob A. Malik, the Russian deputy foreign minister and permanent representative to the U.N., had alleged that the U.S. and Britain were responsible for failure of negotiations on Kashmir and their proposal for plebiscite was a 'deliberate attempt to prevent the people of Kashmir from expressing their own will', and imposition of an 'American *dictat* on them.' He added that the McNaughton proposal of February 1951, which envisaged occupation of Kashmir by U.N. forces, was made directly under instructions from the Pentagon.

## 12. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 24, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

Perhaps you know that there has been a proposal to have a tunnel into the Kashmir Valley for a long time past. Many surveys have been made and some details even worked out.

The matter has assumed very great importance now. Indeed ever since the Pakistani invasion of Kashmir, this became important because one of the principal routes to Kashmir, via Murree and Pindi, was closed. But because of military operations and the general political situation in regard to Kashmir, we could not take this question up.

I feel that this can no longer be delayed. From every point of view, political, economic, social and defence, this tunnel has become an urgent necessity. Recently a Swedish firm of repute made a brief survey and have presented a report to the Kashmir Government. They say that the whole project of constructing a tunnel of two and a half miles length, with two passages of twenty-four feet each, would cost about two and a half crores of rupees. They are prepared to undertake it immediately and finish it completely well within two years of the decision. They will naturally conduct a more detailed survey first and make preparations for beginning the work in right earnest. For this detailed survey they want a payment of rupees one lakh which will be accounted for in the final payment.

The advantages of the tunnel are obvious. At present the Jammu-Srinagar road is practically cut off for three to four months and communications between the Jammu Province and Kashmir proper are exceedingly difficult. Even aircraft cannot go easily during this winter season. Even apart from these three months or so there are landslides and avalanches occasionally. The result is that food and other necessary commodities have to be accumulated all over Kashmir and the higher valleys during the summer months for the winter.

The construction of the tunnel would provide good roads which can be used throughout the year without any difficulty and which would shorten the journey by about 35 miles. As it is about five to six lakhs of rupees a year are spent on maintaining the upper parts of this road. This will be saved. Owing to easier and constant communication transport charges will go down and so will prices in Kashmir. Kashmir will open out for business and tourists during the winter months also. From the economic point of view the people of Kashmir will profit greatly.

1. J.N. Collection.



Kashmir would also be linked with India effectively. Defence will be much easier and part of the defence expenditure in Kashmir would go down. The wear and tear of motor vehicles going along this difficult road would be much less. Purely from the defence point of view the tunnel would be a great acquisition and would give us the means to take swift action if necessary. Indeed, if we had the tunnel previously, many of our difficulties in Kashmir would not have arisen.

The advantages are so great that the cost incurred on the tunnel could probably be realized by toll within a few years; according to the Swedes, within five years, but that I think is too optimistic and we might put it at ten years. This does not include the general profit to the community in Kashmir and to business both in India and in Kashmir.

Because of all this, we feel that this project should be undertaken immediately. The first step, of course, would be to ask the Swedish firm to go ahead with their detailed survey and to give them rupees one lakh for the purpose. They hope to complete this by the late summer and proceed with the actual construction then.

Gopalaswami Ayyangar and the States Ministry are entirely in favour of this proposal. Of course, the Kashmir Government are very eager about it. We have asked an expert of the Swedish firm to come here within the next few days. He will confer with the Transport Ministry and with the Chief Engineer of Kashmir. The Deputy Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> of Kashmir will also be here then.

I am writing to you now just to keep you informed of these preliminary steps that are being taken.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

<sup>2</sup> Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad held the post since 5 March 1948.

13. To Tara Chand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear Tara Chand,<sup>2</sup>

I find from the record of your talk with Dr Mossadeq<sup>3</sup> on the 27th December,

1. J.N. Collection.

2. India's Ambassador in Iran.

3. Mohammed Mossadeq, Prime Minister of Iran, 1951-53.

1951, that he laid stress on Kashmir becoming independent and sovereign. Your reply was that this required the agreement of Kashmir, India and Pakistan and perhaps other powers, who should collectively guarantee independence. You further stated that if Dr Mossadeq so desired, you would inform your Government. This, however, you pointed out implied that Dr Mossadeq will obtain the consent of Pakistan. At a later stage in the interview it is stated that on receipt of the reply from India regarding the solution of the Kashmir problem, it would be communicated to Dr Mossadeq who would contact Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan.<sup>4</sup>

I am surprised to read all this. I do not see where Mr Ghazanfar Ali Khan or Pakistan come into this picture and why we should make Dr Mossadeq a kind of link to communicate with Pakistan in regard to Kashmir. Indeed, I do not approve of Dr Mossadeq interfering in our matters at all and I think that in all politeness this should be made clear to him. In no event do I want any message conveyed on our behalf to Ghazanfar Ali Khan. We deal directly with Pakistan or we deal through the United Nations in regard to Kashmir. If Dr Mossadeq has not got a grasp of the Kashmir issue, that is our misfortune. But it is not very proper for him to throw about his advice in such matters without knowing much about it.

I wrote to you on these lines in regard to Kashani<sup>5</sup> also. We do not approve of these attempts to interfere from whatever quarter they might come. Of course, we are always prepared to explain our position to friendly powers. That position is perfectly clear. It is for the people of Kashmir to decide about their country and we shall unhesitatingly accept whatever their decision is. They have got an elected Constituent Assembly now which is entitled to speak on behalf of the people of Kashmir. So far as the question of independence is concerned, the leaders of the Kashmiri people have frequently declared themselves against it for the simple reason that real independence cannot be achieved by them. A nominal independence threatened from various States is no independence. Anyhow, it is for the people of Kashmir to decide and the question of Pakistan's assent being obtained or, for the matter of that, of any other power, about anything is absolutely wrong.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Pakistan's Ambassador in Iran.

5. Sayyid Abol Qasem Kashani, a religious leader and a confidant of Premier Mossadeq; was President of the *Majlis* from 1952-53.



## 14. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have just received your telegram No. 12190 of January 26th. I have sent you a reply regarding Kashmir. Our information was in line with yours. There has been quite a sensation in India after the publication by Graham of the Devers plan.<sup>2</sup> I confess that I do not like this underhand dealing. We consulted B.N. Rau, General Thimayya and others and they are all quite certain that they never saw this plan. What they were given was something quite different; and, indeed, this is printed as an annex to Graham's report in Security Council papers as a part of B.N. Rau's letter.

We do not wish to shut the door to further negotiations or to Graham being given more time. We may accept minor variations and we might even reduce slightly (not much) the number of our forces in Kashmir. But all this is subject to the complete withdrawal of the Pakistani troops from the 'Azad' areas and the disbandment of the 'Azad' troops there.

This is for your personal information. I do not think you need say anything about it to Eden.<sup>3</sup>

Regarding Burma, I do not quite understand what you mean by "the United Kingdom's thinking on our role in relation to Burma." Could you make this clear?

You should certainly talk to Butler<sup>4</sup> or others whenever opportunities offer themselves.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. For the main difference between the Devers' plan of 29 November 1951 and that released as a Security Council document on 21 January 1952, see *ante*, pp. 214-215.
3. Anthony Eden, British Foreign Secretary, 1951-55.
4. Richard A. Butler, first Baron (1902-1982); Conservative Member of Parliament, 1929-65; Minister of Education, 1941-45; Chancellor of Exchequer, 1951-55; Leader of the House of Commons, 1955-61; Home Secretary, 1957-62, and Deputy Prime Minister, 1962-63.

## 15. Cable to G.S. Bajpai<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 167 of January 26th. Generally agree with line you have taken with Jebb.<sup>2</sup> If necessary shall telegraph to you further after consulting colleagues here.

Your telegram 168 about Devers plan. Agree with procedure you suggest. Publication of our statement to press<sup>3</sup> regarding Devers plan created something of sensation here and many newspapers had strong leading articles.<sup>4</sup> Presumably our statement received some publicity abroad also. Our position has thus been made clear to public. But it is desirable to have record of it in Security Council papers.

1. New Delhi, 27 January 1952. File No. 52/94/NGO, M.E.A.
2. Sir Gladwyn Jebb was the principal adviser to British delegation at the U.N., 1947-54 and the British representative to U.N., 1950-54.
3. The Government of India stated on 24 January 1952 that the Devers plan, released as a Security Council document on 21 January, was never communicated to it.
4. The Devers plan of 21 January, released in response to Zafrullah Khan's letter of 16 January to Graham, was received with 'surprise' by the Indian press. Since the plan conceded all the contentious Pakistani demands including the one for parity of status with India, it was openly speculated that there had been some backdoor 'intrigues' and Zafrullah knew beforehand that the plan favoured Pakistan. Leading national dailies on 23-24 and 27 January 1952 were unanimous that the plan was 'unacceptable to India'.

## 16. Cable to G.S. Bajpai<sup>1</sup>

Continuation of my last telegram. We agree with your suggestions contained in your telegram about Jebb, more specially those in paragraph 4.<sup>2</sup> There is no need to state explicitly or otherwise, that we reject further negotiations. Our general position is, however, as we decided, minor variations can be considered if need arises.

Regarding Devers plan business, we have to ensure that our position is clarified in Security Council papers.

1. New Delhi, 27 January 1952. File No. 52/94/NGO, M.E.A.
2. Jebb had contended that the deployment of the armed civil police on the Pakistan side and a military force on the other side of the ceasefire line would be inconsistent with the requirements of a free plebiscite. Bajpai, however, felt that it would be imprudent to contest Jebb's contention in spite of the fact that Pakistan had been considered guilty of aggression in Kashmir twice.



## 17. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Suppose you keep in touch with Bajpai in Paris and keep him informed of any development. Regarding Devers plan what was shown to us and largely accepted as one phase of demilitarization was entirely different from what has been issued now by Graham at instance of Zafrullah Khan. We have written to Graham about this and expressed our surprise and regret. We can never accept this latter plan.

Our position is that we cannot agree to any Pakistan or 'Azad' troops being finally kept in 'Azad' area though some may remain during process of demilitarization. Also that we must have minimum of 21,000 of our forces for security of Kashmir. These can be placed right at borders to prevent infiltration.

We have no objection to Graham being given more time though we will not take initiative in this respect. We do not wish to take up wholly uncompromising attitude and are prepared to discuss variations. But in effect our basic position will continue. This is for your personal information.

1. New Delhi, 28 January 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

## 18. Cable to G.S. Bajpai<sup>1</sup>

If proposal made for continuation of negotiations with Graham's assistance, you can say that we have no objection to this course.

Have consulted Members Foreign Affairs Committee. They feel that insistence on publication of Malik's<sup>2</sup> letter immediately would be inexpedient for reasons you have mentioned. If, however, matter is referred to in Security Council, then position must be made clear. Privately position should anyhow be made clear to members. We have already made public statement to that effect.

We think Thimayya's immediate return unnecessary.

You can certainly go to London to see Ismay<sup>3</sup> and others.

1. New Delhi, 30 January 1952. File No. 52/94/NGO, M.E.A.
2. Jacob A. Malik, the Russian deputy foreign minister and permanent representative to the U.N. at this time.
3. Hastings Lionel Ismay, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, 1951-52 and Secretary General, N.A.T.O., 1952-57.

## 19. Cable to G.S. Bajpai<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 206, dated February 5th from Paris.<sup>2</sup>

I do not expect much from Graham's visit to India. The Devers episode has queered the pitch and created a good deal of resentment here. Even Graham's coming here again has been generally criticized. We are not likely to change our position and our talks cannot be prolonged. Dayal<sup>3</sup> would at most be a listener. His presence here would be helpful in giving him Indian background on this and other matters. On the other hand, his absence from United Nations when all kinds of important matters might be considered, including Tunisian affair,<sup>4</sup> would be unfortunate.

On the whole I feel he would be more useful in New York; but you can consult Shaikh Saheb also and if you feel that Dayal's coming to India more necessary, then you can decide accordingly.

1. New Delhi, 6 February 1952. *Documents on Kashmir*, Vol. VI, Ministry of States, Government of India.
2. Bajpai said that he had informed Graham that the Government of India was agreeable to his proposed visit to India.
3. Bajpai suggested that Rajeshwar Dayal may go to Delhi for a few weeks to "sense something of our atmosphere over Kashmir issue" and to "steep himself in the problem impossible elsewhere."
4. On 1 February 1952, a group of 15 Asian and African countries including India expressed concern to the U.N. General Assembly over the "alarming news of military intervention" in Tunisia which constituted a "threat to international peace and security." On 4 February, the General Assembly decided to refer the Tunisian question to the Security Council.

## 20. Kashmir and Britain<sup>1</sup>

... The U.K. High Commissioner conveyed a message to me about Kashmir on behalf of his Government. First of all, he said that there was apparently some misapprehension which he wished to remove. It had been said that the U.K. Government had been given some kind of an assurance on behalf of India that they would try their best to have a settlement when Graham came.

1. Nehru's record of his meeting with Archibald Nye, High Commissioner of U.K. in New Delhi, 9 February 1952. J.N. Collection. Extracts.



He said that no such assurance had been given and he wished to remove this misapprehension. I told him I had heard nothing about this and there could, of course, be no question of any assurance. His message was that this visit of Graham might well be considered the last attempt of this kind. If this failed, the Security Council would be faced with the problem of finding a final decision. Therefore, he was asked to beg and plead with us to try to reach a happy conclusion. They felt that further concessions on our part were necessary, chiefly in regard to the quantum of forces. They understood our position very well, but still they felt that we should make further efforts. Failure would lead to incalculable consequences.

He then spoke to me, as he said, personally and not as High Commissioner. He said that India's position was much stronger than Pakistan's in regard to public opinion. My position, specially after the elections, was very strong. I stood out as some kind of a giant. On the other hand, Nazimuddin's position was weak and he could not do anything against his public opinion. In Pakistan public opinion was fairly strong, though not as strong as it was made out to be.

He went on to say that my position in the world today was very high indeed. There was only one criticism and that was about the Kashmir issue. In this matter I had been too stern and severe and what I had done did not fit in with my general outlook and policy.

If I could give a lead, my people would certainly accept it. Any lead to the solution of the Kashmir problem would have a powerful and electric effect in the world and would have repercussions far greater than anyone could imagine. It might well affect the situation in Korea, Indo-China, China, and even Russia. Therefore, he hoped that every mortal thing that could possibly be done would be done.

I listened to him and said nothing in reply....

## 21. Graham's Visit and Devers Plan<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are meeting after three and a half months. It is a long time; but most of this was spent by me in touring.

Well, our normal practice is to note down subjects for discussion. What subjects do you suggest?

1. Introductory remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.

Question: Matters arising out of the general elections.

JN: Is that a subject? You might as well say: the world situation: Put me specific questions, and I shall deal with them.

Q: The victory of the Communists in the South: What significance do you attach to it? Government's policy towards the Communist Party?

JN: May I suggest to you to separate and differentiate questions that should be put to me as Prime Minister and as Congress President?

Q: Shall we begin with the Congress President or the Prime Minister?

JN: Prime Minister.

Q: I think you have come fully equipped today as Congress President—Mr Shastri<sup>2</sup> is here.

JN: He is here rather accidentally. He came to see me, and I told him that I had a press conference; he asked, "May I come," and I said, "You may".

Q: Dr Graham's visit?

JN: Well, I do not need to note that down. There is not much that I have to say about it. Dr Graham is coming here tomorrow, and we shall have talks: What more do you want me to say about it? Surely, you do not expect me to discuss it? It is bad enough to discuss confidential talks after they have taken place; it is worse to discuss them before they have taken place.

Q: Dr Graham was not officially recognized by India as official mediator. Is his status different now? Does it mean an improvement?

JN: His status is exactly the same as it was on the last occasion, that is to say, we had not accepted the resolution passed by the Security Council—that is to say, a part of the resolution: of course, to certain parts we had no objection—and we were not prepared to discuss on the basis of that resolution. But we were then prepared to discuss with Dr Graham fully any matter that he chose to discuss, and that is what we were now prepared to discuss. Naturally, we were anxious, and we are anxious, to help ourselves and Dr Graham in coming to a satisfactory solution.



Q: What is the Government of India's attitude towards the Devers plan?

JN: I have dealt with that subject in Parliament, and I will, if you like, repeat it. He gave a certain document in writing to our military advisers, and then, informally, a day or two later, it was either withdrawn or passed over. There the matter ended. Dr Graham published later a document purporting to be the Devers plan, which was something much bigger and much longer and contained things we had not seen before. That is about all. Dr Graham was not present at those talks there; they were between General Devers and our military advisers. General Devers had gone back to the U.S.A. meanwhile. Maybe there might have been a longer plan of General Devers which was not shown to us. I do not know. But we are only concerned with what we had seen and with what is before us.

Q: Should the Kashmir Constituent Assembly confine itself to purely legislative work, or should it come to decisions on outstanding issues involving India, Pakistan and the Security Council?

JN: The Kashmir Constituent Assembly is, as its name implies, primarily meant for drawing up a constitution for Kashmir, and, secondarily, for legislative work. As a matter of fact, it is meeting fairly soon—in about two months' time or so—to elect its representatives to Parliament here.

## 22. Nehru's First Talk with Frank Graham<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister received Dr Graham, who was accompanied by Dr Marin, this morning. I was also present.

Dr Graham referred to his original 12 proposals<sup>2</sup> and said that, at first, agreement had been reached on 4 out of these 12.<sup>3</sup> Since his last visit to

1. Record by G.S. Bajpai, Secretary-General, M.E.A., of the talk between Nehru and Frank Graham, U.N. mediator. Graham's principal secretary, M. Marin was also present, 5 March 1952. *Documents on Kashmir*, Vol. VII, Ministry of States, Government of India.
2. Submitted to the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan on 7 September 1951.
3. The Governments of India and Pakistan had agreed: (i) not to resort to force; (ii) to avoid making warlike statements; (iii) to maintain the ceasefire, and (iv) to decide the question of accession through a free and impartial plebiscite.

India, agreement had also been reached on 4 other points.<sup>4</sup> The two outstanding points of importance, on which agreement had yet to be reached, related (1) to the quantum of forces and (2) to the induction in office of a Plebiscite Administrator. He had, in accordance with the instructions of the Security Council, come back to help the two parties to reach agreement. He asked whether we had any suggestions to make.

The Prime Minister said that, during all these years since the dispute had started, India had taken up some basic positions which could not be modified. One was that Pakistan had no right to keep any forces anywhere in Jammu and Kashmir. Sir Zafrullah Khan had made many false charges against India in order to build up his or Pakistan's case against this country. India could not, because of this campaign of falsehood, change her position. There could be no question of India accepting the presence of any Pakistan troops in any part of Jammu and Kashmir, be it the 'Azad Kashmir' territory or any other. Dr Graham then pointed out that there was no question of allowing any Pakistan regular forces to stay. The question really was one of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. The Prime Minister said that these forces were part and parcel of the forces of Pakistan.

At this stage, I referred to the conversations that I had had with Dr Marin on Saturday and Monday, and said that what I had understood was that, in his informal conversations with Dr Graham in Paris, Sir Zafrullah Khan had insisted upon parity between our forces and the 'Azad Kashmir' forces and Gilgit Scouts to be maintained on the two sides of the ceasefire line. So long as the principle of parity was sought and insisted upon by Pakistan, I did not see what suggestions we could make. I referred to the Cawthorn<sup>5</sup> Memorandum, submitted to UNCIP in March 1949, which explicitly stated that the 'Azad Kashmir' forces were administratively and operationally under the Pakistan High Command. This was what the Prime Minister had in mind when he referred to these forces as being "directly or indirectly part of Pakistan forces." We had agreed to reduce our forces to roughly one-sixth of what they were on the 1st of January 1949. They would be without armour or artillery. The Prime Minister interjected that they would be stationed not in towns or anywhere where they might interfere with the freedom of the plebiscite but

4. 'These were (i) to carry out demilitarization without threatening the ceasefire agreement; (ii) to send representatives to draw up a programme of demilitarization; (iii) to complete demilitarization without prejudice to the functions and responsibilities of the UN Representative and Plebiscite Administrator in regard to the final disposal of forces; and (iv) to refer any differences to the UN Representative, whose decision would be final.
5. Walter J. Cawthorn (1896-1970); served in the two World Wars; Deputy Chief of Staff, Pakistan Army, 1948-51; High Commissioner for Australia in Pakistan, 1954-58, and in Canada, 1959-60.



along the passes to guard our part of Jammu and Kashmir against infiltration by men who, even in normal times, had either been habitual raiders or who were ex-soldiers trained to and bound, even if disbanding and disarming took place, to have access to arms. 'Azad Kashmir' was now in a state of chaos, in that the two leaders, Sardar Ibrahim<sup>6</sup> and Choudhuri Ghulam Abbas had been put aside in favour of a divine. In such a condition, the risk of infiltration was real. The Prime Minister repeated that the figure of 21,000 was not the final minimum and that, if conditions improved, this could be further reduced. But there could be no question of parity because, as I had pointed out to Dr Marin, there seemed to be no justification for retaining, on the Pakistan side of the ceasefire line, a force other than a civil armed force of the size and structure that we had recommended. The Prime Minister also emphasized that what Pakistan called parity existed not in numbers but in the proximity of Pakistan's main military forces, even after complete withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir, to the 'Azad Kashmir' area. Not only law and order on our side of the ceasefire line but the effect on the psychology of people on this side of allowing armed forces to remain on the other side had to be considered. The force we had agreed to retain would merely suffice to prevent infiltration. Further reduction would involve movements of populations and all that that involved. This question of demilitarization was not primarily or purely military, it was also a psychological question.

Dr Graham repeated that there was no question of any Pakistan forces remaining on the 'Azad Kashmir' side of the ceasefire line. As regards what the Prime Minister had said about the 'Azad Kashmir' forces being directly or indirectly a part of the Pakistan Army, one must apply one's mind to the question as to how this problem could be handled; he seemed to be thinking in particular of Pakistani officers who might be serving in these forces.

Conversation then turned to the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator. Dr Graham said that our spokesman had indicated, in the course of his speech before the Security Council in Paris, that if the question of the quantum and character of the forces to be maintained on each side of the ceasefire line had been settled, the appointment of the Plebiscite Administrator by the 15th of July should present no difficulty. I said that what the representative had said was that this question should present no great difficulty. Our view had been and is that, before the Plebiscite Administrator can start arrangements for the holding of a plebiscite, the refugees must be helped to get back to their original homes, if they so wished, and the character of 'local'. These were questions, however, which could be discussed immediately after an agreement on the outstanding question of the quantum etc. of forces had been reached; there

6. Mohammed Ibrahim Khan.

was no reason why these matters should not be settled before the 15th of July. Of course, the induction of the Plebiscite Administrator would not depend only upon agreement regarding the quantum etc. of forces but also upon the implementation of the programme of demilitarization that might be agreed upon.

Dr Graham then asked whether the Plebiscite Administrator would have some say, at the plebiscite stage, in the disposal of forces on each side of the ceasefire line. He was referring to Paragraph 4(a) and (b) of the resolution of the 5th January 1949. I explained that there was a difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of the word 'disposal' between Pakistan and us. By 'disposal' we meant location or the disposition of our forces on our side. Dr Lozano, however, and UNCIP had interpreted 'disposal' in 4(b) of the resolution as the authority for the disbanding and disarming of the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. Pakistan had all along argued that 'disposal' meant the same thing for forces on both sides, namely reduction or augmentation, as circumstances might necessitate. We had not accepted this view insofar as our side of the ceasefire line was concerned, although, as the Prime Minister had indicated, the figure of 21,000 to which we had agreed to reduce our forces was not a final minimum, and could be further reduced if conditions improved sufficiently to justify such reduction by reducing or eliminating the danger against which we wished to maintain this force.

Dr Graham said that he must think matters over, and it was agreed that Dr Marin should see me tomorrow. Dr Graham's present intention is to leave for Karachi on the 7th or 8th, probably the 8th of March, and then come back to Delhi.

## 23. Nehru's Second Talk with Frank Graham<sup>1</sup>

Brief record of conversation of Dr Graham<sup>2</sup> with the Prime Minister on Saturday, the 15th March, 7-8. 10 P.M., Others present were (i) Shri G.S. Bajpai, Secretary-General, Ministry of External Affairs, and (2) Dr M Marin, Principal Secretary to Dr Graham:

1. Dr Graham said that although, during his recent talks in Karachi, the Pakistan Government had formally insisted on a ratio of 10:13 for forces to

1. G.S. Bajpai's record of conversation between Nehru and Graham, 15 March 1952. *Documents on Kashmir*, Vol. VII, Ministry of States, Government of India.
2. Graham, who was on a visit to Pakistan for discussions from 8 to 13 March, returned to Delhi on the 14th for further dialogue with India.



be maintained on the 'Azad Kashmir' and Indian side of the ceasefire line respectively, they probably would not insist on this ratio. They would, however, expect a substantial reduction of forces on the Indian side and an increase of force on the 'Azad Kashmir' side. Though no figures were mentioned, Dr Graham explained that the disparity between our proposed strength of 21,000 on the Indian side of the ceasefire line and of an armed civil force of 4,000 on the 'Azad Kashmir' side would have to be substantially reduced if Pakistan's agreement was to be obtained. The Prime Minister said that India had taken up her position on certain points which were basic. One of these points was that Pakistan was an aggressor and, as such, could not claim equality with India in Jammu and Kashmir State in any respect, and that it followed that Pakistan could not be allowed to maintain any forces on the 'Azad Kashmir' side of the ceasefire line. Dr Graham pointed out that Pakistani forces would be withdrawn and that the increase that Pakistan sought was in the 'Azad Kashmir' forces. The Prime Minister replied that these forces were a part and parcel of the Pakistan Army and that, therefore, there was no real difference between regular Pakistani and 'Azad Kashmir' forces insofar as the scheme of demilitarization was concerned. Pakistan had no claim in law or equity to maintain any kind of military force on the 'Azad Kashmir' side of the ceasefire line. As has already been explained to Dr Graham, there was no practical need either for any such force being maintained on the 'Azad Kashmir' side. The purpose for which we had asked for a force of 21,000 had already been explained. Jammu and Kashmir had actually suffered the horrors of invasion in 1947 and, even after the 'Azad Kashmir' forces had been completely disbanded and disarmed, the risk of infiltration into the territory of the State on our side of the ceasefire line would remain because of the character of the population of 'Azad Kashmir' and the secret stocks of arms upon which the "disbanded" and "disarmed" 'Azad Kashmir' forces could draw. As regards 'Azad Kashmir' not only had we, since 1948, repeatedly stated that we would not send our forces into that territory if there were a truce followed by a plebiscite, but, even without this assurance, nobody could reasonably think that our small force of 21,000 without artillery and armour, would take the risk of invading the 'Azad Kashmir' area, a risk which, considering the Pakistani forces' proximity, would be one of certain disaster. India, in brief, could make any suggestion in response to Dr. Graham's enquiry whether we would be prepared to reduce forces on our side below 21,000 and agree to an increase in the strength of forces in the shape of 'Azad Kashmir' units on the other side.

2. Dr Graham said that he was most anxious that, even if he could not report complete success, he should be able to report some progress during the present phase of his negotiations so that the situation might not deteriorate and the door should be left open to the Security Council to explore possibilities

of a settlement. He reaffirmed that he was a friend of both sides and only a mediator, not an arbitrator. A settlement could be reached only by the two Governments. He was here to help. One thought that occurred to him was that the risk of the situation deteriorating might be diminished by India and Pakistan withdrawing their forces from the frontier (outside Kashmir). The Prime Minister said that his recollection was that the bulk of our forces which, last year (June), had been moved near the Indo-Pakistan border in the Punjab and which, at no time had been nearer than 20 or 30 miles to this frontier, had already been withdrawn. The extent of the withdrawal could be ascertained and communicated to Dr Graham. As Dr Graham was aware, these forces had been moved in order to counter the danger of an attack from Pakistan as a result of the intense war propaganda that had been carried on in Pakistan for some months last year. Moreover our mobile units had to move as near the Indo-Pakistan border as they did because of the difficulty of crossing a certain bridge after the rains had set in. In spite of Pakistan's insistent outcry that, because of the proximity of the forces, incidents that might lead to open conflict between the two countries were inevitable, no such incidents had occurred. Dr Graham said that in order to minimize the danger of war resulting from propaganda, he had included certain suggestions in his twelve points which both parties had accepted and faithfully carried out. While admitting that there had been a real change in the attitude of the Pakistani press, especially since the death of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan,<sup>3</sup> it was pointed out to Dr Graham that there could be no certainty that this improvement would be maintained if Dr Graham had to report lack of success in his mission. There were already signs, judging from editorials in Pakistani newspapers like the *Dawn*, of a revival of inflammatory publicity. As regards withdrawal by Pakistan of its forces from the common border, we were hardly in a position to make any specific suggestions. There were certain cantonments, e.g. Rawalpindi and Sialkot, which, even before partition, had been important military centres. Rawalpindi was the headquarters of the Pakistan Army. It was, therefore, difficult to say how Pakistan could arrange to withdraw its forces beyond points such as Rawalpindi and Sialkot, both of which were within easy reach of the Indo-Pakistan border. In any case, the danger of a clash lay not so much in the proximity of rival forces or the distance dividing them but in the temper of the troops and people on each side. So far as the Indian side was concerned, there was factual evidence to show that there was no danger of India provoking a conflict. It was agreed that the scope and the extent of the withdrawal of Indian forces that had been moved to the Indo-Pakistan border last summer should be communicated to Dr Marin.

3. Finally Dr Graham said that he would be happy to consider any other

3. He was assassinated in Rawalpindi on 16 October 1951.



suggestion for a settlement that we might care to make. He could either put it forward as our suggestion or, if he were satisfied of its potentialities, do so himself. He was informed that, as regards demilitarization, we did not see what new suggestions likely to lead to a settlement could be put forward by India. As regards suggestions that might lead to a general settlement of the dispute, we should need a little time to consider whether any such suggestions could be made. In the case of the canal waters dispute, time had helped to bring about a narrowing of differences between India and Pakistan and the mediation of the President of the International Bank, Mr Eugene Black, had resulted in what seemed to be an agreement for the two parties to send engineers for preliminary discussions to Washington. Time might yield similar results in the case of the Kashmir dispute. The fact that Pakistan could always ask for action by the Security Council reduced considerably any inducement that Pakistan might have to settle this dispute by direct negotiation with India. This factor had to be reckoned with.

4. It was agreed that Dr Marin should meet Shri G.S. Bajpai on Monday, the 17th March,

(a) to get the facts regarding the scope and the extent of the withdrawal of the Indian Army from the Indo-Pakistan border (outside Kashmir); and

(b) to receive an answer to Dr Graham's question whether India could put forward any other suggestions for a settlement.

## 24. Partition or Independence of Kashmir<sup>1</sup>

If the matter is discussed in the Security Council, there is no likelihood of partition being considered there. At the most, as you suggest, Dr Graham may be given wider terms of reference. The scene of action shifts elsewhere or perhaps he wants to see people in New York. But this seems to me unlikely where a new approach has to be made. We shall thus have to consider our attitude later with regard to the then existing circumstances.

2. As for the independence of Kashmir, it is true that no one seems to have a liking for it. The new approach that has been made by Mirza Afzal Beg,<sup>2</sup> that is a Republic of Kashmir but tied up to the Indian Union in regard to some subjects, is really a change in name and not so much in substance. Of course that name itself has certain important consequences. In any event I do not see what we can do except to wait and see.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 26 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

2. Beg was the Revenue Minister in the Interim Government of Kashmir since 5 March 1948.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## I. Bilateral Relations

## (i) Nepal





## 1. Tension in Nepal<sup>1</sup>

I agree with what you say.<sup>2</sup> The first thing to be done is for M.P. Koirala to return to Kathmandu. It would be wrong for any sudden step to be taken by the King or the Cabinet. The excitement in Kathmandu will lessen soon. That will be the time for the King to appeal to the men of goodwill etc., and for the Members of the Government also to consult others. Any sudden step in a moment of excitement is likely to lead to wrong results.

I am anxious that our Ambassador should not play too obvious a part in these matters. Otherwise the responsibility for events will lie with us.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 8 November 1951. J.N. Collection.
2. The Secretary-General had suggested that India should refrain from intervening till the situation in Nepal became normal. Earlier, on 6 November 1951, the police had fired upon a group of protesting students, killing one and seriously injuring another. People held Home Minister, B.P. Koirala, responsible for this and took out processions pressing for his resignation. Popular feelings ran against the Nepali Congress.

## 2. The Political Situation<sup>1</sup>

I agree that any immediate change in Cabinet would be undesirable. I still think, however, that some change on the lines that we suggested to the King will be the proper way to deal with the situation.<sup>2</sup> Only this cannot be done now. This means that the leadership of the Cabinet must go to M.P. Koirala. There is no other way and no other person. The Maharaja cannot assume this responsibility or function effectively. His latest announcement that he will form a new party does not do much credit to his intelligence. Of course, one has to assume that M.P. Koirala is a big enough man for the job. I do not know if he is. But I know of no other. Also in constituting his Cabinet, M.P. Koirala should be careful in choosing his colleagues from other sections.

2. But this formation of a new Cabinet must wait for a while. I do not think that the Maharaja's influence over the Army counts for much. But the general influence of the Ranas might count.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 10 November 1951. J.N. Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 556-560 and 568-573.



3. Much of the trouble in Nepal is, I think, due to a number of small parties which are generally rather leftist. The Rana element can, of course, add to the trouble, but they cannot control it; nor can the other parties by themselves. I do not know who the men of goodwill and influence are. This would probably mean gathering together representatives of several groups who will shout at each other and hanker after the spoils of office. Nevertheless, the King should do as you have suggested.

4. There is the Advisory Council. How far that represents the people, I do not know. But it might be invited by the King to advise him.

5. As far as I can judge, there is no actual disorder in Kathmandu, but there is a general feeling of disquiet and resentment.

6. I am enclosing a copy of the telegram I am sending to our Ambassador.<sup>3</sup>

3. See the next item.

### 3. Cable to the King of Nepal<sup>1</sup>

I have had disquieting reports from my Ambassador of situation in Kathmandu. I suggest to Your Majesty that the first objective should be to bring this situation under effective control and to enlist support for this purpose of all persons of influence and goodwill, both within and outside the Government. As Head of the State, Your Majesty alone can take necessary lead and I suggest that you convene a small conference of Ministers and others who are likely to cooperate. Measures to restore confidence should be adopted and personal appeal might be made by some of those who have influence. Criminal and disruptive elements will not respond to conciliatory measures and may have to be dealt with otherwise. But an appeal made with Your Majesty's backing would no doubt have great influence on great majority of the people. It is not possible from this distance to give detailed advice on what might be rapidly changing situation and I have confined myself therefore to broad outline. I would suggest, however, that for the present party and personal dissensions should be laid aside and cooperation sought from all elements which are genuinely willing to cooperate. Major political changes, such as reconstruction

1. New Delhi, 11 November 1951, J.N. Collection. Sent via Indian Ambassador in Kathmandu.

of Cabinet, on lines indicated in my letter to Your Majesty,<sup>2</sup> have become essential, but I suggest that they might wait till situation is under full control and conditions are more normal.

2. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 568-573.

#### 4. To M.P. Koirala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 5, 1951

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

I have been watching with great interest the developments in Nepal.<sup>2</sup> I need hardly tell you that your appointment as Prime Minister pleased me greatly; although I knew that this would mean a heavy burden and you would have to face difficult problems. I think that you have made a good beginning and if the situation is handled with wisdom and patience, you will gradually surmount the difficulties that confront you. I am told that the allotment of portfolios has not been completed. This is never an easy matter for a Prime Minister, more especially when the Cabinet consists of different types of representatives. I am glad you have not acted in this matter in a hurry, as a patient approach is always helpful.

I need not tell you that you can always claim from us such advice and help as we are in a position to give. Our interest in the development and progress of Nepal is great both because we want Nepal to march ahead and because this affects India in many ways.

I am terribly busy at present with our own elections and I am touring about all over our great country. This leaves me little time in Delhi. But I come here after every tour to spend two or three days to deal with urgent work. I am afraid this touring will last for another five weeks, till the middle of January. But you can always get in touch with me through Delhi. Owing to my travelling about, there might be some delay in my answering you.

Our formal relations will naturally be through our Ambassadors. But I hope that we shall maintain some personal and direct contact also.

Your Ambassador, General Bijaya,<sup>3</sup> spoke to me about his father, His

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Following political disturbances, Prime Minister Mohan Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana resigned on 16 November 1951 and a coalition cabinet, with a Nepali Congress majority, under M.P. Koirala, assumed the charge of government.

3. Bijaya Shumsher Jung Bahadur Rana.



Highness the Maharaja.<sup>4</sup> He said that his father was in a somewhat unsettled frame of mind and could not decide whether to remain in Nepal or settle down in India. I am writing a letter to the Maharaja, as this might perhaps help him. I think that it would be better for him to keep his headquarters in Nepal, though of course he can come to India from time to time for any period. He is an old man now and he has seen many changes which naturally must have shaken him up a great deal. He is entitled to every courtesy and good treatment.

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Mohan S. J.B. Rana. The Ranas who had ruled the State for long were still referred to as Maharajas, though the Shah dynasty had regained its position as the Kings of Nepal.

## 5. To the King of Nepal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 20, 1951

My dear friend,

I thank you for your letter of November 29, 1951. This letter reached me only 3 or 4 days ago while I was on tour. During the past month I have been almost continually touring various parts of India in connection with our general elections. These tours will continue for another month with brief intervals in Delhi.

2. I was happy to read your letter and to find that the general advice I tendered to Your Majesty was appreciated by you. I have followed with deep interest the recent developments in Nepal and I earnestly hope that they will lead to the strengthening of your Government and country and the progress of your people.

3. I need not assure Your Majesty that it will always be a pleasure to me and to my Government to give such help as we can, in the shape of advice or otherwise, to Your Government. I am more convinced than ever that it is to the mutual advantage of Nepal and India, for us to develop full understanding and cooperative sympathy with each other.

4. I have read with great interest Your Majesty's proposal for a coordination of the defence plan and foreign policy of Nepal with those of India. I entirely agree with you that this is vitally important for the safety and security of

1. J.N. Collection.

Nepal, as it is for India. Indeed, it is a natural development of the good neighbourly policy which both our countries have sought to pursue.

5. I gladly accept, therefore, this approach and my Government would be entirely willing to consider these important matters relating to a coordinated policy of defence and foreign affairs of Nepal and India. To a certain extent, this has been taking place during the past year. As Your Majesty is aware, our Governments have conferred about relations with Tibet and China. We have also discussed frontier problems and some of our staff officers have visited Nepal to confer with representatives of Your Majesty's Government in regard to these and defence problems.

6. We would be happy to enter into further discussions on these subjects. Even while these discussions are in progress, we can endeavour to coordinate our policies in the largest measure. I would suggest that the best course would be for your Prime Minister to pay a visit to Delhi to have a preliminary discussion in regard to these important matters with us. That discussion should lead to further steps and a fuller consideration of some details.

7. My time at present and for the next month is very largely taken up by touring all over India. But I should not like to delay your Prime Minister's visit for too long. I come back to Delhi from time to time for a day or two. It might be possible to arrange a visit of your Prime Minister to Delhi, if that is convenient to him, when I come to Delhi for a brief stay. I am likely to be in Delhi on the 7th of January 1952 and, possibly, on the 6th and 7th. If your Prime Minister could come here on the 6th, I could certainly meet him on the 7th and, possibly, also on the 6th. He could also discuss matters with some of my colleagues and advisers here.

With all good wishes to you and in the hope that the New Year will bring progress and prosperity to Nepal.

I am,  
Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. The Situation in Nepal<sup>1</sup>

I have read your note and Shri Brij Narain's reports.

2. These two reports confirm the impressions I had previously formed.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 14 January 1952. J.N. Collection.



B.P. Koirala, and to some extent Subarna,<sup>2</sup> were greatly dissatisfied with the changes that were brought about, for obvious reasons. B.P. resisted those changes to the end and was keen on becoming P.M. Subarna did not particularly fancy his brother, Mahavir,<sup>3</sup> playing an important role. The previous bosses were B.P. and Subarna. In the present Cabinet, the leading figures are M.P. Koirala, S.P. Upadhyaya<sup>4</sup> and Mahavir. I do not know much about Mahavir. But I definitely think that the two most competent men in the Cabinet or outside are M.P. Koirala and S.P. Upadhyaya. We have to rely on somebody. In the present context, our choice must necessarily fall on M.P. Koirala and S.P. Upadhyaya. Apart from other reasons, they are in the confidence of the King, while B.P. Koirala had lost that confidence.

3. Brij Narain's notes reflect very much B.P. Koirala's and Subarna's views. I might mention that B.P.'s report of his conversation with me is not quite accurate.

4. I talked to every Nepalese Minister who came here on the last occasion, including Subarna. There were, I think, six of them. I spoke to each separately. They gave me, as a whole, a very different picture than that what appears from Brij Narain's notes. Only Subarna was hesitant, but even he said that things had been bad and they were improving slowly.

5. Brij Narain's notes were written previous to the visit of the Nepalese Ministers to Delhi. It is clear that B.P. Koirala had functioned irresponsibly after the change in the Cabinet. Even his behaviour in Patna was not good and he had been making all kinds of allegations against the Ministry. I had a fairly long talk with him and spoke to him frankly. I think that talk had a good effect on him, as indeed is mentioned in Brij Narain's notes also.

6. It is clear to me that Brij Narain certainly, and to some extent probably Shrinagesh,<sup>5</sup> are favourably inclined to and influenced by B.P. Koirala and his group. This itself is a reason which has made them slightly suspect before the King. I think that their views are not wholly objective because of this closer contact which they have had with B.P. Koirala.

7. The situation in Nepal is obviously not satisfactory. But, considering everything, it is much better than it might have been. The recent tour of the King and M.P. Koirala in various parts of Nepal was a tremendous success

2. Subarna S.J.B. Rana was the commander of the Mukti Sena in the revolution of 1950 and the Minister of Finance in 1951.
3. Mahabir S.J.B. Rana, held various portfolios including planning, mines and forests in M.P. Koirala Ministry.
4. A leader of Nepali Rashtriya Congress Party and member, drafting committee of the Constitution of Nepal, Upadhyaya was also a minister in the M.P. Koirala Cabinet.
5. J.M. Shrinagesh, I.C.S., was Adviser to Government of Nepal, 1950-51 and Managing Director, Hindustan Aeronautics, 1952-58.

from all accounts. We are apt to judge (and so probably are our Advisers there) from local conflicts in Kathmandu. The capital is of course important in an undeveloped State. But it should not overshadow the rest.

8. As for Brij Narain's suggestions, much that he has said is obvious and has indeed been emphasized by us. In all such Cabinets, a number of persons count for little individually. The persons who count are two or three or so. I think that at least half the Cabinet, whom I know fairly well, are definitely good men and have influence. About the other half, I cannot say. Ganesh Man Singh<sup>6</sup> is not an acquisition intellectually, but has definite influence and is, I believe, a straight man. He left the Praja Parishad because that Parishad wanted to boycott my visit. His coming over weakened the so-called leftist element considerably.

9. What we have to deal with is the general weakness of the human element available in Nepal. To some extent, we might say that of many of our Provinces also. The same problems, though in a much lesser degree, are arising in our own provinces, as the elections show. We cannot rule out the possibility of the situation worsening in Nepal. On the whole, I am inclined to think that it is much better now than it was and that it is likely to improve. In a backward and unorganized State like Nepal with its traditions of court intrigues, all that we see happening is not surprising. The question is how we can meet this situation.

10. I think that the first thing is for the present Cabinet to continue solidly and every whisper of a change to be discouraged. Nothing is more fatal than the expectation of frequent change, as this leads to constant intrigue.

11. Social reform and development schemes are of course important. If we can help with money, we should do so.

12. Brij Narain is a good man, but I fear that his political judgement is not so good. I spoke about him to Shrinagesh, who agreed with me that Brij Narain did not always show balance of judgement and was apt to take a somewhat one-sided view. The situation in Nepal requires political insight and experience of revolutionary forces at work. I doubt if any of our advisers have that experience or insight.

13. The two senior advisers can hardly stay long there because of what the Prime Minister said and the King feels.

14. As for the Ambassador, I had myself begun to feel that a change was desirable. I am rather doubtful about that now, partly because of my talk with M.P. Koirala, but more so because, in the context of Nepal at present, any such change might itself have an upsetting result. It might shake up the Cabinet

6. (b. 1915); member of Nepal Praja Parishad, 1940; joined the Nepali National Congress and was appointed Minister in Rana-Congress Ministry and later in M.P. Koirala cabinet, November 1951; Minister for Public Works and Transport, 1958-60; imprisoned, 1960-68; in exile in India, 1968-76.



and give a push to all kinds of subversive forces. At the present moment, more especially, the consequences might conceivably be far-reaching. His removal would not be approved by the King or by the Prime Minister and we would thus displease both and weaken them when our attempt should be to strengthen them. I think that our Ambassador has gone outside his beat often enough. To some extent, in the peculiar circumstances of Nepal, this was perhaps difficult to avoid. But much could and should have been avoided. I have spoken to him about this. But, in the balance, I would hesitate to take a step which might have serious consequences on the internal situation in Nepal. I would therefore defer consideration of this matter for the present.

15. There is certainly some feeling in Nepal about India's interference. Whether we interfere or not, some people will play this up in order to weaken the Government there, just as some people talk continually in India about our selling ourselves to the Anglo-American bloc. B.P. Koirala has made objectionable statements about this matter himself, partly to weaken his brother's Government and partly for other reasons. The Ambassador has sometimes laid himself open to this charge. On the other hand, I was told, I think, by some of the Ministers, that frequent visits of the advisers here also lead people to think that way. The advisers are serving the Nepal Government. Why, it was said, should they come for consultations so often to Delhi?

16. I think Shrinagesh is still in India. His appreciation of the present situation in Nepal should certainly be taken. But that situation is itself a changing one and he has been away for some time. His report would, therefore, not be up-to-date.

## 7. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 14, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

The Nepalese Prime Minister and five other Ministers came to Delhi a few days ago and we had long talks with them.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately I was only here for one day, which was almost entirely devoted to them. For the other days I was absent. But Gopalaswami and others met them again.

We discussed many matters and there was general agreement about defence, foreign affairs, etc. Then we came to finance, in other words to a

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Nepalese delegation was in Delhi from 6 to 9 January 1952.

loan that India might give to them for development purposes. They are of course in great difficulties. They have a bigish deficit and they must start some development schemes and produce rapid results.

They suggested a loan of fifteen crores of rupees. I told them that it was not particularly easy for us to find money and our own schemes were being held up for lack of it. We would like to help them very much, but I could not say anything definite without reference to our Finance Minister.

I find from the notes taken that Gopalaswami went slightly further the next day, although he did not commit himself. He did give an impression that we would try our best to help them. To what extent, he could not say then. I have asked External Affairs to discuss this matter with your Ministry. But of course your Ministry cannot say much without consulting you.

The position is that purely from our own point of view, it is quite essential that Nepal should not go to pieces. It is a very important part of our defence line. As in some parts of India, there are communist pockets which tend to grow. There is no efficient Government to check this growth and there is China across the border encouraging communist growth. A stable Government and reforms are therefore essential from our point of view. Otherwise even our defence needs might grow.

For all these and other reasons, it is highly desirable that we should help them as far as we can by giving a loan. To what extent, I cannot say.

I hope you will give thought to this matter and it might be as well if you discuss it with Gopalaswami Ayyangar, who took part in these conversations.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To the King of Nepal<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear friend,

Recent happenings in Nepal<sup>2</sup> have naturally been followed by us with the closest attention. They must have caused Your Majesty and your ministers a

1. J.N. Collection.

2. In a bid to dislodge the newly formed M.P. Koirala ministry, the Raksha Dal laid siege to the Government Secretariat and several other important places on 22 January 1952. The attempted coup was foiled the next day.



great deal of anxiety. I am glad that the crisis is past and that the situation is well under control. Perhaps this revolt of the Raksha Dal and the other rebellious elements may not be wholly bad from a long-term point of view.<sup>3</sup> It has brought things to the surface which were simmering underneath and giving a lot of trouble to your Government. It is now possible to deal with the situation with vigour and speed.

As Your Majesty is aware, conversations took place between your Prime Minister and other ministers and me and some of my colleagues in Delhi a short while ago. These conversations related to many matters of mutual concern. In particular we discussed the coordination of our foreign and defence policies. There was full agreement in this matter and some details are being worked out.

When we learnt of the revolt of the Raksha Dal in Kathmandu, we naturally felt that, in view of our intimate relations with Nepal, it was our duty to give every assistance in our power to the Government of Nepal. We were indeed preparing to do so on a considerable scale when news came that the situation was well in hand. We were happy to learn this and our further preparations were thereupon suspended. We felt however that perhaps it might be desirable and worthwhile for a small party of our Army and Air Force officers to visit Kathmandu to confer with your ministers and military authorities, to give such advice as might be necessary, and to report to us about the situation. Although the situation has greatly improved it was necessary to be fully prepared for every contingency and not to be taken unawares. We wanted to be in a position to give such help as the Nepal Government might need from us now or possibly later.

We communicated our suggestion through our Ambassador to Your Majesty's Prime Minister. On his agreement to our proposal being obtained, we are sending this small party tomorrow morning. I hope that their brief visit to Kathmandu will be of some assistance to your Government and military authorities. The whole purpose of this visit is to render assistance, in the shape of advice, where required and not to interfere in any other way with your Government's arrangements. I feel that, in view of the understanding arrived at between our respective Governments in regard to coordination of certain vital policies, we should be in a position to render help whenever needed. It is in furtherance of that understanding that we are sending this party. I trust Your Majesty's Government will take full advantage of their

3. As the Nepali Congress and the Ranas had failed to pull together in running the government, they approached the King for arbitration in July 1951. At this very time, K.I. Singh and his followers indulged in violent activities along the southern frontier compelling the Nepalese Government to seek India's help. By a joint operation of Nepalese and Indian troops, Singh was imprisoned in September 1951 but escaped to China in January 1952 when the Raksha Dal attempted a coup.

presence and will convey through them to us any suggestions that it might have to make.

Although the immediate crisis has passed, I have no doubt that your Government will take effective and speedy measures to put an end to this ill-fated revolt, wherever it may still exist. Any delay in this would naturally lead to unfortunate consequences. The immediate objective no doubt will be to deal with K.I. Singh and his gang and to make sure that any rebellious elements in the Raksha Dal or other groups are effectively handled. At the same time, Your Majesty's Government will no doubt consider other measures which have to be adopted both for the maintenance of stability and security and for the progress and contentment of your people.

We discussed some of these measures with your ministers when they came to Delhi. It seems to us that the improvement of the air-field in Kathmandu and the building of a proper road to India should be given high priority. These are necessary both from the defence and the civil points of view. Such a road will help greatly in the development of Nepal and will also lower the level of prices of many commodities that Nepal has to obtain from outside. Indeed it will be difficult to have any major development schemes without proper communications both with India and internally in Nepal.

Your Majesty's ministers mentioned to us their need for a loan from India for their development schemes. We told them that our financial position was not an easy one and all our resources were tied up with our Five Year Plan. Indeed that our resources were not adequate for our purpose. Nevertheless we attach great importance to helping the development of Nepal and we were therefore agreeable to giving a loan. The extent of that loan would have to be carefully considered by us in view of our own present resources and also in view of the actual development projects in Nepal.

Most of the development schemes in Nepal would require some expert agency to work them. I do not know what agencies are at present available for this purpose in Nepal. I would therefore suggest for the consideration of Your Majesty and your Government that important projects should be worked out immediately and an indication given of the agency which will undertake them. By agency I mean the expert personnel, such as engineers etc. It is unwise to have any project without making sure of expert handling. We shall be happy, of course, to supply such expert personnel as we may be in a position to do.

In our own country we have given a great deal of thought to our development schemes. This has been done at the provincial level to begin with and later by the Planning Commission. We found that unless we planned carefully there was a great wastage and delay and sometimes priorities were not properly fixed. It is important, in Nepal as elsewhere that some kind of an overall picture should be drawn up and priorities fixed. I do not mean that



you should wait till some fully planned scheme is ready because I feel that urgent action is necessary in Nepal. What I would suggest is that some of the obviously important schemes should be immediately proposed, carefully examined and started. Meanwhile the somewhat larger survey might also be continued. I need hardly say that such help as we can give will always be at the disposal of your Government.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear Ambassador,

...I have spoken to the party of our officers going to Kathmandu and have given them general instructions. They should function cautiously and without pushing themselves forward too much. They will of course give such advice as they are called upon to do by the Nepalese authorities. For the rest they will report to us.

I am anxious that the air-field and the road to India should be taken in hand as soon as possible. I am also eager that we should receive definite projects of development schemes from the Nepal Government. It is on the basis of these schemes that the loan will be considered.

Regarding reconnaissance flights,<sup>2</sup> the Dakota which is taking our party will be able to do this more effectively than a smaller plane. If it is considered necessary another plane can go. But it must be realized that these reconnaissance flights give little evidence of activities of small groups.

Some days ago a message came from you about the invitation to you to attend the wedding of the King's daughter in Calcutta. Before we could answer, this development took place in Kathmandu. I do not know if these developments will have any effect on the date of the wedding. Probably they will not, since

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. The Nepalese Prime Minister specially requested for four reconnaissance planes to help locate and liquidate the rebels hiding on Nepal's borders. The Indian Ambassador had suggested that two planes would suffice for this purpose.

the situation is under control. I do not think however that it will be desirable for you to attend the wedding. Even normally it would not have been so. In view of recent developments it is still more necessary for you to remain in Kathmandu.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 10. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 30, 1952

My dear Ambassador,

Since the receipt of your message yesterday morning conveying the desire of the Government of Nepal for Indian troops to be sent to Kathmandu,<sup>2</sup> we have given a great deal of thought to this matter. This message troubled us, because we do not like at all the prospect of our troops going to Kathmandu, especially at the present juncture. At the same time, if there was real need for them and there was some danger of trouble in Kathmandu, then we could not take the risk of refusing the Nepal Government's request. After much thought and after telephonic communication with you, we decided to send our troops as intimated to you.

This morning I was astonished to get two telegrams from you; one said that you were waiting for a written request from the Nepal Government and the other gave a draft of a statement to be issued by both the Governments.<sup>3</sup>

There should be no question at all of our considering this matter or even your communicating to us any message from the Nepal Government till you

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Apprehending spread of revolt by the Gorkhawal in the Army, the Nepalese Government had informally requested for two companies of Indian troops to be sent to Kathmandu immediately. It suggested that the troops while ostensibly protecting the embassy, would however be deployed to guard the airports and other strategic places and act as a deterrent to trouble-makers.

3. Singh conveyed that at the behest of M.P. Koirala and S.P. Upadhyaya, he had formally requested the Nepalese Government for permission to deploy two companies of Indian troops to protect Indian life and property in Kathmandu and was assured of a formal reply by them. Singh also, *suo moto*, recommended a joint declaration by the two Governments that a small posse of Indian troops was being stationed in Kathmandu at the request of the Indian Government.



had received a precise and definite request from them in writing. Indeed that request should have been communicated to us in their words, because in such matters words are important. I presumed that you had already got something in writing before you communicated with us. Governments do not take important actions of this kind casually or on oral requests. It is a serious matter for us to take a step which is not based on a written request. As it is, we have been greatly embarrassed. I hope you will bear this in mind, because it is quite possible that serious consequences might flow from any lapse on our part in such matters.

The draft statement that you sent was so extraordinary that I could not understand it. So far as we know, it was entirely contrary to facts and it laid the burden entirely upon us in wanting to send our troops to Nepal. We have no such desire and we would have certainly not sent them for the reason mentioned. This again embarrassed us greatly and it seemed to me that it would be the better course for us not to send any troops at all. On further consideration, I did not wish to counter the orders already issued.

This whole incident has rather upset me, because it is not at all clear to me what the Nepal Government want and what they said. Was the initiative theirs in this matter or was some suggestion made to them by you or someone else? Our relations with Nepal are delicate and difficult and every step has to be carefully watched. Sending of our troops to Kathmandu is an international matter and it produces reactions in other parts of the world. Only a grave emergency and the demand of the Nepal Government would have justified it. I relied on your judgment in this matter. The messages that came today have produced doubt in my mind and I want this cleared up.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 11. To C.P.N. Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 30, 1952

My dear Chandresvar,

This whole incident about our sending our troops to Kathmandu has disturbed me. I wrote a letter to you this afternoon, before my last talk with you on the

1. J.N. Collection.

telephone. I enclose this letter.<sup>2</sup> Since then of course we have come to the decision not to send any troops.

Late this evening the Nepalese Ambassador here, General Bijaya, saw K.P.S. Menon and said that there was no necessity for sending our troops.

All this is very mysterious and it shows how we may make grave mistakes if we are not careful at every step. The Nepalese Government has not got great experience and is apt to think about their own particular situation forgetting other aspects. I shall have to be very careful in future about any message that I get from them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See the preceding item.

## 12. The Kosi Project<sup>1</sup>

I am enclosing a note on the Kosi Project<sup>2</sup> prepared by the Planning Commission. You will see that at the end of the note something is said about an agreement with Nepal. The Nepalese Government has vaguely agreed to paying, I believe, two crores or so, but it is clear that whatever they pay can only come out of the money we give them. Also that any technical or other examination of the scheme will have to be done by us, as Nepal has no engineers.

2. The scheme is a very important one for both Bihar and Nepal and the Nepal Government have been pressing us to proceed with it. I suppose the best thing would be for us to include this in one of the Nepal schemes for which a loan is asked for. We might also write to the Nepalese Government about it to make sure that they approve of this inclusion. When writing to them, we should ask them for their schemes for examination.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 18 February 1952. File No. 17 (201)/50-PMS.
2. A multi-purpose project with a 750 feet high dam across the river Kosi, and a capacity to store 11 million acre feet of water with two barrages, one irrigating about one million acres in Nepal and the other irrigating two million acres in Bihar, costing about Rs 90 crores, was expected to be completed in about ten years.



### 13. To M.P. Koirala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 28, 1952

My dear Maitrika Prasad,

A few days ago I had a visit from B.P. Koirala and I had a good talk with him. Probably he will visit me again some days later for further talks. Even though I have been terribly busy, I thought it necessary to find some time for meeting him.

I told him quite frankly about the position in and the needs of Nepal and the great responsibility which rested on a few leading personalities in the movement for freedom in Nepal. These personalities obviously included you and B.P. I told him that it was exceedingly injurious to the cause of Nepal, and of course to that of the Nepali Congress, for a conflict to take place between you and him. In fact everybody should have the sense to pull together in this crisis, otherwise they will be swept away. Whatever everybody did or did not do, it was quite essential for you and him to pull together and not to be ranged in any way against one another. It was better for a wrong step to be taken unitedly than a struggle for position.

Great changes had taken place in Nepal in the course of just 12 months and hardly anyone could have envisaged them a year and a half ago. Instead of appreciating the pace of change and consolidating it, some people were carrying on activities which were essentially disruptionist and endanger the stability of the State. No progress could be made in these conditions and it was quite possible that reaction would set in. It was a necessary condition of progress that there should be some stability and some holding together among the leading personalities. The fact of the matter was that, while a large measure of democracy had come in, the people were not trained for it and did not have the discipline necessary for it. Even the leadership was lacking in this and so how could we blame the people?

I told B.P. that he had some excellent qualities, push, drive, etc., but he was far too impulsive and lacked ballast. No doubt with a little experience he will gain this ballast and be more balanced. He was young and he would have plenty of chances of working for big ends. But by over-reaching himself he might not only injure his own chances but, what was more important, injure Nepal's interests.

Therefore it seemed to me essential that B.P. should make every effort to cooperate with you. It would be improper for a contested election to take place for the Presidentship of the Nepali Congress. Whoever might win, this would affect the unity of Government and the cooperation of the Government

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to the Secretary-General, M.E.A.

with the National Congress. It would leave a trail of conflict and bitterness behind. It was immaterial to me whether the Prime Minister was the President of the Nepali Congress or not. Much could be said for either course. But it was essential that the President of the Nepali Congress and the Prime Minister should pull together. In the final analysis, in existing circumstances, your views should prevail because you were shouldering a heavy responsibility. Of course there should be full consultations before views were finalized. In any event, the kind of public controversy that was going on was unbecoming and harmful.

B.P., I think, was impressed by what I said. I have said it all in a very friendly way as I would talk to a young colleague of mine. I told him I was not speaking to him as Prime Minister or in any official capacity but as one with considerable experience of these affairs and of revolutionary and like movements. B.P. told me that he largely agreed with me in what I said. He asked me specially to write to you. Apparently he feared that any advance from him might not receive a suitable response from you. I had suggested to him that he should meet you and speak to you fully and frankly. I hope you will meet him and have this frank talk with him and not only with him but with any others also whom you may think necessary. I am sure that with frankness some of your existing problems could be solved with ease. You know B.P. well. My own impression of him is that his failings are those of youth and given a friendly approach he responds. The point I stressed upon him was that your general leadership must be accepted. That leadership will of course try to get cooperation and support from others.

Some days earlier I met Tanka Prasad.<sup>2</sup> He talked rather vaguely and pompously to me about an independent judiciary, a public service commission, civil liberties and the like. I told him that there could be no two opinions about an independent judiciary, public services, etc. As for civil liberty, undoubtedly it should be preserved as far as possible but it seemed to me quite absurd to talk of civil liberties when petty revolts and insurrections were taking place. A Government and a State had to take steps against such activities. There will be no progress at all in any direction if there was not present the basis of progress, which was stability and peaceful conditions.

Tanka Prasad ultimately said to me that a coalition cabinet was desirable in which the so-called opposition groups were represented. He mentioned eight or nine organizations which apparently had formed a joint group. On the face of it some of these organizations were trivial and had no importance. In any

2. Tanka Prasad Acharya, founder leader of Nepal Praja Parishad Party, 1938; President, the National People's United Front, July 1951; Minister in M.P. Koirala's interim Government.



event I told him that Governments are not formed in this way and people who were creating trouble all the time could hardly be associated with Government.

Mrs Roosevelt reached Delhi yesterday. She is going to tour about India for about three weeks or so. She has expressed a desire to go to Nepal for a day or two. I do not see the point of her going there at all but we have told her that it is open to her to go where she likes. If she wants to go to Nepal, her Ambassador should get in touch with the Nepalese Ambassador here, who will no doubt consult his Government.

Probably you will get intimation of this from your Ambassador here. While I see no point in her going there, it would not be desirable of course to object to such a request. Her brief visit might even do some good.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. Relations with Nepal<sup>1</sup>

Question: Could you tell us anything about the recent events in Nepal and the reported offer by India to supply military advisers to Nepal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Our attitude is to help without interference in maintaining stability and progress in Nepal. It is a broad answer to that question.

Recently we had a request—it was when the Prime Minister of Nepal came here two or three months ago. We discussed various matters and came to agreements, purely informal agreements. Among them was a desire for us to help them to reorganize their defence forces. In pursuance of that wish of theirs we have sent a small mission<sup>2</sup> there a few days ago—yesterday I think it went. This mission will investigate and report to the Nepalese Government as well as to us to what steps should be taken to that end.

...Q: Two of our advisers have been withdrawn from Nepal recently. Why?

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 492, 510-511, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.
2. An Indian military mission headed by Maj. General Y.S. Paranjpe was sent to Kathmandu to assist in the reorganization and training of the Nepalese Army.

JN: As a matter of fact one of them has completed his full year and the other one was on the verge of doing it. And the Nepalese Government—not that they did not want any assistance, they do want it—wanted more junior people and we are considering that. The advisers were sent to help them in the initial stages to draft all kinds of rules and regulations about how the Government machinery should function and so on, because you must remember that they started from scratch. They had no rules or regulations of any kind. In the old regime the Prime Minister just issued a decree or order for anything and everything. So these officers were sent and they have drawn up all these things and have put, at any rate on paper, an organization for the Government to function and to some extent it will be given effect to, so that the immediate task is over and the rest becomes rather political advice.

Q: Has this anything to do with the agitation by some people—younger elements including Mr B.P. Koirala—against Indian interference in Nepal?

JN: First of all, I do not think it has anything to do with that. But may I say another word?

There is a good deal of talk on Indian interference among some people but as the present Prime Minister of Nepal himself has denied it, I need not say much. We have taken particular care not to interfere. We have given advice when it is sought. Their Prime Minister has come here on two occasions; the King was here some time back. Naturally when they come we discuss matters and give them advice. Naturally in two matters more particularly in which we are closely associated, that is, matters of foreign policy and defence. Not by any formal agreement. We have no alliance or anything of that kind, but simply because both these matters are common to us, consultations occasionally take place when necessary. For the rest, we are interested in the economic development of Nepal, and I believe various schemes for such development are being framed by the Nepal Government, and then they will consult us about them.

One of the immediate needs, of course, is communications—a road to Nepal from India as well as roads within Nepal. It is highly important, and we propose to send engineers and other help for this purpose.

As you mentioned Mr B.P. Koirala, I might say something. In Nepal, during the last year, a great many changes have taken place.<sup>3</sup> Remember the

3. Between February and November 1951, three Governments were formed in Nepal. The first two Governments fell due to serious differences between the Ranas and the Congress groups. The third Government formed on 16 November headed by M.P. Koirala had a majority of Nepali Congress representatives.



changeover in Nepal took place in February last year—slightly over a year ago.<sup>4</sup> It is not a long period. And during this year also, many things have happened. Now, among other things, this sudden change released all kinds of forces in Nepal which were previously suppressed. And there are in Kathmandu at present numbers of small groups, may be, not more than half a dozen in a group;<sup>5</sup> they call themselves political parties—and some of these small groups criticize the Government or talk about Indian interference. I do not think they really mean much by it—except that they frankly say they want to be taken into the Government.

Q: It is being used as a slogan in the contest for the Congress Presidentship.

JN: That is an internal matter. So far as Mr B.P. Koirala is concerned, he has assured me on numerous occasions, if I may say so, that he wants India to help in every way. Far from objecting to Indian interference, he wants Indian help in so many ways in Nepal.

Q: Would you encourage the flow of Indian capital into Nepal for their economic development?

JN: Yes, certainly, we want to help Nepal; we want Indian capital to go there, so that, of course, Nepalese can utilize it to their advantage.

Q: There was a recent announcement that the administration had been extended up to the McMahon Line. What exactly does that involve? And is there any implication of joint administration and joint defence of the north-east border?

JN: Joint? With whom?

Q: With Nepal.

JN: The McMahon Line has nothing to do with Nepal. It is above Darjeeling,

4. Following the negotiations in New Delhi in the presence of Nehru and C.P.N. Singh between King Tribhuvan, representatives of the Nepalese Government and Nepali Congress leaders on the formation of an interim Government, the King along with the exiled Nepali Congress leaders—Bhadrakali Misra and Koirala brothers returned to Kathmandu on 15 February 1951 and a new ministry of ten members was sworn in with Mohan S.J.B. Rana as Prime Minister and Nepali Congress leaders as members.
5. For example, Raksha Dal, Gurkha Dal, Nepali National Congress, Praja Parishad, Rashtriya Mahasabha and others.

It has to do with Assam chiefly. So, Nepal has nothing to do with it. The McMahon Line came up when we discussed India's frontier with China and Tibet long years ago.<sup>6</sup> The Nepalese part of the frontier did not come into the picture. The McMahon Line is the frontier, but on this side of the McMahon Line there have been undeveloped territories—jungles, etc. You take ten days to a fortnight to reach the frontier from any administrative centre. So, all that we are doing is to improve communications there up to our frontier and to get into better touch with it.

Q: Is it true that while Nepalese citizens in India get practically the same treatment as Indians here, we are not getting the same treatment in Nepal? We have to get a permit to go to Nepal.

JN: I think there is some such thing. We are not attaching very great importance to it; because of conditions in Nepal we do not want to press the Nepalese to open the door to everybody. We realize their difficulties.

Q: Has any progress been made in the demarcation of the undefined border between India and China on the north-east and north-west?

JN: I do not know. The McMahon Line is a definition of that border on the north-east.

Q: There is a certain tract which is undefined so far—even on the maps it is shown as undefined—towards the north-east and north-west, between Nepal and the province of Kashmir: near Lake Manasarovar.

JN: We talk about Nepal and Kashmir, and suddenly jump into Manasarovar Lake: Kashmir does not come into the picture. It is Himachal Pradesh and the U.P. I do not know that any question has arisen; it has not come up before me at all at any time.

Q: But even on the maps it is shown as an undefined border.

JN: Maybe. All these are high mountains. Nobody lives there. It is not very necessary to define these things.

6. The McMahon Line delimiting the frontier between India and Tibet at the Shimla Convention in 1914 was however not ratified by the then Chinese Government.





## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

## I. Bilateral Relations

## (ii) Pakistan





## 1. Bilateral Issues<sup>1</sup>

... Q: Apart from the Kashmir issue there are many other outstanding issues between India and Pakistan, for instance, East Bengal. As Khwaja Nazimuddin belongs to Bengal, have you had any occasion through any source to talk about this question?

JN: No. Ever since Khwaja Nazimuddin became Prime Minister<sup>2</sup> there has been no special development in regard to East Bengal. Routine matters, of course, go on. But there are other matters. There is the evacuee property problem, there is the canal waters problem, and others. In regard to every one of them, and more especially in regard to evacuee property and canal waters, you may remember that we have offered to abide by judicial determination of both those problems.

Q: Do you feel there has been some change in the relations between India and Pakistan recently? And as you have always said that you are prepared to take any steps for better relations, have you taken any initiative?

JN: I think there has been a change, psychologically considered; people are in a better mood on both sides. There is an improvement, no doubt, and one should take advantage of it whenever it comes. But there is always a slight risk in overshooting the mark before you can take full advantage of an existing situation.

Q: Don't you think that India is far too big for that and that India can always take the initiative?

JN: It is not a question of being big or small. If the initiative does not lead to results, if it is premature, then it leads you nowhere.

Q: Arising out of what you have just said, it was you who first made the gesture at the public meeting to condole the death of Mr Liaquat Ali

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 3 November 1951. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 3-8, 419-426, 507-508 and 541-546.
2. Following Liaquat Ali Khan's assassination at Rawalpindi on 16 October 1951, Khwaja Nazimuddin became the Prime Minister of Pakistan.



Khan, that controversies must be hushed in the face of death. On that the Pakistan Prime Minister extended a hand of goodwill in the same spirit and he appears to have said—though he did not say in so many words—he appears to have complained that there has been no reaction from India.

JN: He did not 'complain'. Some people asked him about the Chakravarty business<sup>3</sup> and he said 'nothing doing'.

3. It was reported in the press that B.N. Chakravarty had visited Nazimuddin as Nehru's special messenger and when asked to confirm, Nazimuddin clarified that Chakravarty's visit was a courtesy call to convey condolences.

## 2. To Khwaja Nazimuddin<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 12, 1952

My dear Prime Minister,

I have been thinking for some time of writing to you on one or two points arising out of the Prime Ministers' Agreement of April 1950 and the Annexure to the Agreement of August 1950. Since I have been extremely preoccupied with the general elections in India, I could not do so earlier.

Section C (5) of the April Agreement provides that our two Governments shall not recognize forced conversions. Paragraph 4 in Section II of the August Annexure provides "that the two Central Ministers should examine the question of whether any additional powers were necessary to deal with such cases (cases of abducted women with a view to their recovery and restoration) and in particular whether for the purpose of recovery and custody the definition of an 'abducted woman' should be framed on the model of the "Punjab Acts". I regret to have to say that more than two years have elapsed but the two Central Ministers have not yet been able to come to an agreement on these two important points or even to finish their discussions. I have asked our Central Minister, Shri C.C. Biswas,<sup>2</sup> to conclude discussions without delay and I shall be grateful if you will also be good enough to write to your Central Minister<sup>3</sup> emphasizing the necessity of expedition in this matter. It is a matter of particular regret to me that in the absence of special legislation,

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Minister for Minority Affairs, Government of India.

3. A.M. Malik held a similar position in the Government of Pakistan.

efforts to recover abducted women and to allow them to return to their relatives have been considerably handicapped.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Sharing the Canal Waters<sup>1</sup>

I agree with Mr Dutt's note,<sup>2</sup> that is to say that Pakistan's draft is unacceptable to us. We are, however, prepared to omit from our draft the last two and half lines of the third paragraph (within brackets).

If Mr Black sends us his original draft,<sup>3</sup> we shall send him an answer accepting it, but making clear to him some points which might lead to misinterpretation.

This is not really a question of mere drafting but of there being a clear understanding as to what both of us mean. It would obviously be wrong for us and Pakistan to agree to some draft and to interpret it in different ways. We have had enough trouble about interpretations of agreements in the past. So far as we are concerned, we cannot agree even indirectly to the supercession of the May 1948 Agreement.

I am surprised at Mr Bengston having shown to the Pakistan people the previous drafts. This was a sure way of inviting a rejection of the last draft.

1. Note to Ministry of N.R. and S.R., 22 February 1952. File No. DW(38) (1)-CWD/51, Ministry of Irrigation.
2. S. Dutt had stated that when the Pakistan Government was shown Eugene Black's draft proposal for sharing of canal waters and were told that India had suggested certain changes, they became suspicious and decided to put up a draft of their own. Dutt observed that the Pakistani draft was unacceptable to India since it would amount to the supercession of the Indo-Pak Agreement of May 1948.
3. Eugene Black, in his draft of 4 February 1952, had stated that by a common understanding it had been found that availability of water for both countries could be substantially increased through some engineering works. The draft also envisaged that without prejudice to legal rights, each side will be free to withdraw at any time, but while the activities of the working party continue with the participation of the Bank, neither side will take any action to diminish the supplies available to the other for existing uses.



#### 4. East Bengal Affairs<sup>1</sup>

I am inclined to think that I should not write to the Prime Minister of Pakistan about this matter.<sup>2</sup> At any rate, I shall not do so for the present. The attempt in East Bengal to drag in Hindu leaders in the language controversy has not succeeded and it appears to be dying down.<sup>3</sup> If so, then matters had better be allowed to take their course.

We are, of course, entirely opposed to the introduction of a permit system between East and West Bengal. But if Pakistan insists, it may become difficult for us to continue resisting this proposal. So far as I know, no formal proposal has been made.

I shall gladly meet Mr Biswas in Calcutta, though my time is rather fully taken up there. I shall fix an appointment with him after my arrival. Please tell him to get in touch with me there.

1. Note to the Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, 16 March 1952. J.N. Collection. Extracts.
2. This referred to the introduction of a permit system between East and West Bengal.
3. A serious agitation began in Dhaka with the declaration of Urdu as the only official language of Pakistan on 26 January 1952. The Bengali students, both Hindu and Muslim, demanding that Bangla also be declared an official language, were fired upon on 21 February resulting in several deaths and injuries to many. Nurul Amin, the East Bengal Premier, while urging the Pakistan Government to accept the demand also encouraged a campaign of terror against the Hindus and blamed the Communists and their Indian agents in particular for the agitation.

#### 5. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 26, 1952

My dear Bidhan,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th March.<sup>2</sup>

In this you mention the case of the three men arrested in East Bengal. If you wish me to write to the Prime Minister of Pakistan on this subject I shall do so. But I am doubtful in my own mind about the desirability of my writing on this subject at present. It is always difficult for me to write to the Pakistan Government on internal conditions in Pakistan. At the present moment the

1. J.N. Collection.
2. For an extract of Roy's letter, see the next item.

language controversy having rather upset the equilibrium of the East Bengal Government, my writing can hardly produce any effect.

What I propose to do is to mention this to Deshmukh who has gone to Karachi for the meeting of the Colombo Plan Consultative Committee.

Yours,  
Jawahar

## 6. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 26, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

There are two matters that I should like you to mention in Karachi rather informally.

One relates to the Pakistan Permit Office in Bombay. At the request of the Bombay Government we agreed to close this down. The Pakistan Government wanted to carry it on. It was closed, as far as I can remember, at the end of February last. When others got to know of this, protests came in from our Communications Ministry, from Tatas, etc. They pointed out that this closure would mean a heavy loss to some of our air services, notably Tatas. This aspect of this matter had not come before us at all and I confess that I regretted our action then. However we did close it down as there was no time to make a change then. We have since been in correspondence with the Bombay Government. Their only argument is that the Pakistan Permit Office was used for Intelligence purposes. I have no doubt that this was so, but there are so many other ways for getting Intelligence in a city like Bombay, that in the balance it was not worthwhile closing down the office and thereby incurring loss ourselves. The traffic to Pakistan would thus largely be diverted from Bombay to Delhi and the Pakistan airline would profit. Some of our shipping companies also protested.

I am not entirely satisfied with the present position and I have asked the Bombay Government to send us fuller information. Apparently they have not got much fuller information because they did not send any. I am enquiring about the matter again. If any further information comes I shall communicate it to you.

I think that in the course of your informal talks there with Ministers you

1. J.N. Collection. Copy of the letter was sent to the Commonwealth Secretary.



might, if you think it advisable, throw out a hint that we might be prepared to consider the reopening of the Pakistan Permit Office in Bombay. You need not commit yourself and we might suggest this as a gesture to facilitate traffic between India and Pakistan and partly to meet Pakistan's wishes in the matter as previously communicated to us. You could find out their reactions by this approach and then we could consider later what we could do.

The other point I wish you to mention informally relates to East Bengal. I hesitate to interfere in domestic matters of Pakistan but it must be admitted that what happens in East Bengal affects West Bengal and vice versa. Recently, as you know there has been a big language controversy in East Bengal and there have been many demonstrations in favour of Bengali as opposed to Urdu. There is no doubt that this was essentially a Muslim agitation. Naturally some of the Hindus in East Bengal must have sympathized with it. It has been the attempt of the East Bengal Government to show that this was entirely a spurious agitation organized by Hindus. This is completely untrue. In fact the Hindus kept rather in the background. What I am worried about is that some very prominent Hindus there, notably three who had insisted on remaining in East Bengal in spite of everything, have been arrested. One of these three is Sachin Sen of Barisal. What I am afraid of is that the arrest of these men might create more apprehension in the minds of the Hindus in East Bengal and perhaps lead to migrations, etc. It is from this point of view that I view this question and not so much from the point view of the individual cases. Dr B.C. Roy was worried about this and wanted me to write to the Pakistan Prime Minister. I would rather not write to him. But you might mention this to him or to other Ministers, more specially perhaps to Muhammad Ali.<sup>2</sup>

I give below an extract from a letter that Dr. B.C. Roy has written to me on this subject:

"I have spoken to you about the three gentlemen who have been arrested in East Bengal. The point of view that has been put before me since I had a discussion with you, is that persons in East Bengal feel unsafe because they find that even prominent members who had declared openly their intention in remaining in Pakistan as Pakistani subjects—not as mere slaves but with self-respect—have been arrested and, therefore, no person feels safe in Pakistan. This is a point of view which may be placed before the authorities in the course of any other discussion you might carry on with them."

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Chaudhari Muhammad Ali was the Finance Minister of Pakistan at this time.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****I. Bilateral Relations****(iii) United States of America**





**1. To H.S. Malik<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
November 6, 1951

My dear Malik,

...The issues which concern the United States and us, and on which there is a measure of disagreement, are rather basic and depend, among other things, on a true interpretation of the new situation in Asia and the Far East. It is a matter of governmental policy at both ends and of a true understanding and interpretation of it. But the best of interpretations cannot get over the basic difference so long as it exists. No one could have been more popular as an Ambassador in America as Vijayalakshmi. But if the two countries' policies differ, the Ambassador cannot get over the difficulty....

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

**2. Activities of the U.S.I.S.<sup>1</sup>**

I cannot say whether the Urdu sheet, purporting to have been issued by the U.P. Congress Parliamentary Board, is authentic or not. I am enquiring into the matter.

2. The statement certainly contains undesirable and presumably untrue allegations about crores of rupees having been set apart by the U.S. Embassy, etc. I shall certainly pull up the people who have issued it.

3. Nevertheless, it is true that there is a general impression that the U.S.I.S. are spending large sums of money in India and that they have attempted to influence editors and writers by offering them money. Some specific instances have come to our notice and we have even drawn the attention of the U.S. Embassy to them.

4. We have also received information that a U.S. official visited Nagpur sometime ago and made very disparaging remarks about the Congress and rather appreciative remarks about some of the communal organizations.

1. Note to the Foreign Secretary, 29 November 1951. J.N. Collection.



5. It appears from the Urdu sheet that they have got the information from some newspapers. The information given is obviously untrue and should not have been given, but it is perfectly true that some of the activities of the U.S.I.S. and sometimes the indiscreet remarks of some American officials in other cities have given rise to the general impression that the U.S. agencies here are friendly to the communal organizations.

6. I think you can tell Mr. Steere<sup>2</sup> this.

2. Lloyd V. Steere, Counsellor in the U.S. Embassy, New Delhi.

### 3. Towards a Better Understanding<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that the *Ladies' Home Journal*<sup>2</sup> is planning a picture story on Indian youth. Anything that adds to the mutual understanding and friendship between the United States of America and India is to be welcomed. Whatever our views might be about particular questions, the importance of India and America understanding each other and developing friendship is patent. So far as the people of India are concerned, they are anxious for this friendly understanding and they wish to learn much from America.

In many ways we are different, and yet I believe that in many other ways there is much in common. It serves little purpose to stress the differences; it is much better to emphasize the points of agreement. We in India have a past history going right back to dim ages. We are conditioned by that history as well as by present events. Our thinking and our action is governed by these factors. We are an old race, and yet new in the modern world. We want friendship and understanding, but we cannot be and we do not want to be pushed about and uprooted from our own ways of thought, nor do we think it desirable to impose our ways of thought on others. The world is full of variety and truth has many facets.

I am particularly glad that the *Ladies' Home Journal* is laying stress on Indian youth. After all, the India of tomorrow will depend on our youth of today.

1. Message for *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1 February 1952. J.N. Collection.

2. Bruce Gould, editor of the journal, published from Philadelphia, U.S.A., wrote to Nehru on 24 January requesting for a message, and a meeting when she visited India.

#### 4. Projects for Community Centres<sup>1</sup>

The American Ambassador<sup>2</sup> saw me today and, *inter alia*, discussed the proposed projects for community centres in India. He was very anxious that we should make rapid progress in this direction. He said that his office was preparing some kind of a note which probably he would send me in two or three days' time. In this note it was calculated that there should be 600 such centres in four years' time. These 600 centres would serve 120 million people. Food production would go up greatly in these centres, anything from 20 to 50 per cent. Spread out all over India, this should amount to an overall increase of 7 to 8 per cent of food production in the whole country at the end of fourth year.

2. He discussed this with the representatives of the Ford Foundation. The latter agreed that quick progress could be made and said that by the end of next September 4,000 village workers could be trained. This number can be doubled the next year and so on till they reached the target figure of 60,000 trained village workers.

3. The scheme involved, apart from the other work, the sinking of tube wells, putting up dispensaries and public health work.

4. I pointed out to him that while dollars might be forthcoming from the fund placed at our disposal by the U.S., we would have to find rupee finance for these projects. Normally only about 10 to 20 per cent of the cost would be met by dollars and from 80 to 90 per cent would have to be found in rupees. This was a limiting factor for the Central Government as well as the States.

5. He said that he realized that, and that was why he was trying to get free gifts of grain and cotton from the U.S. There were fertilizers also. The sale of these in India should provide the rupee finance. Even if India bought food in the U.S. for dollars this could be converted into rupees here.

6. He talked also about supplying equipment for river valley projects, fisheries, etc., as well as ships.

7. He said something about 200,000 tons of steel being needed in India next year. It was apparently suggested that the U.S. should buy the steel from Japan with dollars and then pass it on to India. It was not clear to me how this was going to be done.

8. His whole conversation exhibited an extreme eagerness to go ahead as speedily as possible with these community projects and to produce substantial results within the next two to four years.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 20 February 1952. J.N. Collection. Copy of this note was sent to the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission.

2. Chester Bowles.



## 5. Conditional Aid<sup>1</sup>

Question: In the technical cooperation agreement<sup>2</sup> between U.S.A. and some other countries including India, the Preamble included a sentence subjecting the signatory Governments to cooperate with the U.S.A. in furthering world peace.<sup>3</sup> The Governments of Indonesia and Burma had objected to committing their country to the U.S.A.'s foreign policy. What is the attitude of Indian Government on this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I remember that phrase. I do not know—perhaps you might enlighten me as to whether it was exactly the same wording or different. I can only speak for the wording I am acquainted with here which came before us which says something about world peace and furtherance of world peace. I have not the slightest objection to accepting that whole-heartedly. It may of course be that opinions differ as to the best way of furthering world peace. If so, then naturally each party functions according to its own way of thinking but the objective is surely the same. If a person says or a country says that world peace is necessary, I applaud that sentiment and agree with it and I am prepared to cooperate with it to the best of my ability.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.
2. The Indo-U.S. Technical Cooperation Agreement signed in New Delhi on 5 January 1952, provided for exchange of technical know-how and personnel between the two countries, and it was an improvement upon the earlier agreement of 28 December 1950.
3. The contentious sentence was "considering that the Government of the U.S.A. and the Government of India agree to join in promoting international understanding and goodwill and in maintaining world peace, and to undertake such action as they may mutually agree upon to eliminate causes of international tensions."

## 6. American Aid and India<sup>1</sup>

I am quite clear that we cannot give any guarantee or assurance to the U.S. Government in this matter,<sup>2</sup> either written or oral. In fact they should be told

1. Note, 26 March 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. The U.S. Government had sought the Government of India's agreement to put an embargo on export of articles prohibited under the U.S. Mutual Defence Assistance Control Act of 1951.

that to give any such guarantee or assurance about the future is directly contrary to our policy which we have so often proclaimed. It would immediately have strong reactions in India on the whole question of Indo-American relations.

2. This should be explained to the U.S. Ambassador as well as to our Embassy in Washington. The factual position should also be explained, i.e., that in effect we hardly send anything. We are prepared, in our own interest, to consider each individual case and to decide as we think fit in the circumstances having regard to all the factors. We may even have a licensing system for certain articles.

3. I realize that the U.S. Government is bound by the provisions of the Act<sup>3</sup> they have passed, which is popularly known as the Battle Act. This popular name of the Act in itself is neither happy nor agreeable. In fact it is an aggressive name and must tend to accentuate friction. I do not at all like the idea, as mentioned in paragraph 2 of Mr Haksar's note,<sup>4</sup> that we should be called upon by the U.S. Government to ban the export of articles in the first two lists and then, later, to discuss the export of articles in the third list. This surely means a direct interference with our policy, whatever it may be and we have made it repeatedly clear to the U.S. Government that any aid that comes to us must not have any political string attached. I realize their difficulty in the face of the Act but that difficulty cannot be allowed to induce us to ignore our policy and our difficulties. If we take any such step as is suggested by the U.S. Government, we shall inevitably have to take other steps, one after the other and get hopelessly entangled in this business. Therefore we must be wary of even taking the first step. That involves risk of not having American aid. This risk has to be taken.

3. The Mutual Defence Assistance Control Act of 1951, sponsored by Laurie C. Battle, provided for mandatory termination of aid to any country found to be shipping arms or ammunition to Soviet-dominated areas. Shipment of strategic goods other than arms was also to entail termination of aid, if the U.S. President found such action detrimental to national security.
4. In a note of 21 March 1952, S.N. Haksar had stated that the U.S. Government had enquired as to what steps the Indian Government proposed to take regarding a ban on the export of those articles prohibited under the Battle Act.





**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**

**I. Bilateral Relations**

**(iv) United Kingdom**





1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 30, 1951

My dear Krishna,

I have received your two letters<sup>2</sup> of 25th November about the Finance Ministers' Conference.<sup>3</sup> I have also received a letter from R.A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, on this subject. I enclose a copy of my reply to him.<sup>4</sup>

If the Ministers in London think that our Government is influenced in the slightest degree by big business in India,<sup>5</sup> then they are likely to be disillusioned soon. Big business, and especially Mr. Birla, are not at all pleased with us. In fact, Birla complains frequently that he is not consulted in anything and is ignored. It was rather amazing for Butler to suggest that some prominent businessmen might be sent from here to London.

Birla has kept up some kind of contacts with Winston Churchill and others. I remember when I went to dinner with Churchill he produced some mangoes which he said Birla had sent him.

During the last three or four months, Birla repeatedly hinted to me that he was under my command in connection with the elections here. In other words, he was prepared to finance them to a considerable extent. He got no response from me. In fact, I have not approached a single businessman for any contributions. We are running these elections, so far as our central funds are concerned, with very little money. Vallabhbhai Patel left some money in our election fund which is being used by us now. I imagine, however, that in the different States businessmen and others have been approached for contributions and have, to some extent, responded. I do not think that we are spending as much on our elections as any other major party in India. Some of these parties and notably the Independents are spending very large sums.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Menon wrote that he had assured the British Chancellor of the Exchequer of India's full cooperation in the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting.
3. This conference was held from 15 to 21 January 1952 at London to resolve the crisis of rapidly depleting gold and dollar reserves of the Commonwealth nations.
4. See the next item.
5. Menon had written that in the course of a conversation Butler had commented that the Government of India was sending some 'prominent businessmen' to attend the conference. This was in reference to G.D. Birla, a delegate, who was to meet Butler and Ismay. Menon felt that this created an impression in the British Conservatives' circles that 'Big-Business' had considerable influence on the Government of India.



## 2. To R.A. Butler<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 30, 1951

My dear Chancellor,

Thank you for your letter of 21st November<sup>2</sup> which I received yesterday on my return to Delhi. A good deal of my time is being taken up now by election tours. India is a big country and it is difficult to visit all the places one wants to go to. These incessant tours are very exhausting but at the same time it is exhilarating to meet large numbers of people. I shall spend a good deal of time on touring till about the middle of January or perhaps even later. After, that, if not before, I shall require a rest.

We would, of course, very much like Deshmukh to attend the meeting of Commonwealth Finance Ministers in London on 15th January. But the general election is taking up his time and ours and I do not see how he can manage to be away at that time. The election is by no means a walk over for anybody and we have to work hard. If it is at all possible at that time for Deshmukh to go, he will do so but I rather doubt it. In any event, a senior officer will be sent from here.<sup>3</sup> Our High Commissioner will, of course, also be there to represent us.

I would be happy to meet you and your other colleagues again. I do not know when this opportunity will come. Soon after our elections, we shall no doubt get entangled in new developments, whatever they might be.

With all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Butler wrote that though he realized that the first general elections posed a lot of difficulties in India, still Nehru should consider sending C.D. Deshmukh to the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' Conference because his absence might result in misunderstanding and embarrassment to Great Britain.
3. N.R. Pillai, Cabinet Secretary, represented the Government of India at this conference.

## 3. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

As Pillai is in London I should like him to look into some matters about which we do not have full information. We should like to know the reasons

1. New Delhi, 20 January 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

for the failure in delivery of jeeps under our second contract<sup>2</sup> with Marshal Cornwall.<sup>3</sup> It is understood that manufacturers in Belgium have intimated to you that they have not yet had a firm order placed on them for covering the supplies to be made to us. Also whether S.C.K.<sup>4</sup> claim storage charges for shells delivered late but which could not be shipped promptly and whether any storage charges have been paid.<sup>5</sup> Could you please arrange to give Pillai necessary information and to show him the relevant papers.

2. An agreement was reached in July 1950, between the Government of India and a manufacturer in Belgium, for delivering seventy-five army jeeps and shells to India by December 1951. On 20 January, Menon reported that fifty jeeps had already been delivered and twenty-five more had been sent for technical inspection, which when accepted would fulfil the second contract.
3. James H. Marshal Cornwall (b. 1887); served the British Army in various capacities, 1914-40; G.O.C., Western Command, 1941-43; Editor-in-Chief of captured German Archives, 1948-51, and President, Royal Geographical Society, 1954-58.
4. Charles Kendal and Partners, London, the official agents for STRIM, a French arms manufacturing company.
5. Menon reported on 20 January that the delay in supply of shells was due to some technical faults, which had been corrected and these were ready for shipment. Further that no additional charges for storage were paid to S.C.K. and N.R. Pillai had been provided with all necessary papers and information in this regard.

#### 4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

I agree with you that elucidation should be sought from Eden about statement made by Churchill in America.<sup>2</sup> This should be done in the normal course as suggested by you. It should be pointed out that we are naturally interested in developments in Far East and the Middle East and the possible consequence flowing from them. Since Ismay also accompanied Churchill and has a more intimate understanding perhaps of our point of view than Eden it would be desirable for you to see him also about this matter.

1. New Delhi, 23 January 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his talks with President Truman on 8 January 1952, Churchill supported the U.S. proposal for a four-power pact between the U.K., the U.S., France and Turkey for the Middle East; stressed the need for sending troops to resolve the Egyptian problem; spoke highly of American fortitude in the Korean War, and said; "...in the Far East ... the role of leader squarely belonged to the United States and the U.K. will do its utmost to meet U.S. views and requests in relation to that area."



## 5. King George VI<sup>1</sup>

Sir, I have to convey sad news to this House. It is with deep regret that I have to inform Hon. Members and you, Sir, that a short while ago, occurred the death of His Majesty King George the Sixth of the United Kingdom. As we all know, he had been unwell for a considerable time but had recently recovered and was recuperating and was in fact thinking of undertaking a voyage to recuperate still further. So the news that came a few minutes ago was in the nature of a surprise and a shock and I am sure that this House will deeply sympathize with her Majesty the Queen, the Princesses and the people of England, with whom the King was so popular. Whatever the views of persons may be here or elsewhere on the question of royalty or republicanism, each country decides for itself; we decided in favour of the republic and we are the Republic of India but it is a significant thing in this world of Republics how the British Royal House has stood firm, firm not in law merely, but firm in the affection of the people of the United Kingdom. All of us who have had any opportunity of visiting England or other parts of the United Kingdom know the extraordinary feelings of affection felt by the people for King George. Therefore, I have no doubt that his death will come as a great sorrow and a shock to them. I would beg of you, Sir, and I would suggest to the House that you might convey to Her Majesty the Queen our deep sorrow at this event and may I also suggest, Sir, that Parliament does not meet tomorrow in view of this happening.

1. Condolence speech in Parliament, 6 February 1952. From *Parliamentary Debates, Official Report*, Vol. I, Pt. II, 5 to 29 February 1952, col. 96.

## 6. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 12401 dated 12th February.<sup>2</sup>

We have given careful consideration to your proposal to issue proclamation.

1. New Delhi, 13 February 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon favoured issuing a proclamation approved by the British Cabinet, along with other Commonwealth countries.

Draft you have sent<sup>3</sup> follows British practice and convention with appropriate variations. This is wholly at variance with Indian practice and is likely to evoke surprise and criticism.

But more important question is desirability of issuing any proclamation. No one here has thought or suggested a proclamation and idea appears entirely novel. It is not at all clear why legislation may become necessary as you suggest. Our adherence to Commonwealth is in nature of an unwritten treaty which continues till it is terminated. Death of a sovereign does not and cannot terminate this association if parties concerned do not take any such step. From our adherence to Commonwealth it also follows that King or Queen is accepted as a symbol as the Head of Commonwealth.

Our Constitution and laws make no reference to this association. All we have done thus far is to pass resolution in Constituent Assembly on 17th May 1949 ratifying declaration made by me and included in official statement issued by Prime Ministers' Conference in London on April 27th 1949.<sup>4</sup>

For us to issue any proclamation would create a precedence—and go beyond the nature of our accepted association with the Commonwealth. I do not understand why anyone should expect such formality on our part on this occasion.

To remove any doubt I made it clear in my personal telegram to the Queen that we accepted her as Head of the Commonwealth. Though personal, this telegram is public property.

Any attempt to raise this issue by proclamation or in Parliament would undoubtedly lead to some opposition however small and a general debate in the country. The grace of the action we take would be lost and a new controversy will start.

As a result of general elections many persons have been returned, Communists, Socialists as well as others, who have openly declared that they

3. The draft read: "We ... with representatives of other members of the Commonwealth ... with the Lord Mayor, Alderman and citizens of London, do now hereby with one voice and consent of tongue and heart publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Princess Elizabeth Alexandra Mary is now... become Queen Elizabeth the Second, by the Grace of God Queen of this realm and of all her other realms and territories, Head of the Commonwealth, Defender of the Faith, to whom Her lineages do acknowledge and Faith and constant obedience — beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Princess Elizabeth the Second with long and happy years to reign over us."
4. The London Declaration issued on 28 April 1949 stated that India, by becoming a Sovereign Independent Republic, would remain in full membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations and would accept the King as the symbol of the free association of its member nations and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth. On 17 May 1949, the Constituent Assembly of India approved of the decision with only one dissenting vote.



will terminate association with Commonwealth. Probably they will raise this issue directly in new Parliament. For us to raise it now would give them immediate opportunity to make it a major issue. Otherwise no great importance will be attached to it.

The fact that other Commonwealth States have issued declaration does not affect us as we stand on an entirely different footing.

Therefore both for constitutional and practical reasons it does not appear to us desirable to issue any proclamation.

## 7. U.K. Nationals in India<sup>1</sup>

I agree with what you suggest.<sup>2</sup> This whole question of protection of British nationals in India in an emergency, indicates, to some extent, the state of mind of the U.K. Government. It is this state of mind that governs their reactions to Kashmir. It is difficult to deal with abnormal conditions of the mind. Evidently the constant shouting and threats of Pakistan have influenced the U.K. Government and they must imagine that there is some danger of conflict with Pakistan. I do not think there is any such danger unless the U.K. Government or the U.S.A. act unwisely and, directly or indirectly, encourage Pakistan.

2. It is open to the U.K. Government to do what they like with their nationals. We can take no cognizance of any plans of theirs in this behalf. We shall consider every situation as it arises.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 14 March 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. G.S. Bajpai had reported that Archibald Nye had suggested that in the event of a war between India and Pakistan the British nationals in India be moved from the troubled areas to selected centres where they could be easily protected and in the last resort evacuated by British ships or aeroplanes.

## 8. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 25th, 1952

My dear Dickie,

... I am asking Krishna to come here about the middle of April for some

1. J.N. Collection. A copy of the letter was sent to Lady Edwina Mountbatten. Extracts.

talks. We shall have talks about many things but my mind is clear that it is desirable to have a change at India House. I am writing to Krishna about it. You are greatly interested in his successor. So am I, as we attach great importance to our London High Commission. I have now decided to send B.G. Kher, who has been Chief Minister in Bombay, to London. Kher is one of our topmost men and I have great respect for him. He is a man of ability and of very high integrity. As you perhaps know, he is rather modest but behind that modesty and lack of assertiveness lies a great deal of character and sterling ability. I think it is much better to send a non-official to London than a service man. Kher is one of our best. He has not kept too good health lately but is well enough now. I hope you would like this choice. For the present and for sometime to come, this will be kept quite secret.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru





**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****I. Bilateral Relations  
(v) China**





## 1. Relations with China and Tibet<sup>1</sup>

Question: There are certain differences outstanding between India and China, on boundary trade, and our Mission at Lhasa.<sup>2</sup> Can you tell us something about it.

Jawaharlal Nehru: They are outstanding only in the sense that they are there. Our boundaries are there and we are having no trouble with our boundary. So far as our mission or trade with Tibet is concerned, our mission is there and our trade continues. It is true that it is desirable to remove any doubt if there is any. In course of time that will be done by friendly talks with the Government of China. They are not coming in the way of anything.

Q: Have you any information that trade to India from Tibet has been diverted to China by almost 80%. I have positive information about it.<sup>3</sup>

JN: There are our trade representatives, and if there is any doubt about it, no doubt it will be solved by friendly talks with the Chinese Government. We talk about trade; it is not so much any particular question but rather what has been happening in Tibet in the last few months. Previously there was a partial stoppage or lessening of trade with India. I have an idea that it is growing again and that things are settling down, but it may well happen, of course, that part of the trade may be diverted; it is quite possible.

About maps, I may tell you something that I have not told you before, and that is this. All the maps used in China at present are very old maps and in fact, we were told by the Chinese Government not to pay the slightest attention to these maps. They are their old maps and they have no time to print them anew; they are simply carrying on with them because they are too busy with other things.

Q: Was there any approach made to the Government or was there any contact with Tibetan traders or some of their representatives who stated

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 3 November 1951. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 3-8, 419-426, 481-482 and 541-546.
2. Consequent upon the Chinese invasion of Tibet in 1950 there were uncertainties in regard to the functions of the Indian mission in Lhasa, awaiting a final settlement of the Sino-Tibetan dispute and India's recognition of Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.
3. A 17-point agreement was arrived at between China and Tibet on 23 May 1951, by virtue of which China established its economic hold over Tibet. A branch of the Bank of China was set up in Lhasa and bulk of the Indo-Tibetan trade was diverted to China.



that if the wool which comes to Tibet is not diverted from India then this trade might flow into India?

JN: I do not remember any such thing. I have no recollection at all of it, and so far as wool is concerned, we absorb it completely and we want much more.

Q: The wool is bought by the Americans.

JN: I do not know.

Q: Is it a fact that the Chinese Cultural Mission has cancelled its visit to Kashmir as a protest against the Kashmir State's decision to give shelter to Kazaks, and if so, may I know if the Government have received any communication from China about it or was there any sort of protest?

JN: We have received no communication from the Government of China. When the Mission came or a day or two before they came,<sup>4</sup> they revised their programme and left out the visit to Kashmir and I believe it had something to do with the Kazaks who had come in, but we have not officially received any protest or anything to that effect.

Q: Have these Kazaks come from Sinkiang or the supposed Russian territory or somewhere?

JN: I do not know really but many of them, I suppose, are from Sinkiang, coming through Tibet.

Q: Has your attention been drawn to a proposal for an Asian Conference under the initiative of China, and if so, what is your attitude towards this?

JN: My attention has not been drawn to that. I have not heard of it.

4. A twenty-one member delegation led by Ting Si-lin arrived at Calcutta on 28 October 1951 and during a month-long tour visited Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh.

## 2. To B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 6, 1951

My dear B.N.,

Panikkar<sup>2</sup> is going to Paris in a day or two and will probably meet you before you get this letter. I am sending him to join your Delegation because I think that his intimate knowledge of the Far Eastern problem, and more particularly of China, should be utilized by us in a wider sphere. Also because I want him to balance his own outlook by having a look at the Western world and meeting people there.

Both China and the U.S. and, to some extent, Western Europe live in worlds apart with little understanding of each other. China at present is cut off from news of the outside world. To some extent this is true of the U.S. and Western Europe in regard to China. And yet what has happened in China is of major consequence in world affairs. Much of the trouble that has happened during the past two years has been due to a lack of appreciation of the emergence of a new great power in the Far East.

Panikkar's visit to the West may help somewhat in making people in the West realize the significance of what is happening in China. I confess I do not have a very high opinion of the collective wisdom of the delegates to the U.N. They function in their own little world and repeat the same jargon without even trying to understand what is happening about them. Still it is possible that some glimmering of understanding might come to them.

I am overwhelmingly busy with the election work at present. But I shall keep in touch with developments in the U.N.

Shaikh Abdullah will probably go to Paris later in the month. One of his deputies might precede him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. B.N. Rau Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. K.M. Panikkar was the Indian Ambassador in China.



### 3. Cable to B.N. Rau<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram No. 3 of 7th November.<sup>2</sup> It would be inconsistent with our policy and past record to vote against proposal for inclusion in the agenda of item on representation of China in United Nations. Even though proposal may be defeated, I think we should vote for it.

1. New Delhi, 8 November 1951. File on the question of admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, p. 34, M.E.A., Government of India.
2. Rau had sought Nehru's advice regarding support for the Soviet proposal on China's entry into the U.N. He felt that since the motion was certain to be defeated if put to vote, it might be judicious to abstain from voting on the motion.

### 4. China and Tibet<sup>1</sup>

Question: What is the position of the Indian Mission in Lhasa?

Jawaharlal Nehru: At present it is exactly the same as it was. It dealt with certain trade and cultural matters more or less. Of course there is not too much trade and it continues to be there. It never had any diplomatic status technically.

Q: Has there been any infiltration of Chinese troops in Tibet?

JN: Not that I am aware of.

...Q: When Sardar Panikkar was here, he told a foreign correspondent that he had brought an invitation to you from the President of the Republic of China, Mao Tse-tung, and that you had received it; he also said it might be possible for you to pay a short visit. Is it possible now?

JN: I have received no formal invitation. But it is true that, informally, I have been informed through our Ambassador in China that a visit of mine to China would be welcomed. I would like to go to China very much, but I am afraid that it is just not possible for me to go in the near future. I do not know about

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 529-530, 557-560 and 643.

the distant future. But we intend sending a cultural mission to China in the course of the next two months or so.<sup>2</sup>

Q: About the cultural mission, how would you select delegates? I am referring to the journalist delegates especially.

JN: We could hardly have a plebiscite for the purpose!

Q: There are two recognized organizations of journalists. One is wider than the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, and that is the Federation of Working Journalists. Would you allow them to come into the picture?

JN: I do not know about this particular matter. But obviously the Union of Working Journalists is a representative and important body.

2. A delegation of fourteen members headed by Vijayalakshmi Pandit left for China on 26 April 1952.

## 5. Cable to K.M. Panikkar<sup>1</sup>

I have been following with anxious interest recent developments in Korea and China<sup>2</sup> and have seen telegrams you have sent. The position now created is an exceedingly dangerous one and, unless something is done to improve it, might well lead to the world war which we all dread and wish to avoid.

2. I realize that in the state of present excitement and passion, any kind of intervention by a third party is not likely to produce results and might even lead to irritation. Nevertheless, the issues are so grave that it seems improper to remain quiescent and not to make an effort to stop this drift to catastrophe. How best this is to be done it is for you to consider. You may yourself make another approach or Vijayalakshmi, when she goes to Peking next month, might do so, or both courses might be adopted.

1. New Delhi, 17 March 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. In February 1952, negotiations for a truce in Korea had reached a stage where an agreement seemed plausible. But soon the talks broke down following the Chinese allegation that the United States had taken recourse to bacteriological warfare in areas under North Korean control.



3. Chinese charges<sup>3</sup> against Americans are of the most serious nature and if true they are horrible indeed. I find it exceedingly difficult to believe that any country can be guilty of them. Americans deny them completely and ask for an impartial investigation.<sup>4</sup> In such a case it is clear that any opinion of one side only or a unilateral denunciation cannot possibly convince others. A repetition of denunciation by partisan organizations does not add to the truth or value of evidence. I can understand insistence on impartiality of investigation but to deny any investigation, except one's own, is the surest way of making others doubt the validity of the charge.

4. This new development is likely to put an end to all chances of ceasefire in Korea. There can then be no question of settling any issue in the Far East, including that of Formosa, by peaceful methods. War thus becomes inevitable with all its dreadful and uncertain consequences.

5. It is perfectly true that there are groups in America who continue to support publicly Chiang Kai-shek and who talk of invasion of China. It is equally true that powerful elements in America are entirely opposed to this policy and would like Chiang Kai-shek to fade out of the picture. Unfortunately the approach of the American Presidential election makes it difficult for the U.S. Government and others to take up a stronger line which they might otherwise have done. I am myself convinced that the U.S. Government is anxious to avoid war and will go far to find some way of settlement in Far East. If once fighting ceased in Korea, the way would be opened for better understanding and Chiang Kai-shek would die a natural political death. The U.K. Government, in spite of Tory diehards, is anxious for settlement in Far East. The question therefore is whether we should seek peaceful settlement or take a step which plays into hands of diehards and makes large-scale conflict inevitable.

6. For your information I might inform you that we have had long talks with U.S. Ambassador here, Chester Bowles, and Mrs Roosevelt, both of whom are earnestly desirous of good relations between China and America.

7. It appears essential therefore from every point of view that charges of bacteriological warfare should be independently investigated. To refuse this cannot possibly be to the advantage of China in the eyes of large parts of the world which are friendly to China. The method of impartial investigation can be considered. Possibly both parties or China and the U.N., can name some

3. The Chinese Government had alleged that between 25 February and 5 March 1952, 448 U.S. planes had flown over Manchuria causing germ-warfare.

4. On 4 March 1952, the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson stated that the Chinese allegations were 'entirely false' and sought impartial investigation by an international agency such as the Red Cross.

experts and the Chairman can be chosen by the nominees of the two sides. If Peking has evidence,<sup>5</sup> it should not hesitate to have such an investigation.

8. I see no other way. Certainly war will not prove anything or solve anything and can only bring terrible disaster to all concerned. Prestige counts with nations but right action and the goodwill of the world are more important and indeed enhance prestige. There can be no possible loss of prestige by agreeing to a proper impartial investigation.

9. If such investigation supports charges put forward by Chinese Government, that would strengthen Chinese position tremendously and would be a greater victory than any war or one-sided denunciation can possibly bring. Even the people of America will be powerfully influenced. Not to have such an investigation would mean continuance of doubt and uncertainty and a feeling among large numbers of people that the right course was not taken and thereby a third world war was precipitated. I am sure that China with her intense desire for peace cannot possibly want such a result.

10. I leave it to you to deal with the situation in view of what I have said above. We have often hesitated to intervene lest we be misunderstood. But the risks are too great and I feel that the Chinese Government should realize fully how we feel and what the possible consequences might be.

5. *The People's Daily*, Beijing, of 15 March 1952 published photographs allegedly claiming to prove germ warfare. On the same day, Beijing Radio announced that a Commission of 70 persons headed by the President, Chinese Red Cross Society had found ample proof in support of their allegation of use of germ warfare in North-East China and Korea.

## 6. Cable to K.M. Panikkar<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 73 dated March 19th.<sup>2</sup> I note that you intend taking early opportunity of talking to Chou En-lai. I think that it is desirable for you to convey to him then my own deep interest in the matter on the lines indicated

1. New Delhi, 20 March 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. Panikkar had conveyed the Chinese suspicion regarding enquiry by any neutral body sponsored by the United States, since they believed that "all Europeans are prejudiced and unneutral" with regard to China. Recognizing the validity of the argument that it was necessary to set up an enquiry by a reputed neutral body, the Chinese Government had proposed to secure the services of International Democratic Lawyers' Association. Panikkar, suggested as an alternative, a body of scientists of known integrity, selected from the U.S.S.R. and Britain, to go into the matter.



in my previous telegram.<sup>3</sup> I am anxious that whatever attitude the Chinese Government take up should appear as reasonable and justifiable by independent neutral opinion. I am afraid that organizations you suggest are not considered independent by most of those people just as Chinese do not consider Europeans as neutral. But surely it should be possible to find neutrals whom the Chinese Government can accept. They may be scientists or others. They may be non-Europeans or they can be a mixed commission partly nominated by China as suggested in paragraph 7 of my previous telegram. Lawyers are hardly competent to judge a question of science. To reject *ab initio* proposal of neutral commission seems unreasonable. I can understand personnel being discussed or varied.

2. Your approach to Chou En-lai should be informal but I think it is desirable that you should indicate to him how I feel in the matter.

3. See the preceding item.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS**  
**I. Bilateral Relations**  
**(vi) Korea**





## 1. Korea, Germany and Disarmament<sup>1</sup>

I have a sense of unreality when I consider this disarmament problem<sup>2</sup> and yet it is the most vital problem of the day. I remember, in the late twenties, the League of Nations grappling with disarmament. They appointed a Preparatory Commission which laboured for years and produced large books. Then the real commission came into existence and had prolonged discussions. These gradually faded out as Hitler came on the scene. I happened to be in Geneva for much of the time when this disarmament discussions were taking place. I was interested in them and found that always they landed one in some kind of a cul-de-sac.

2. At the present moment, with the Korean war going on and with overmastering fear on both sides and a race for armaments, there appears to be not a ghost of a chance of anything being done in this connection. At the same time, if nothing is done, how is the vicious circle to be broken? I confess I do not know. But not to do anything and wait passively for some inevitable disaster, is obviously wrong.

3. The first step, I think, must be a ceasefire in Korea.<sup>3</sup> It seems to me that this is bound to come, but will probably be delayed till near the end of the U.N. General Assembly for various reasons. However, any proposal must begin with the ceasefire in Korea. We need not go into the details of this as to what the line of ceasefire should be.

4. I do not have before me the Three-Power Declaration<sup>4</sup> in detail.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 13 November 1951. J.N. Collection.
2. The post-war rivalry between the great powers led to an alarming increase in the arms race in which countries like U.S.A., U.S.S.R., China, West Germany, France and U.K. between themselves accounted for 95 per cent of world expenditure on armaments. Negotiations for disarmament under the U.N. auspices had failed to stop the race.
3. Though the negotiations for a ceasefire in Korea began in July 1951, it was only on 27 November that the U.N. and the communist forces agreed on a ceasefire line only if armistice were signed within 30 days. Despite an extension of this time limit, both sides failed to agree with regard to the exchange of prisoners, repair of air-fields during the armistice, and the personnel for the final negotiations.
4. This declaration made by the U.S.A., the U.K. and France proposed: (i) an international inventory and check on armaments through a process of disclosure and verification on a continuing basis; (ii) disarmament to an agreed level; (iii) prohibition of atomic weapons, and (iv) creation of adequate measures of safeguards. This proposal was formally submitted to the U.N. Disarmament Commission on 20 May 1952.



Vyshinsky's proposal<sup>5</sup> should not be rejected out of hand. But part of it certainly is pure propaganda and it is perfectly clear that the Western Powers can never accept it as it is. However, it would be wrong to rule out either of the proposals and both should be considered. If there is any earnestness, the propaganda element will drop out and the real core will remain.

5. Apart from Korea, the German situation will prevent any reduction of armaments. It appears to be generally agreed that Germany should be united. But each party wants a united Germany to side with it and would like almost a guarantee to this effect. There can be no absolute guarantee and some risks have to be taken. I should imagine that the risks that the Western Powers need take in the matter are not great.

6. A programme for peace must therefore begin with a ceasefire in Korea and discussions for the settlement both of the Far Eastern question and that of Germany. It is clear that in these discussions, in so far as the Far East is concerned, the People's Government of China must participate. It would of course be by far the best course for China to be made a member of the U.N. But this need not be brought up in this way in connection with a peaceful settlement or disarmament. But it must be made clear that China must participate in the discussions.

7. A reduction and limitation of armaments must necessarily be a part of the objective aimed at. I think it would be a good thing if, as a part of the general plan, it is stated that part of the vast sums that are being spent on armaments should be diverted to improving economic conditions in various countries and more especially in the development of under-developed countries. This would be in the nature of a hope and a general direction and need not be more specifically described.

8. I do not think that we need mention India or Canada or any other country in this connection, though it is obviously desirable to have some other powers associated with the so-called Big Five. We might merely say that two or three countries should be associated with them. If we are invited to do so, we shall agree. But this need not be mentioned at this stage.

9. A general declaration aiming at a peaceful settlement of problems and real limitation of armaments should not, to begin with, go into details. It is true that a vague declaration does not carry us far. Nevertheless, it has an

5. On 8 November 1951, Andrei Vyshinsky, the Soviet Foreign Minister, presented to UN a five-point proposal to control the arms race: (i) a declaration by the UN prohibiting establishment of American military bases; (ii) cessation of hostilities in Korea; (iii) withdrawal of all foreign troops and voluntary detachments from Korea; (iv) convening of an international conference before June 1952 to discuss the reduction and control of armaments and atomic weapons; and (v) a peace pact for joint action between the United States, Soviet Union, France, Britain and China.

advantage because it raises controversial issues less and it does produce a certain atmosphere for further progress.

10. In regard to armaments, I agree to an approach on the lines indicated by Mr. Zachariah's<sup>6</sup> note, last paragraph. But U.N. supervision as such will not be agreed to because of the distrust of the U.N. by the Soviet and China. Therefore, the supervision will have to be by an *ad hoc* body created by the five or more Powers, to which both major parties agree.

11. To say that atomic weapons should be totally prohibited is desirable, but unrealistic. We should say that such weapons should be immediately limited and put under international control with a view to that prohibition.

12. It is desirable to have a conference as suggested by Vyshinsky and also to aim at a peace pact, as suggested in Vyshinsky's fifth point.

13. This note is rather discursive and has been dictated in a hurry at a late hour. But it will give you some idea of how I am thinking. You might send a suitable telegram to B.N. Rau to sound the various parties and then report to us. We can then perhaps formulate our proposals more definitely.

6. Kuruvila Zachariah was the Additional Secretary and Director of Historical Research, Ministry of External Affairs at this time.

## 2. Troops to Korea<sup>1</sup>

Our policy in regard to this matter is perfectly clear and if anything, it is firmer than it was previously. There can be no question of our sending any troops to Korea even for patrol duty. If there is an intensification of the conflict in Korea, this will be a tragedy. But that will be no reason why we should change our policy. Apart from Government's views in this matter, public opinion is strongly opposed to this. There is no necessity for the matter to be reconsidered by the Cabinet.

In the event of an armistice taking place, our future policy will depend on the then existing circumstances. It will, in any event, logically flow from our present policy.

Since you have already had a talk with the Ambassador, it is not necessary for you to send for him to discuss this matter again. But if he raises it, then we have to state our policy clearly and politely.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 11 December 1951. J.N. Collection.



### 3. The Red Cross and Korea<sup>1</sup>

I thank you for your message dated the 6th March<sup>2</sup> to which I have given the most careful consideration. Since the North Korean authorities and Chinese volunteers have not responded favourably to Your Excellency's repeated attempts to persuade them to accept the assistance of the International Committee, I doubt whether the suggestion that they accept the Indian Red Cross to perform the work of coordination referred to in paragraph 6<sup>3</sup> of your message would be acceptable to them. In my opinion, it would be best to await the result of the proposal apparently put forward by the U.N. representatives at Panmunjon that the services required from the Red Cross in repatriation and exchange of prisoners of war after the signature of the armistice and its coming into effect should be the responsibility of mixed commissions, composed of representatives of National Red Cross Societies of both sides. If this proposal is accepted and both parties invite the Indian Red Cross to perform the work of coordination, I shall have such a request sympathetically examined. I should like to warn Your Excellency, however, that limitation of personnel may prove a real obstacle in the way of our performing such a function.

1. Message to Paul J. Ruegger, President of the International Committee of the Red Cross, New Delhi, 15 March 1952. J.N. Collection.
2. Ruegger had sought Nehru's views regarding the use of the services of the Indian Red Cross to coordinate on behalf of the ICRC in the repatriation and exchange of prisoners of war after the signing of the armistice in Korea.
3. Ruegger had stated that China and Korea had agreed to the proposal that coordination work regarding repatriation and exchange of prisoners of war be taken up by a mixed commission comprising representatives of the National Red Cross societies of both sides.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****I. Bilateral Relations****(vii) Burma**





1. To Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 6, 1951

My dear Thakin Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd November.<sup>2</sup> I am very happy to learn that your journeys in India were comfortable and that you could fulfil the purpose for which they were undertaken.

I have read your letter to your Ambassador in Karachi.<sup>3</sup> A few days ago, in the course of a press conference, I suggested a non-aggression pact to Pakistan.<sup>4</sup> Therefore any proposal to this effect is welcome to me. Obviously a non-aggression pact cannot exclude an area on which aggression can take place. I say this because in previous correspondence with Pakistan, it was suggested that Kashmir should be kept out of any such arrangement. That is patently absurd.

I am quite sure that a real non-aggression pact between India and Pakistan would be a great achievement for all of us. The inclusion of Burma in any such pact would be very welcome indeed. Normally, I think that such pacts are entered into by two countries. But this is a matter of arrangement.

The larger the area of non-aggression, the better. If Indonesia agrees to such a pact, I would be happy. But an attempt to include Indonesia might delay matters.

Such a pact has to be simple and should not enter into any complicated matters. As I have already made a direct suggestion to Pakistan, it would be desirable to await their answer before any other step is taken by you or me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The Burmese Premier had thanked Nehru for the attention, kindness and hospitality shown to him during his visit to India.

3. Thakin Nu had asked the Burmese Ambassador in Karachi to initiate a proposal for a non-aggression pact between India, Pakistan and Burma.

4. See *ante*, p. 425.



## 2. To M.A. Rauf<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 27, 1952

My dear Rauf,

Your telegram No. 17 dated 26th January to Dutt.<sup>2</sup>

I find that a number of British newspaper correspondents are, whether intentionally or not I do not know, creating a lot of mischief. The other day *The Statesman* here published a report about the Chinese claiming Badrinath in the Himalayas.<sup>3</sup> This was telegraphed to London and appeared in the British papers. Leading articles were written about it. We contradicted it of course, but the mischief was done.

This story of Badrinath was fantastic in the extreme. No one with any knowledge could give credence to it. How a responsible paper can publish such a ridiculous story, we cannot understand. *The Statesman* said that they had received the message from a correspondent in Kalimpong. Kalimpong is notorious for its spies of all kinds and all countries. It is a factory of rumour.

I am mentioning this because I was reminded of this when I learnt of the *London Observer* correspondent sending a message from Rangoon about the K.M.T. troops. This kind of message obviously does some harm to Burma's cause. Whether it is deliberately meant to do so or not, I do not know. There seems to be an attempt to create trouble between India and China and Burma and China.

It might be worthwhile for you to draw the attention of the Burmese Ministers rather informally to this aspect. One of them or their officials might well send for the newspaper correspondent in question and tell him that such wrong messages are very objectionable. Even a warning might have some effect.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Rauf, Indian ambassador in Burma, reported that according to Burmese sources, though there was no indication of reinforcement of Kuomintang troops in Burma, there had been persistent rumours of supplies being brought to them. He added that Burma had reinforced its troops in the Shan states to counter further trouble.

3. It was reported in the press that Tibet had claimed the Badrinath shrine in the Himalayas as a part of its territory. On 17 January 1952, the Ministry of External Affairs in a statement described the report as not only 'totally incorrect' but 'fantastic'.

### 3. To Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 27, 1952

My dear Thakin Nu,

Our Ambassador in Rangoon informed me that you would like Sardar Panikkar to break his journey in Rangoon on his way back to Peking. I have gladly agreed to this and am asking Panikkar to do so. He will be proceeding direct from Rangoon to Peking.

During Panikkar's stay here we have of course discussed with him many matters concerning the relations of India with China. These relations are friendly and I believe it is the desire of the Chinese Government, as it is our desire, to continue to maintain them in as friendly a manner as possible. Inevitably, owing to new developments in Tibet and elsewhere a number of points arise for discussion and determination. These are, however not such as are likely to create any difficulty and we hope to arrive at conclusions which are mutually satisfactory. I hope that this may lead to a settlement of many outstanding questions between Burma and China.

All these problems have of course to be viewed in the larger context of a developing world situation. I fear there has been no improvement in that situation either in the Far East or in Europe. All that can be said is that there is no near prospect of big scale war, but the acute tensions continue and the respective viewpoints of the two big blocs of power appear to be irreconcilable. More and more it becomes clear that the general policy, which Burma and India have adopted, of keeping free from entanglements is a sound one. This is not always easy to pursue and we have constantly to face difficult decisions. But there is no sound alternative to this policy and I have no doubt that we should continue to pursue it.

We sent Panikkar to the General Assembly of the United Nations and this enabled him to gain an insight into the Western area of conflict. This largely centres round the future of Germany and the question of rearmament. Thus both in Germany and Japan the question of rearmament becomes an important and highly explosive issue.

Some days ago an item of news appeared in the British press about the renewed activities of the Kuomintang troops on the Burma-China border. We referred this matter to our Ambassador in Rangoon. In his reply he has stated that no new development has recently taken place although of course the whole position continues to be unsatisfactory and your Government is paying full attention to it. In this connection I should like to draw your attention to

1. J.N. Collection.



the way some foreign correspondents send messages to their papers which are sometimes devoid of foundation and often grossly exaggerated. What their purpose is I do not know. I am inclined to think that they want to create trouble between India and China or Burma and China. We have had one fantastic message like this which appeared in one of the Delhi papers. There is no truth in it but it was flashed across to the U.K. and U.S.A. and there were leading articles about it.

I think that when any such message appears the newspaper correspondent should be pulled up. If it is a serious matter even the Ambassador concerned might be told about it.

As you must know, we have been in the midst of our general elections which have been on a colossal scale. The number of voters on our rolls were about 175 millions. The organization itself was on a vast scale. On the whole these elections have been conducted efficiently and peacefully. The results will not be complete for some weeks to come. Probably in another two weeks' time we shall know the picture. This has been a very big democratic experiment, bigger than any held elsewhere at any time. Much has happened during the elections which has not been to our liking and we shall have to give serious thought to many matters. So far as our Central Parliament is concerned, there is little doubt that we shall have a very considerable majority. Difficulties however will arise in some of our States.

The one big lesson of these elections has been that it is essential for intimate contacts to be kept up between the Government and the people. I am afraid that during the last three or four years we did not pay enough attention to this matter.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours very sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 10, 1952

My dear Thakin Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 31st January, which I have read with great interest. I have also read the two notes which you have sent.

1. J.N. Collection.

I can assure you that in the great task you have set before yourself you will receive all the cooperation and the moral support that we can give. As a Government, we have claimed ourselves to be secular. That of course does not mean that we ignore religion, but rather than having to do with many religions, the Government does not specially favour any one of them. We have however undertaken the proper examination and publication of many old texts and we shall be happy to cooperate with you in this work of careful revision and publication of old Buddhist texts.

Apart from the work that is being done by some institutes and universities, important work has been started recently at Nagpur by a good scholar, Dr Raghu Vira,<sup>2</sup> who has got into touch with a number of famous Sanskrit and Pali scholars in Europe and elsewhere. He went to Indonesia some months ago to collect manuscripts etc. President Soekarno was very kind to him and he has brought back with him a large collection of Indonesian manuscripts, some of which no doubt deal with Buddhism.

I would of course gladly meet any of your Ministers who come here but I would suggest that they might defer their visit for some time. At present political and other developments in India, consequent on the general elections, are imposing a very great burden on me and my colleagues. There is going to be a new Government soon here and new Governments in our twenty and more States. New problems have arisen. We have to appoint new Governors, a number of new Ministries and, above all, we have to finalize our five year programme. We are also having important visitors from abroad who take up a lot of time. There is a group from the International Bank and Mrs Roosevelt is coming here a little later.

I would suggest that it would help the consideration by us of the problem you have before you for some correspondence to be carried on between your scholars and ours. That would somewhat clarify matters and as a first step would be useful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. A Sanskrit scholar and founder of the International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur.



## 5. To Thakin Nu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 10, 1952

My dear Thakin Nu,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st February. I am glad that Panikkar was able to meet you and your colleagues and to give you his impressions. He has got a very clear mind and is a good observer. His historical background helps him to see things in perspective.

Our general elections are approaching their end. Actually they will not end till the end of this month, but the position is fairly clear. In our Central Parliament, we shall have a considerable majority. In most of the States also we shall have a good majority. In the South, however, we have done rather badly. Two major results of these elections are: (1) the defeat of communal parties by the Congress in northern India and (2) the emergence of the Communist Party in some of our Legislatures, notably in the South. Our politics will now become a little more dynamic because of opposition parties and specially the Communists coming into the field. We shall have plenty of difficulties in some of the States. But from the all-India point of view, there is going to be no change in our policy, specially in regard to foreign affairs.

The international position, though not explosive at present, continues to be full of dangerous possibilities. There is really no move towards peace though the probability of a ceasefire in Korea is encouraging. But there are many hurdles in the way.

The recent publication of the Japanese Prime Minister Yoshida's<sup>2</sup> letter to Dulles,<sup>3</sup> in which he said that he would recognize the Kuomintang in Formosa, created a big stir. Indeed it gave the impression of some underhand dealing somewhere. The U.K. Government was upset by it. Eden,<sup>4</sup> when in Washington was not told anything about it and naturally they were perturbed at this development. It is even said that Dulles' letter, though written after the Eden meeting, was ante-dated. How far this is true I do not know. But there can be no doubt that all this has produced a bad impression. I fear that both Dulles and Yoshida have overplayed their hand.

The recognition by the Japanese Government of the Kuomintang Government is an additional hurdle in the way of peace in the Far East. So long as the parties concerned, i.e. the U.S.A. and China, think in terms of and prepare fully for war in the Far East, the situation will remain very difficult.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Shigeru Yoshida.

3. John F. Dulles, the U.S. representative, was authorized to finalize a peace treaty with Japan.

4. Anthony Eden was the British Foreign Secretary at this time.

In Korea the position has been increasingly difficult for the U.S. and the U.N. It is probably because of this pressure that the ceasefire is being agreed to.

We have recently had reports of conversations between our representative and the Chinese Foreign Minister in Peking. In the course of these talks, he expressed great friendliness for India and also expressed his strong desire for friendly relations with all the countries of South East Asia. But he said that he felt some apprehension about increasing American influence in Burma and Indonesia. He referred to the activities of Kuomintang troops on the Burma border. Our representative pointed out your Government's difficulties and your desire to be rid of these troops. In fact that your forces were carrying out operations against them.

Our own information is that both the U.K. and the U.S.A. Governments are much concerned about these Kuomintang troops on the Burma border. But there appears little doubt that some American adventurers are sending supplies to them through Siam and with the secret connivance of some high officials in Siam. This is a very paying business as smuggling usually is. It is possible that some of these supplies come from Formosa. I think that the U.S. Government is seriously concerned about this and has tried to stop it but with no great success thus far.

I do not think that the Chinese Government will take any aggressive step in this matter unless the situation develops to their disadvantage. So long as they know that you are opposed to these Kuomintang troops and are trying to get rid of them, they will remain quiescent.

When your representative comes back from the U.N., he will no doubt give you full information about the trends of events at the U.N.

I am overburdened with work. As a result of the general elections all kinds of new problems have to be faced by us.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. Kuomintang Troops in Burma<sup>1</sup>

Question: Have you received any official representation or information

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 557-560 and 643.



from the Burma Government about the presence of K.M.T. troops in Burma, and, if so, what is your attitude to it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are in frequent touch with the Government of Burma on many matters. We are not only friendly in the normal sense of the word, but, if I may say so, somewhat more friendly. Therefore, matters have to be discussed between the Governments—between our Ambassador with that Government and their Ambassador with our Government—and among the matters that have been repeatedly referred to us as a matter of information or discussion has been the presence of the Kuomintang troops in the north—east of Burma. It is obvious that the presence of those troops there is a matter of grave concern to the Government of Burma. The presence of any foreign troops is a matter of concern; more especially the presence of Kuomintang troops, because there is always a danger of other types of conflicts on the border so long as those troops are there. You will remember that the Formosa Government or the Kuomintang Government is not recognized by the Government of Burma.

Q: The Kuomintang Government have told the Government of Burma that the troops did not belong to the Formosa Government?

JN: I imagine so. These are some individuals, some fools, who are misbehaving. If any troops come to India, they will get a short shrift. Foreign troops in a country are never tolerated and they should be pushed out into the sea or mountains or anywhere else. Any Government will do that. Anybody who supports them will get into trouble.

Q: It is learnt that these troops in Burma are being supplied arms by a power other than the Formosa Government. Would you say these reports are correct?

JN: Yes, I have seen some such reports. They have been denied.<sup>2</sup> And I think, so far as I know other countries—and I shall mention them—countries like the United States of America, and the United Kingdom, are worried about the presence of the Kuomintang troops in north-east Burma and it causes them concern. They are worried. But I do not think any governmental assistance has been given or is likely to be given. I believe, there has been possibly smuggling by individuals and others. Who they are, I don't know.

Q: Will that issue be taken to the Security Council?

JN: It is for the Government of Burma to decide.

2. On 23 October 1951, at a press conference in Calcutta, Thakin Nu had denied that the Kuomintang troops in Burma were being aided by any foreign powers.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****I. Bilateral Relations****(viii) Union of South Africa**





## 1. To K.G. Mashruwala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 15, 1952

My dear Kishorelalbhai,<sup>2</sup>

... There is a big question in Africa now of the relations of Africans and Indians. I am quite clear that we must cooperate with each other and that Indians must put African interests first. I am also clear that any resort to violence will be harmful.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Editor of *Harijan* and other Navjivan group of publications, 1948-52.

## 2. A Joint Struggle<sup>1</sup>

As a Government, of course, we should not say anything about the proposed joint struggle of the Africans and Indians in South Africa. That is a matter for non-official bodies here to take up, if they wish to do so.

But the Government of India should not and cannot remain quiescent. I think it would be desirable for our representatives in Washington and London specially to be asked to make some representations on this subject as suggested by Secretary, C.R.

It is also desirable for us to give some facts to the press and suggest to them that they might write on this subject.

Secretary, C.R., might draft a brief note containing facts which would help the press. I should like to have a copy of that note for other purposes also.

We should take up a definite attitude of full sympathy with the Africans and there should be no element of patronage about it. Indeed, we should say that in Africa, African interests must come first.

1. Note to Secretary-General and Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, 16 March 1952. J.N. Collection.



### 3. The Situation in South Africa<sup>1</sup>

The All India Congress Committee deeply regrets that the Union Government of South Africa have rejected the direction of the General Assembly of the United Nations regarding the steps to be taken to settle the problem of persons of Indian origin in South Africa, and have continued to implement ruthlessly its policy of apartheid. Both in the administrative and legislative spheres fresh disabilities, hardships and indignities have been imposed on the non-white population of the Union, including Indians. For many years past, the Government of India have endeavoured to find an honourable way for a settlement of this problem in South Africa. All these attempts have, however, failed because of the attitude of the South African Union Government, which has consistently ignored the decisions of the United Nations. The Group Areas Act<sup>2</sup> introduces complete segregation in the whole of the Union and envisages the uprooting of thousands of non-whites, particularly Indians, from their settled localities. Its chief aim is the liquidation of the Indian community in South Africa. Other legislations<sup>3</sup> are also based on racial discrimination and the domination of a relatively small racial minority at the cost of the great majority of the population of the country.

2. The policy of the South African Government is a challenge to, and a defiance of, the Charter of the United Nations and the principles governing Human Rights which the United Nations have laid down. The Government and the people of India can never accept any policy based on racial discrimination. They have endeavoured and will continue to endeavour to find a peaceful settlement in consonance with the basic principles for which they stand and on which the United Nations Organisation has been built up. Defiance of these principles must lead to racial conflict on a vast scale.

3. The A.I.C.C. welcomes the decision of the Supreme Court of South Africa declaring the South African Government's Act placing coloured voters

1. This resolution was drafted by Nehru and adopted at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Calcutta on 22 March 1952. File No. G-14C/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Passed in 1950, this Act sought to empower the Government to create racial zones in urban areas in which members of a particular racial group could have exclusive rights of occupancy, ownership and trade.
3. For example, the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951.

on a separate electoral roll to be invalid.<sup>4</sup> The Committee trusts that the South African Union Government will, in view of this high judicial decision, put an end to their policy of segregation.

4. The A.I.C.C. expresses its full sympathy with the people of Africa who suffer under degrading and discriminatory racial laws and whose progress is impeded by administrative and other measures. The Committee welcomes the cooperation of Africans and Indians in not submitting to such legislative and administrative measures which condemn them to servitude. The Committee, however, trusts that both Indians and Africans will pursue peaceful and non-violent methods.

5. The Committee is of opinion that the interests of the Africans must have first place in Africa and Indians must not in any way associate themselves with the exploitation of Africans or seek any privilege at the cost of the Africans.

4. The Separate Representation of Voters Act of 1951 provided for the enrolment of the minority 'coloured' community in a separate electoral list. On 20 March 1952, the Appellate Division of the South African Supreme Court in Bloemfontein struck it down as 'invalid'.

#### **4. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>**

We have addressed you from time to time on the treatment of persons of Indian origin in South Africa. This question has been debated in the General Assembly year after year and many resolutions have been passed. The Assembly has taken the view that (a) measures of discrimination constitute a violation of the Charter, and (b) negotiations for settling the dispute between South Africa and India cannot be carried out successfully if discriminatory laws such as the Group Areas Act continue to be enforced.

2. South Africa has of course declined to accept the Assembly's resolutions as a basis for negotiations. She has refused to suspend or to slow down the execution of discriminatory laws. On the contrary, while the Assembly has been making these recommendations year after year, the South African Government, especially since the advent to power of Malan's Nationalist Party,<sup>2</sup>

1. New Delhi, 27 March 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Daniel F. Malan's Nationalist Party came to power in 1948 and was largely responsible for following a policy of apartheid to protect the interests of the ruling white minority.



has been deliberately building up a social and political structure based on doctrines of apartheid. In practice this means the segregation of Indians and Africans as inferior peoples, the denial to them of citizenship and other human rights and their reduction to a state of subjection to a dominant white minority.

3. Full details of apartheid laws have been sent to you from time to time. A press note (being sent by originator under separate endorsement) we are issuing here is enclosed for ready reference. Our attitude towards these laws has been made clear in Assembly debates. It is our view that (a) no negotiations with South Africa can take place except on the basis of Assembly's resolutions, which means that Group Areas Act must be suspended while negotiations are in progress; (b) discrimination and denial of rights will not be acquiesced in by Indians and Africans and apartheid will inevitably lead to racial conflict in South Africa; (c) it is not likely that this conflict will remain confined to South Africa; it will spread to other parts of Africa where racial patterns are broadly the same as in South Africa; (d) if the victims of these racial policies are driven in defence of their rights to launch a movement of defiance of laws which have been condemned by world opinion, though South Africa refuses to modify them, there is bound to be a sympathetic response in India and in many other countries where deep resentment has been aroused by humiliations imposed on non-whites; (e) although debates in the Assembly have been confined to rights of Indian community, this question has to be seen against background of discrimination against non-whites in general; no special privilege can be claimed or is being claimed for Indians; the demand which India is supporting is for equal rights and opportunities for all classes of citizens, whether African, European or Indian. There is special emphasis on African rights since Africans are not only the original inhabitants of the country, but are also the worst sufferers from South Africa's racial policies.

4. During the last few weeks new developments have taken place. First, South Africa has once again rejected the Assembly's resolution.<sup>3</sup> This resolution, which was adopted during the last session of the Assembly calls upon (a) the South African Government to suspend implementation of Group Areas Act pending conclusion of negotiations with India and (b) all three Governments to nominate representatives on a Commission which will help them to carry through appropriate negotiations. Since South Africa has rejected the resolution, India and Pakistan have declared that nomination of their joint representative will serve no useful purpose. As required by terms of resolution, Secretary General, United Nations, is considering an alternative proposal for appointment of an individual in his discretion to discharge duties assigned to the commission.

5. Another development is that one of the discriminatory laws, viz., the Separate Representation of Voters Act which has been the subject of much

3. The U.N. General Assembly passed this resolution on 12 January 1952.

controversy has been declared invalid by the Supreme Court. The Act was directed against the small community of "coloured". It did not affect Indians or Africans. Nevertheless, it formed an integral part of apartheid legislation and Supreme Court's ruling though not touching merits of legislation, has been welcomed by progressive opinion. This does not, however, mean that apartheid laws are likely to be modified as a result of this ruling. On the contrary, Malan has indicated that steps will be taken to curtail the powers of Supreme Court and that the Act in question and other apartheid laws will be retained on Statute Book and will be strictly enforced. Opposition from other European groups to Malan centres on constitutional issue affecting Supreme Court's powers. No important European group has questioned merits of apartheid laws.

6. The third development is the most important of all. In the past there has been little cooperation between Indians, Africans and Coloureds. The White community has exploited their differences and has reduced all three to the position they are in today. A change is now taking place. There is a growing sense of unity among leaders of the three communities. A common danger and humiliation has brought them closer together. Last December, leaders of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress and the Franchise Action Council representing important sections of Africans, Indians and Coloured met in Bloemfontein and drew up a plan of civil resistance involving defiance of apartheid laws by peaceful and non-violent means. This plan is to take effect from April 6, or Van Riebeeck Day,<sup>4</sup> which has been declared by the South African Government as a day of celebration to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the arrival in South Africa of White Colonists. The leaders of the three non-white groups have announced that since for their own peoples White rule has meant "colonial and imperialist exploitation which has degraded, humiliated and kept in bondage the vast masses of our peoples", they will organize counter demonstrations of protest on April 6. Malan's answer is that he will make full use of Government machinery to quell any "disturbances" and to deal adequately with the leaders if there is any "campaign of defiance and disobedience to the Government". The leaders of the movement have not been deterred by this threat. They have announced that "as a defenceless and voteless people" they have been left with no alternative but to embark on this campaign and that they will do so in a peaceful manner; if there are any disturbances they will not be of their making.

4. Jan Van Riebeeck, a Dutch East India Company official, had established a victualling station in the Table Bay in the Cape and this grew into the first European settlement in South Africa.



7. The stage is thus set for a conflict between the races in South Africa. Whatever may be the final outcome, the immediate effect can only be increase of tension, bitterness and hostility between whites and non-whites. This may be regarded as an internal matter by the South African Government but it will have wide repercussions, as stated in paragraph three. We cannot, therefore, remain silent. While recognizing that conditions in Africa are difficult and that the living side by side of peoples of many races at varying stages of development creates points of conflict, it has been our hope and endeavour to help in reducing this conflict by supporting efforts to build up a cooperative multi-racial society. South Africa's objective, on the other hand, is a society based not on partnership or co-operation, but on the subjection of one race to another. There is thus a clash of objectives and the conflict has taken a dangerous turn involving a threat to peace and cooperation between the races. This threat must sooner or later react on the peace of the world. Because of these larger considerations, I would like you to convey to the U.K. Government at earliest opportunity our views on this subject and to express the hope that it may be possible for them, even at this late stage, to exert all their influence with the South African Government in order (a) to ensure that civil resistance, if launched in April, is so handled as not to intensify antagonism and conflict between the races, and (b) to bring about some change in South Africa's racial policies which, in view of the tensions they have given rise to in Africa's multi-racial societies, are injuring the cause of world peace.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### II. Other Countries





## 1. Egypt and the Suez Canal Crisis<sup>1</sup>

Question: Could you say something about the problems in Egypt since you have it on the agenda?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, there are many approaches to this problem, and whether it is Egypt or other developments in the Middle East our earnest desire has been throughout that they should be settled both peacefully and recognizing the national aspirations, which are quite natural, of the countries concerned. Therefore one should not express oneself forcibly in a way which might come in the way of that kind of settlement. Naturally our sympathies are with national aspirations and what we see today in that part of Asia—call it the Middle East or Western Asia or Egypt—is basically something larger and bigger than the individual incidents that you discuss. It is the general development of Asia which takes different forms in different countries. The end of the last Great War resulted in many big changes which were not quite so obvious at the time—shifts in the balance of power in various parts of the world, the emergence of some countries which are very powerful, of other countries which in terms of military power or economic power became weaker. So there were shifts in the balance of power, and we have not found any equilibrium yet. Among those shifts it became clear that, historically speaking, the old colonialism was going away from Asia. Among those major results were those that happened in India, Pakistan and Burma, which happened in a very good and peaceful way, in a friendly and cooperative way. In other places in Asia it did not happen that way and there was trouble. But it is the same type of emergence in various forms. It is going on. And so Western Asia has to be looked at basically from that point of view.

Having got that, then we come to the conclusion that this growing nationalism is an inevitable growth of circumstances and has ultimately to be satisfied.

There is no doubt about it. One would like to be satisfied by a recognition of the fact and by peaceful methods and not by creating fresh centres of trouble and, maybe, armed conflict. I think there is a recognition of that fact that if the parties concerned proceed on those lines it should not be difficult to find a solution in conformity with the demands of this growing nationalism.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 3 November 1951. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 3-8, 419-426, 481-482 and 507-508.



Q: Are we not interested in keeping the Suez Canal as an international highway and should we not exercise any influence in seeing that it is maintained so?

J.N. Yes. I think that international highways should be international. That is, whether it is Suez or Panama or other major highways like that, they should not be dealt with in a narrow way so as to make them less than international highways.

Q: Do you think that the abrogation of the 1936 Treaty is correct?<sup>2</sup>

JN: I do not know if you ask me in a legal way or in any other way because the answers might be different.

Q: Not legal.

JN: Because the normal way to deal with these things may be a peaceful approach to change the thing, may be completely, or it depends on circumstances if obstructions come in the way and difficulties arise; because I like to see my Government, where it can, to be helpful in the solution of those matters, because we feel keenly on this basic question of recognition of growing nationalism. If we start using strong language this way or that way, then we do not help really and the difficulties become more.

Q: In view of the fact that Britain declared earlier that the posting of troops in the Suez Canal area was in the interest of defending the Indian Empire....

JN: Earlier meaning when?

Q: Before India attained independence when it was said that the troops used to be posted there for the benefit of the Empire. In view of that, don't you think that India should make her position clear about it, that she is no longer interested in foreign troops being posted there so as to be in the way of the national aspirations of those countries?

2. The Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 26 August 1936 made Egypt virtually independent but Britain retained the rights in the Suez Canal zone for the protection of her Empire. After World War II, Egypt asserted her rights over the canal zone and pressed for evacuation of British troops from that area. The differences came to a head on 15 October 1951 when Egypt unilaterally abrogated the Treaty of 1936 and anti-British rioting and clashes erupted on the borders of the canal zone.

JN: I do not think you have put it quite correctly. You might have been correct if you said—I am not referring to any declaration—but it is true that in the old days British policy was aimed at keeping the passage to India, Australia etc. under their control. Therefore the development of their Middle Eastern policy in the nineteenth century was largely based, even the occupation of Egypt was originally partly based on controlling the passage to India, Australia and the Far East. That was when they had to keep hold on India, etc. Now that does not apply in that sense. We obviously are not interested in that way, because we are independent and we have no need to keep clear a passage to India. We are interested in the wider sense of international highways being used for international purposes. And I do not think this can be done forcibly by troops.

Q: Does this international highway apply only to waterways or does it apply to airways also? For example, you stopped the Dutch planes from going to Jakarta; and in this way Delhi might as well be regarded as an international airway.

JN: There are three types of highways, land, sea and air. The use of land obviously involves going across somebody's territory and presumably it will be ruled out except by consent. The sea, thus far, is nobody's territory except a few miles near about a country or except insofar as countries with big sea power can control it. The sea, therefore, is nobody's territory. So far as air is concerned, if you want me to tell you, it is a highly legal matter—how far air belongs to any country. But practically speaking passage through the air over a country is certainly an infringement of the right of that country which internationally they may agree to, and they do agree, but nobody would wish to leave it free for all kinds of aircraft to pass through continuously because that is likely to create tremendous confusion and conflict.

Q: Can we take it that you give moral support to the cause for which Egypt is fighting? If you have, have you signified your support in any form?

JN: Insofar as Egyptian nationalism is concerned, and Egypt's claims etc. are concerned, we obviously always sympathize with them. There are various matters: there is the Suez Canal; there is the matter of Sudan; and so on which raise certain complicated questions. Take the Sudan question.<sup>3</sup> We do

3. By virtue of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Treaty of 1899, Sudan was jointly ruled by Britain and Egypt. In 1924, Britain withdrew from southern Sudan. Since the unilateral abrogation of this treaty by Egypt in October 1951, the question of suzerainty over Sudan became contentious. Later, in 1953, an agreement was arrived at between Egypt and Britain which ultimately paved the way for Sudanese independence in 1956.



not think that Sudan or any territory should be controlled by foreign powers ultimately. What exactly Sudan should do is primarily the concern of the Sudanese, and also, of course, the concern of others, more especially of Egypt because of the waters of the Nile, etc.

Q: Just as you took the initiative in the matter of Indonesia, are you prepared to take such an initiative on behalf of the West Asian countries?

JN: I do not think there is any comparison between Indonesia and these issues. You might remember Indonesia was fighting for its national existence, independence, etc. as an outcome of the war. In fact, another country had overrun it. All kinds of things had happened. There is no comparison between the two. In this particular matter we would very gladly play our part and help in any way, but it is not clear to me what kind of initiative I can take except to express my goodwill and my desire to help wherever possible. Do you expect me to convene a conference on this question? Sorry, no. The Indonesian Conference that we convened was very special because according to us the treaty made by the Dutch Government with the Indonesians was in a sense pushed aside; and a fresh war effort took place at that time and they were reconquering parts of Indonesia.<sup>4</sup>

Q: Don't you think the introduction of new British troops in the Suez Canal zone is a fresh war effort?<sup>5</sup>

JN: Of course, any use of troops is war effort. But I do not think any number of troops is going to solve the question.

Q: But is it not a war-like measure?

JN: When you use troops, it is a war-like measure.

Q: What do you think about the suggestions made in some quarters that this international highway should be controlled by the United Nations or some members of the United Nations?

JN: I do not know what you mean by some members. We always go back to the trusteeship principle or something like that which is a dangerous principle.

4. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 9, pp. 143-182.

5. Additional British troops were brought in to the Suez Canal zone to maintain peace after riots had been quelled. Britain maintained that this move was completely in accordance with her treaty rights.

But if there was a proper international authority—in fact, take rivers; where rivers pass through one or two countries and there is usually an international authority, i.e., of the nations concerned with those rivers controlling the traffic and things like that—there is no reason why the Suez Canal should not be completely under Egyptian political sovereignty and yet international arrangements be made by the countries concerned, in which of course Egypt would play an important part and which will not interfere with its national authority.

Q: What is India doing about the extension of the Atlantic Pact to Middle East countries?<sup>6</sup>

JN: I was not aware that the Atlantic flows thus far.

Q: But it does not go up to Turkey either, but Turkey is in it. As you know, Australia has agreed to participate in the Pact because Australia thinks that she is interested in the maintenance of communications. So India may be interested in that way in the Pact?

JN: You know very well our attitude in this matter. That is, we have not interfered or come in the way of developments in Europe in regard to the Atlantic Pact. But we are not called upon to associate ourselves in any way. When there was talk of a Pacific Pact<sup>7</sup> on the same lines we did not think it was necessary or would lead to peace which was the main aim. We are not, so far as we are concerned, interested in these Pacts.

Q: What do you think of foreign powers creating their military commands in Asia or other countries where they have no territories, just as America is now having a command in the Middle East.

JN: Sorry, I do not know enough about it.

Q: Did anybody approach the Government in connection with any Pact, say Pacific or Atlantic Pact, at any time?

JN: Certainly not, I cannot remember if even informally we were approached.

6. The Council of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization consisting of the twelve Atlantic Pact countries met in Ottawa from 16 to 20 September 1951 and unanimously agreed to admit Greece and Turkey to the organization.

7. The Pacific Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand, and the United States was signed on 1 September 1951 and came into operation on 20 April 1953.



Q: As the second in command of the non-cooperation movement in India, what do you think of Egypt mobilizing on the one side and trying to imitate India's approach of non-cooperation?

JN: These are newspaper reports. First of all, it is no function of mine. It would be an act of impertinence on my part to advise another country. I think that any peaceful method of dealing with the situation is better than a violent method. It is always much easier to solve a problem by peaceful methods.

Q: The Egyptian Ambassador in India has stated that they were taking inspiration from India.

JN: It is a vague statement.<sup>8</sup> That is a far better approach today than the other.

Q: But what about the treaties that are existing at present?

JN: I said right at the beginning that the trouble is not realizing that the old balances have gone. They may be represented here and there by treaties or some other pact. Treaties are a small part of the whole. The old balances have gone and new balances, equilibriums have to be created. And somehow you will find in history that the slowest thing and yet the fastest thing is the human mind. It is out of the human mind that everything comes and yet the human mind does not keep pace with events. The world changes and people's minds do not accept that change. Therefore, difficulties arise whether it is social change, economic change, or political change. The normal mind is static and does not adapt itself to changing circumstances. The whole world completely changes, basically if you like, by the extension, by the growth of the Industrial Revolution, which started 200 years ago or thereabout and yet, even those who participate in that Revolution do not realize the real consequences.

8. For instance, the Egyptian Foreign Minister was reported to have said that they were greatly inspired by the struggle initiated by Mahatma Gandhi in India. *National Herald*, 3 November 1951.

## 2. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

Para 3 of your telegram 11420 dated 21st November.<sup>2</sup>

1. Persia—Our position all along has been that while principle of nationalization must be accepted oil dispute between United Kingdom and Iran should be settled by peaceful negotiations.<sup>3</sup> When United Kingdom referred matter to Security Council our attitude was that if majority of Members was agreeable to this, negotiation on this basis might take place under auspices of United Nations. Had the question of competence of Council to take cognizance of dispute been put to the vote we should have voted in favour. It was United Kingdom's failure to get requisite support from other quarters that led to failure of British move for negotiations to be resumed under United Nations' auspices. What is clear to us is that unless Persia's cooperation in any future arrangement can be enlisted neither negotiation nor any other procedure can lead to settlement that would be satisfactory to either party for any attempt to coerce Iran can only lead to major conflict. This does not mean of course that we agree with everything that Mossadeq<sup>4</sup> has said or done but if our information that U.K. still hopes for Mossadeq's overthrow and to start negotiations with his successor is correct, we greatly doubt whether any useful result will emerge. Since there is no basis of possible settlement acceptable to both parties apparently at the present we see no point in offering good offices. Should such a basis emerge and either party seek our good offices we shall be glad to do our best but in strict privacy.

2. Egypt—U.K. High Commissioner<sup>5</sup> here has kept us informed of developments but the Egyptian Government has made no approach to us either in Cairo or through its Ambassador here by way of giving information or otherwise. Our provisional view is that questions of maintenance of British

1. New Delhi, 22 November 1951. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon wanted to know whether India would offer her good offices or maintain isolation with regard to the problems of Iran, Egypt and the proposed defence plan for the Middle East and whether there was any apprehension that Pakistan might be used by the sponsors of the plan to further their interests. Menon added that in the U.N. circles it was known that India would be very cautious and certainly not join military efforts.
3. In September 1951, the Government of Iran nationalized the oil wells which were till then under the control of Britain and expelled 300 British oil technicians from Iran. Britain took the matter to the U.N. in October 1951.
4. Muhammed Mossadeq was the Prime Minister of Iran at this time.
5. Frank Roberts was the acting High Commissioner.



troops on Egyptian territory and future of Sudan should be considered separately. As in case of Persia while our good offices are available at the request of either party prerequisite of our moves in the matter is an agreed basis for negotiations which is not in sight at least at the present.

3. Middle East (Defence)—As you are aware we have consistently refrained from being drawn into discussion of this question whether on Commonwealth or international level. Such a plan is bound to be regarded as directed against U.S.S.R. Consistently with our view that what the world needs is easing of present tensions and that arrangements of this kind increases rather than lessens that tension, we propose to keep aloof from this "Plan". While students and others have staged demonstrations against office of U.K. Commission in Pakistan and press of that country have been beating drums of solidarity of Islamic countries, neither in matter of Iran nor of Egypt has Pakistan made any mediatory move. Not only is the Nazimuddin Government new and not yet firmly in the saddle but it is reluctant, on the one hand, to forfeit sympathy of U.S.A. and U.K. in Kashmir dispute and, on the other, giving appearance of siding with U.K. in latter's disputes with Egypt and Iran. There seems little chance therefore of Pakistan preferring sides in these disputes at least openly. We must be watchful of attempts to "all India" propaganda against Pakistan but as you know our policy is based on certain principles and we are not likely to abandon it merely because Pakistan may be adopting a certain course to please either the U.K. on the one hand or Egypt and Persia on the other.

### 3. The Italian Peace Treaty<sup>1</sup>

I am troubled by this matter. I see the force of your argument. But it does not quite convince me. I have no desire to incur the ill will of the Italian Government but, at the same time, we should not act in a manner which is inconsistent with our general policy, merely to please the Italian Government.

2. The major question in Europe today is that of German rearmament and the formation of a European Army including Germans, etc., or a separate German Army. Fortunately we are not concerned with this matter. If we had to give an opinion, I think it would not be in consonance with the U.S. and U.K. opinion on the subject. I feel that the German rearmament is likely to make the situation much worse.

1. Note to the Secretary-General, M.E.A., 20 December 1951. File No. 3 (35)Eur- I/51, M.E.A.

3. From a practical point of view, Italian rearmament does not make any great difference. But undoubtedly it adds to the tension and indirectly it means approval of German rearmament also, although the two cases are different. The whole purpose of this attempt to change the terms of the Italian Peace Treaty is to further armament.<sup>2</sup> I do not like to be a consenting party to this.

4. It is true that the terms of the Italian Peace Treaty were hard and somewhat humiliating; further that the Japanese Treaty is much more liberal in many respects, even though some kind of American occupation continues. It is natural now for Italy to demand the same treatment as Japan. It is not, in effect, the same treatment as Japan will continue to be occupied by American forces, whatever theoretical independence she might get.

5. In Japan there is no previous Treaty which was sought to be set aside. In Italy there is a different Treaty and this present attempt can be legally construed as a breach of that Treaty. The only partly valid reply to this argument is that the U.S.S.R. has committed or permitted similar breaches in some of the Balkan countries.

6. I suggest that our reply should state that:

(i) the Government of India are prepared to give full support to any steps that might be taken to secure its admission to full membership of the U.N.;

(ii) the Government of India appreciate that the Peace Treaty should not contain any humiliating or restricted clauses. The proper course, in the interest of international peace and goodwill, would be to take steps to alter the Peace Treaty in the manner provided for this and with the largest possible agreement of the signatories. If such an attempt fails, other steps to achieve this object might have to be undertaken.

7. The Government of India earnestly wish that the object aimed at should be a lessening of the world tension today and the maintenance of peace. It is with this object in view that a revision of the Peace Treaty should be undertaken, keeping in view the legitimate interests of Italy. They feel that a progressive increase in armaments leads to greater tension and should be avoided.

8. The Government of India agree that the spirit of the preamble to the

2. In July 1951, Italy had requested the U.S., Britain and France for a revision of the Peace Treaty of 1947 and grant of full membership status at the U.N. Belgium, Greece, Brazil, The Netherlands, New Zealand, Nationalist China and South Africa supported the request. Soviet Russia had no objection to the proposal provided Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria were also given similar status. India, Canada, Pakistan and Iraq finally came out in support of Italy's request on 6 January 1952.



Italian Peace Treaty of 1947 and the provisions of Articles 15 to 17 of Part II of the Treaty are no longer applicable to present conditions. They are not quite clear, however, as to how the provisions in Article 18 relating to the Treaties of Peace with Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland, are restricted or derogatory. As regards Treaties of Peace that may be negotiated hereafter with Austria, Germany and Japan, the Government of India have no objection to Italy exercising the rights of a sovereign nation so long as the provisions of any such treaty or agreement that Italy may negotiate with these countries conform to the letter and spirit of the Charter of the U.N.

9. Regarding the military clauses contained in Part IV, Articles 46 to 70 of the Treaty, the Government of India recognize that each sovereign country should be free to make arrangements for its own defence in accordance with the provisions of the U.N. Charter. They are agreeable that any restrictions that come in the way of this right should be removed. But they suggest that the proper course to do this would be in the manner suggested above and with a view to further the cause of peace.

10. This is being very hurriedly drafted. It is meant to be rewritten in proper language. All I have tried to do is to give my reactions to these proposals.

11. As I think I have stated above, the description of "freedom-loving nations" has become stale and pointless by frequent inappropriate use and should, I think, therefore, not be employed.

#### 4. To Tara Chand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 13, 1952

My dear Tara Chand,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 2nd January as well as your note of the 9th January, together with the records of interviews. Your letters will be dealt with more fully by the Foreign Secretary. Meanwhile, I am indicating briefly my reactions to the points you have raised:

1) We are all for Asian unity, but it is not much good talking about it without solid ground. India has made several attempts to bring Asian nations

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Ambassador of India in Iran.

nearer to one another. There was the Asian Relations Conference in 1947.<sup>3</sup> Then there was the Indonesian Conference in Delhi early in 1949.<sup>4</sup> At this latter conference we discussed this matter especially. Indeed I discussed it previously in Paris at the time of the U.N. meeting with delegates of Asian countries there. Most people expressed their goodwill, but nothing much came of it. We shall welcome closer relations between Asian countries. It is with this end in view that we have entered into treaties of friendship with a number of them. In fact our relations are very friendly with many Asian countries and we are on good terms with all of them.

Any real coming together has to be based on political and economic considerations. These differ greatly in different countries. It is not enough to be just anti-Europe or America. Some countries of Asia, e.g., Turkey and Siam, are definitely aligned with the Western Powers. China in the same way is aligned with the U.S.S.R.

So far as we are concerned, we follow an independent policy as regards the eastern and western blocs and try to be friendly with both. Burma more or less follows the same policy. Some of the other countries are sympathetic to this but prefer to keep in their own shells or react to pressure.

It is not clear to me what more can be done in this respect. I think that any kind of grouping together, which is anti-Europe or anti anything, would not be desirable. But any other form of coming together would be welcome. There must be concrete proposals for us to consider.

(2) I do not want you to encourage the Prime Minister of Persia or Ayatullah Kashani in regard to Kashmir. You should of course be polite to them and give them the facts, as you have done. Their own country is in great difficulties. Instead of trying to get over them, they are trying to solve other's problems. I do not at all like their repeated interference in the Kashmir problem. Either we are right or we are wrong. If we are right in Kashmir, then it is for them to tell Pakistan so. Kashani is a busy body with too high an opinion of himself. He has to be humoured but not encouraged.

As for Pakistan, it is very much under the thumb of the Western bloc insofar as foreign policy is concerned. It is we who are independent. We realize fully the importance of friendly relations with Pakistan, but we cannot give up our principles and invite disaster by agreeing to what Pakistan says in regard to Kashmir. It is not particularly intelligent of Dr Mossadeq to talk

3. Held in Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 4, p. 588.
4. Held in Delhi from 20 to 23 January 1949. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 9, p. 143.



about the four million people of Kashmir or to imagine that we are after territory. Deep principles and far-reaching consequences are involved.

(3) As regards Middleton's proposal, I think that we should keep far away from this oil dispute and not get entangled in any way. Indeed we cannot do anything till any of the Governments concerned approaches us formally. We have no intention of pulling out other people's chestnuts out of the fire and getting burnt ourselves. It is clear that the British representatives in Teheran still live in a world of long ago and cannot adjust themselves to new developments. On the other hand, the Persian Government also lives in a world of dreams. The result is bound to be continuing crisis and disaster. We cannot save others if they are bent on going the wrong way. The best course is to keep out of the picture as far as possible.

Your report of the Kashani interview will be sent to Maulana Azad.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To H.S. Malik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 13, 1952

My dear Malik,

I have your letter of January 2, 1952, together with a note of your talk with Habib Bourguiba<sup>2</sup> and others.

I need hardly say that we have the fullest sympathy with the Tunisian movement for freedom.<sup>3</sup> Personally, I have been vaguely connected with it since 1927 when I met some delegates from Tunisia at the Conference of Oppressed Nationalities at Brussels.<sup>4</sup>

Last year I had a long talk with some representatives from Tunis and I explained our position to them fully. I think that the French Government has misbehaved there and is acting very unwisely. The Egyptian press gave a lot of publicity to Tunisian affairs at the time and published rather exaggerated accounts. But the facts were bad enough and did little credit to the French

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1902); member, Destour (Constitution) Party, 1921; formed Neo-Destour Party, 1934; imprisoned by the French, 1934-36, 1938-43 and 1952-54; President, Tunisian National Assembly, Prime Minister, Presidency of the Council, 1956-59; elected President for life in 1974, but was deposed in 1987 in a bloodless coup.

3. Tunisia, a French protectorate since 1883, became independent in 1956.

4. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, pp. 278-297.

Government. In colonial matters the French Government shows an amazing lack of intelligence. They have made a mess of Indo-China<sup>5</sup> and no doubt they will do the same in Tunis and Morocco.

While all this is true, I entirely agree with you that we should not take the initiative in this matter in the United Nations. Our own relations with France, though generally friendly, are not at all so in regard to Pondicherry etc. I do not think it will do any good to the cause of Tunisian freedom if we took this matter up in the way suggested. While I appreciate what the Tunisian people told you about the advantage of India taking the initiative, I do not think they have quite realized some other aspects of this matter, notably our friction with France about Pondicherry etc.

Apart from this, the situation in France is so fluid, to put it mildly, that it is difficult to expect any effective action there. By our taking the initiative in this matter, Tunis will gain little and we shall get entangled in difficulties. Kashmir is more than enough for us in the U.N.

I am of opinion, therefore, that we should not take the initiative. Should, however, any other country do so, we shall give our full support.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. The political situation in Indo-China became volatile when in 1949 France set up a government headed by Bao Dai, in South Vietnam, in opposition to Ho Chi Minh's communist government. Soviet Union and China accorded recognition to the latter while the U.K. and the U.S.A. declared the former as the legal government and a part of the French Union. This set off a protracted war in the area with the active involvement of the super powers.

## 6. To H.S. Malik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 22, 1952

My dear Malik,

Thank you for your letter of January 15th about Tunisia.

Since you wrote, there have been other developments and I have received two telegram copies of which I enclose. One of these is from Cairo<sup>2</sup> from

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In his cable Taieb Slim stated that ever since the Tunisian Government took the Tunisian question to the U.N., the French authorities in Tunisia had resorted to imposition of martial law, ban on political meetings and arrests and violence to intimidate and terrorize the people. He appealed, "Tunisia needs your immediate intervention and full attention of your Government through U.N. to avoid further bloodshed."



Taieb Slim<sup>3</sup> and the other from Paris from Habib Bourguiba's son.<sup>4</sup> I have not replied to these telegrams yet.

Today I sent you a telegram in answer to yours about the proposed deputation about Tunisia. I have agreed with your suggestion that India should participate in this deputation.<sup>5</sup> I shall await further information from you about the deputation before I send a reply to the enclosed telegrams.

As you know, in spite of all our sympathy for Tunisia, we were somewhat reluctant to take the initiative in the United Nations. At the same time, these fresh developments have considerably changed the situation and I feel that it will be improper for us to remain passive spectators. I am glad, therefore, to learn about this deputation. We shall decide upon our further course of action on hearing from you.

We have to balance our full sympathy for the people of Tunisia and our past record in favour of their freedom with certain practical considerations and diplomatic procedure. The French Government is, as usual, making a complete mess of it. From all accounts the situation in Indo-China is very bad for the French and is likely to grow worse. Not profiting by this, they are making a mess of Tunisia. The U.K. have suffered enough in Iran and Egypt and I cannot see how they will get out of these tangles without discredit. So has France in regard to her colonial territories. The pace of events in the world is much too fast for these slow-moving colonial authorities.

We shall communicate with you again on this subject because I am clear that we must do something. I have suggested in my telegram to you that we should like you to see the French authorities in regard to Tunis and convey our deep sense of apprehension and regret at recent developments. We shall send further instructions later. Meanwhile, the Secretary-General is seeing the French Ambassador today.

I should like you to see Bourguiba's son and tell him that I have received his telegram and am very much concerned with these developments. You will

3. (b. 1914); member, Neo-Destour Party; detained 1941-1943; Arab Meghrab Bureau, Cairo, 1946-49; head, Foreign Affairs, Presidency of Council of Ministers, 1955-56; Ambassador to the U.K., 1956-62; permanent representative to U.N., 1962-67, concurrently Ambassador to Canada; and Secretary of State and Personal Representative of the President, 1968.
4. Bourguiba's son cabled that his father and hundreds of men, women and children were arrested in Tunisia and there was bloodshed "because of our officials raising Franco-Tunisian differences in Security Council." He urged Nehru to help by "urgently taking position."
5. On 24 January 1952, delegates from thirteen Arab and Asian countries including India, called on the President of the General Assembly and urged him to approach the French Government to resume Franco-Tunisian discussions after freeing the Tunisian nationalist leaders.

tell him, of course, about our joining the deputation and that we should like to take such other steps as may be feasible as soon as possible. It does not help, however, to give publicity immediately to the steps we take. I shall probably let you have further information on this subject before you get my letter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. Nepal, Burma and Korea<sup>1</sup>

NEPAL—The American Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me this afternoon. He spoke to me about his visit to Nepal. He was much impressed by the Prime Minister, M.P. Koirala. He said that there was respect and esteem for him there among many people. About the King he said there was some apprehension that he might become too dominant....

3. The Ambassador was anxious to help in the development schemes of Nepal, but he had told the Nepal Government that in this matter he would like to cooperate with India. He appreciated that this was no time for the U.S. to open an Embassy there but they were thinking of starting a library as there was no library at all at present at Kathmandu. There is a Point Four man from the U.S. in Nepal at present.

4. KMT TROOPS IN BURMA—The Ambassador said that he and his Government were greatly worried about these troops. They were anxious to get them away but it was not quite clear what they could do. He said that a retired American General, who was totally irresponsible, had probably helped in smuggling some arms via Thailand where a high Thai official had also helped.

5. The Burmese Government was not in a position to hold or intern these troops. On the other hand they were also not prepared to allow them to go to Rangoon and sail away. They thought that their presence in Rangoon might well cause indignation to the Chinese there and trouble may ensue. The Thailand Government was also not prepared to allow them to pass through their territory.

1. Note to the Secretary-General and the Foreign Secretary, 20 February 1952. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

2. Chester Bowles.



6. A proposal would be made that the U.N. or some neutral countries might send some people to check up facts about these troops. I said that it was not clear to me what good such a committee would do....

8. KOREA—The situation in Korea was discussed for some time. The Ambassador said that they were frightfully anxious to get a ceasefire there and to proceed to take the next step. It had been proposed that some kind of a public warning should be given to the Chinese Government that in case of a breach of the ceasefire, war would not be limited to Korea. He himself thought that a private warning would be better. I said that it was well-known to all concerned that if there was a breach of the ceasefire, the consequences would be big. There was no doubt on this issue. Why then give a warning which would not only irritate and take away the good effects of the ceasefire but would also probably lead to a bitter controversy and recrimination. In any event, a public warning would have a very bad effect on the situation. The Ambassador agreed.

9. He asked me repeatedly what they could do to ease the situation. I said that the situation in Europe, though bad, was nevertheless static. The Far Eastern situation was much more dynamic and explosive. There were many rather explosive symptoms in Asia but Korea was the worst. Instead of trying to solve all problems at the same time, the first step should be taken in Korea. Even a small step in the right direction would produce an atmosphere helpful towards solution of the problems.

10. The Ambassador was very anxious to lessen the ill-feeling between China and the U.S. both because this was desirable and also because this might result in making China less dependent on Russia and more inclined to have her own separate policy. He felt that with Russia it was difficult to deal, but it should be possible to make progress with China....

## 8. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

We have addressed you several times in regard to introduction of separate electorates in East Africa<sup>2</sup> and expressed our grave concern. I should like you

1. New Delhi, 21 February 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. The Europeans in East Africa, though in a minority, demanded an unofficial majority in the Legislative Council and the Indians favoured a common electoral roll for all races. The British Labour Government believed that the Indians' stand would obstruct development of other backward communities. The Legislative Council passed the Separate Electorate Bill on 20 December 1952 despite opposition from the non-Muslim Asians, Arabs and African members.

to convey to U.K. Government at suitable opportunity informally my personal views on this subject. I would normally hesitate to interfere in any way in the internal matter of another country but this introduction of separate electorates in East Africa not only affects Indians there but has I believe far-reaching consequences in regard to future of Africa. We can speak with bitter experience of separate electorates and their progeny in India. In Africa, conditions are much more difficult. It has been our hope from larger world point of view to help in building up a society in Africa where Africans, Europeans, Indians, Arabs and others could cooperate together and live in peace. Any other objective leads to factionalism, disunity and discontent and bitter racial rivalry. Africans today are willing to accept cooperative multi-racial pattern of society. If however separate electorates with all their consequences are introduced Africans will be driven to narrow nationalism and racialism which will put an end to idea of any co-operative growth of the peoples of Africa. Introduction of separate electorates in Africa means sowing seeds of disunity and discontent and these will lead to a cancerous growth which will shatter all peace and racial cooperation in Africa and might later affect even the peace of the world.

Because of these larger consequences in a vast continent which is being increasingly conscious politically and racially I view this introduction of separate electorates with grave anxiety. This is not so much because Indians are affected but because the larger issues that we stand for will be deeply injured by this wrong step.

## 9. Japan, Russia, Sudan and Tunisia<sup>1</sup>

Question: We would like to know something about the proposed Indo-Japanese treaty. What is the position?

Jawaharlal Nehru: As far as I know, no further progress has been made. Various drafts are being considered. As I made it clear here, the treaty is a very simple treaty, not dealing with any controversial political issue at all, just a normal treaty for the opening of diplomatic relations, trade, commerce, etc.

1. Remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530 and 643.



Q: What will be the attitude of the Government of India about the negotiations going on between the Japanese Government and Chiang Kai-shek's Government in Formosa?

JN: We are not concerned with the negotiations<sup>2</sup> directly, obviously; we are not in the picture. And so far as Governments are concerned, we do not recognize the Formosa Government at all. So that, governmentally, it does not exist at all, although, practically, of course, there is something there.

Q: Has the Government received from the Japanese Government their comments on the Indian draft of the treaty? Have those comments been fully examined by the Indian Foreign Office?

JN: I understand they are being examined.

... Q: What is your attitude to the large-scale rearmament going on in Japan?

JN: It is not for me to criticize other Government's activities, nor do I know yet how large scale it is, but generally speaking I am against rearmament anywhere.

... Q: Due to Japanese rearmament, have you altered your original opinion of Japan being a peace-loving country in Asia?

JN: May I first of all say that these words "peace-loving" have ceased to have any meaning. The most belligerent and bellicose people talk about being peace-loving, and I do not know who is peace-loving and who is not—words of no significance. I do not know what you mean when you ask whether I consider the Japanese as peace-loving more than others or less. I have not described the Japanese either as peace-loving or non-peace-loving. Circumstances sometimes compel them to go in a particular way. I do not propose to sit in judgement on countries and call them either war-mongers or peace-lovers....

2. At the negotiations with Japan on 21 February 1952, the Government of Nationalist China's proposal that Japan must recognize her suzerainty over Formosa as well as mainland China was not accepted by the Government of Japan which insisted that all references to mainland China be deleted from the draft before a treaty to end the state of war between them was concluded. Finally a bilateral treaty between the two countries was signed on 28 April 1952.

**Question:** The Russian Ambassador said in Bombay that Russia was willing to give industrial and other aid to the under-developed countries of South East Asia. Has your Government tried to follow it up?

**Jawaharlal Nehru:** So far as we are concerned, I do not know exactly what his words were.<sup>3</sup> I do not know what you mean by "aid". Obviously if we want any particular type of capital goods and we can get it from Russia, we will get it. I cannot answer your question as to whether we are at present pursuing any line of inquiry but our general line of inquiry is always there. Our Mission is there.

**...Q:** Has the Government of India received an invitation from the Russian Government in connection with some conference?

**JN:** I believe there is going to be some kind of economic conference in Moscow.<sup>4</sup> Probably you are referring to that. I think there is some kind of a committee in Bombay, some industrialists and others; some of them may want to go there. They have been invited. I do not know the names. The economic conference has invited representatives and presumably they have addressed that committee.

**Q:** Has not the Government of India been asked to send their representatives to that conference?

**JN:** I do not remember any such invitation coming to us officially. We have received one or two communications from the Bombay committee on the subject, not about Government of India sending a representative but other persons, industrialists and others going there.

**... Q:** What decision has the Government of India arrived at regarding the recognition of King Farouk as the King of Sudan?

3. N.V. Novikov told the press on 14 January that his country was prepared to supply India any industrial equipment and accept payment in rupees or any other soft currency, and added: "You can buy from us anything you want and we are willing to buy from you what we require."
4. An international non-governmental economic conference in Moscow from 3 to 12 April 1952 was attended by five hundred delegates from forty-nine countries aimed at expanding trade between East and West. A thirty-member Indian delegation attended the conference.



JN: We have not considered that matter.<sup>5</sup> Things are as they were.

Q: What is Government of India's reaction to the appeal by Tunisian leaders?

JN: There was a reference to this even in the President's speech. You cannot expect a Government or me as Prime Minister to do more than to express our general sympathy for the movement for freedom in Tunisia. So far as I am personally concerned, I have been in some kind of touch with the national movement in Tunisia since the year 1927, that is, 25 years ago. This party, through its leaders, I met 25 years ago and I have been off and on in touch with them. On general principles, we are in favour of these movements for independence, but apart from general principles, we are convinced that in the existing circumstances any denial of it leads to further trouble.

5. A difficult situation had arisen because of the assumption by King Farouk of the additional title of the King of Sudan. The Egyptian Government had insisted on Ambassadors to present their credentials to the King of Egypt and Sudan which meant the recognition of Egypt's claim on Sudan.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****III. Foreign Possessions in India**





## 1. Policy towards Portuguese and French Settlements<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister began by saying that our attitude towards these foreign possessions could not be altered, though what action we should take to implement our policy would naturally have to vary from time to time. In matters affecting the prestige of India or the interests of Indian nationals, a soft policy should not be followed with the Portuguese, whatever might be the economic or political disadvantages that such an attitude might entail.

Regarding the steps to be taken at present to implement this policy, the Prime Minister stressed the necessity of making the maximum use of any incidents which may come to our notice regarding the ill-treatment of Portuguese and French Indians (they were, to use the Prime Minister's words, 'potential' Indians) by giving them publicity both in the Indian and the foreign press, and by making a strong protest to the Governments concerned. If necessary, we should also be prepared to withdraw our consular representative from Goa and Pondicherry.

Turning to the proposals made in the Ministry of External Affairs note, the Prime Minister said that no stress should be laid by us on the holding of a referendum or the visit of the neutral observers to French India. We should offer the French a Customs Union in order to restore normal economic conditions between French India and India and to put a stop to smuggling. If the French did not agree to this, we should take such restrictive measures as were financially and administratively possible. In considering the value of such measures, it should be borne in mind that though the actual smuggling may not be reduced greatly thereby, the measures themselves may have a good effect on the morale of the pro-Indian elements in Pondicherry, and would also enhance the prestige of the Government of India.

The Prime Minister did not agree to the disbandment of the present Goa Committee.<sup>2</sup>

If the Portuguese Consul in Bombay was found to be indulging in any anti-Indian activities, strong action should be taken against him, even to the extent of declaring him a *persona non grata*.

1. Minutes of a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, 6 March 1952. File No. 5(116) Eur-1/51, M.E.A. Extracts.
2. The Goa Committee was set up in Bombay in 1950 to organize public opinion among Goans in Bombay in favour of merger and to assist the nationalist Goan cause.



## 2. French Possessions in India<sup>1</sup>

There is no question of our denouncing the referendum at this stage at any rate. But in view of our past experience we should not lay any emphasis on it because it is exceedingly unlikely that conditions suitable for a referendum will arise. Normally we should not refer to the referendum, but emphasize merger with India. If the question of referendum is raised, we can say that we have long waited for it but the proper conditions for it have not been created yet and are not likely to be created.

2. This is the general policy to be pursued. In addition to this we must take up every matter, big or small, which is harmful to our interest or self-respect. We should of course protest locally, but we should also take up such matters with the Ambassador in Delhi or in Paris. Adequate publicity should be given and arrangements for this should be made. It does not matter very much if no proper action is taken on our protests. That itself becomes a matter for further protest. Thus we build up our case for such action as may become necessary later.

3. A draft answer should be prepared for the French Government. This should point out the deteriorating condition in the French possessions in India which not only make holding a proper plebiscite impossible, unless the situation improves greatly, but is also a source of infinite trouble to us because of smuggling on a large scale. It cannot be the intention of the French Government to encourage this smuggling or to allow the conditions within the French possessions to deteriorate in the way they have done. The Government of India are greatly concerned at all this. It seems to them necessary that urgent steps should be taken to improve the situation and put an end to the smuggling. With a view to bring this about they are prepared to consider afresh the proposal to have the Customs Union, as this appears to be the simplest way of bringing back some measure of normality.

4. Something to this effect may be drafted for our consideration.

5. As for plans for strengthening the Customs cordon, these can certainly be worked out.

1. Note to the Deputy Minister for External Affairs and the Foreign Secretary, 11 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS****IV. General**





## 1. Asia and the World<sup>1</sup>

Question: What do you mean by 'Asia for the Asians'?

Jawaharlal Nehru: 'Asia for the Asians'. No, I have never said that in those words nor have I ever meant it. I am not for pan-Asianism. Asia is far too big and varied for that. Why, there are difficulties enough trying to make a pan-Europe, yet Western Europe is a little place compared to Asia and Asia has an enormous variety of peoples.

Now I have been talking of a free Asia. I want a free Asia. In the past Western influence in Asia has been in the nature of political and economic domination. No one likes that. But in many other ways Western influence has been welcome.

Q: What is your view of Communist China at present and what do you think its proper role should be?

JN: The present communist government is effective and stable and it is foolish to ignore its existence in international councils. I do not approve all that the Mao Government has done, but, nevertheless, it is the Government of the largest nation in the world—by the will of its people. I see no near prospect of its being displaced.

I am certain in my own mind that the attitude of the United States in refusing to recognize Mao can have no other effect than to drive him into the arms of Stalin. Ultimately the individuality of the Chinese—their "Chineseness"—plus certain historic trends in relations between China and Russia will tear Peiping away from Moscow's apron-strings.

As for communism in general, I do not want it in India. But any people are entitled to the kind of government they want so long as they do not try to force it on those who do not want it.

Q: What about the United States policy in the Far East? Have we gone wrong, and if so, what should we do now?

JN: There is nothing basically wrong with United States policy. True, India and the United States have differed lately on issues that are well known,

1. Interview to Robert Trumbull, correspondent of *The New York Times* in New Delhi, 11 November 1951. From *The New York Times Magazine*, 11 November 1951.



including the recent Japanese Peace Treaty. But whatever I disagree with in United States' policy in Asia, I regard it as "a temporary phase" in our relations. We are people of far different backgrounds. To some extent, we have different national interests. Naturally, our perspectives are different. It isn't that either is wrong. It may be that both have an element of truth in them, if not the entire truth. But our mere geographical situation makes our approach different. For instance, South America has more interest for the United States than for us. And we look at Asia, not from a distance, as you do, but as I would look at myself. So we notice different problems and give them a different priority.

Thinking in the East and the West has been conditioned by historical and cultural backgrounds with no resemblance to each other. Mainly, it is the difference between advanced countries and countries that are principally agricultural. The United States is the final embodiment of the industrial revolution as far as it has gone today. But in India, of course, we have some industrialization but it has not really affected our life, which is predominantly agricultural. That in itself makes a tremendous difference in our ways of looking at things. The tremendous growth of the machine in America has affected your ways of thinking, as, indeed, it must. Ways of life affect ways of thinking.

The tempo of life in the West is becoming faster and faster. Whether this is good or bad is another matter. In agricultural, non-industrialized countries the tempo of life is different. Indians are not unaware of industrialization because they see it about them. But it has not affected their tempo of life and it has not affected their thinking.

Also the United States started with a clean sheet. I mean in her beginnings she inherited no feudal relics to pull her back. England and Europe, on the other hand, have that feudal background and it affects them today. In India we also, of course, have a great deal of that, whether we like it or not.

An odd position today is science's mastery of nature. Through this the normal opportunity for growth has been given immense impetus. So the old-time conflicts—when there was not enough material to go around—have gone. Now the world with the help of science may even provide far more than is necessary.

So why do we have conflicts? Because human beings like to dominate, they like to have power over others. You can have enough food, clothes and housing in time. Some countries may take a little longer to get these. Yet the annoying thing is that instead of setting about that we are setting about something entirely different.

Obviously the mind of man has not advanced as fast as his technology. If you read Plato or ancient Indian or Chinese books you will find there was a highly developed human mind in those days. I am not sure there are any Platos in the world today, though he lived in a primitive civilization compared to ours.

Though we learn more and more, wisdom escapes us. Man today has to learn so much and specialize so much that he does not get an integrated view of life as the ancients did. So often now a man must become so good at his special job that he knows nothing else.

I do not think that in the final analysis science will fail to solve the food problem. If man devoted the same energy to food as he does to other things I am quite sure he would produce food from many materials. Call it synthetic food if you like.

If there is war, many more people will starve to death than will die in the actual physical war itself. I hear about starvation in Korea.

Q: What can the West, particularly the United States, do about Asia's difficulties?

JN: The spread of American technical knowledge would certainly be desirable in Asia.

In planning to help us you must consider the character of this country. Our technical growth must be balanced, maybe even toned down a little. Take the dams we are building. Of course, it is easiest to keep bulldozers in the earth moving. We are using bulldozers. But from the social point of view it might be worthwhile to employ 5,000 men to do the work of a battery of bulldozers. That is unless these men can be employed elsewhere. All those men carrying earth by hand are earning money doing so, money which they could not get any other way. So you see this use of man-power is not just our primitive method—we are using something which otherwise is idle: man.

The world should, instead of spending its money on arms, turn to building up underdeveloped countries so that the basic causes of misery and conflict could disappear. If one-tenth of the effort put into arming were applied to improvement it would change the face of the earth. There would be fresh hope for millions and millions.

This struggle between the United States and Soviet Russia is hardly the proper role in this world for those great powers. First of all, one sees no adequate and effective result of what is going on except continued destruction and all that follows from it.

But it is difficult to rule out force, violence and coercion in the world as it is today. Personally I am convinced that no major problem is solved by force, though, of course, one may have to use force as an ingredient of one's approach. But if a problem is apparently solved by force always, other more serious problems arise. That has been the result of the last two great wars.



After all, the object of war is to achieve certain political or economic results. No one wants war for war's sake except perhaps a few people. Now if we fight a war without achieving these results, then we are not very wise.

Q: Granting all this, what should the United States aim for—what should we do—in the present threatening situation so as to solve our problems and avoid war?

JN: I suggest that first of all the aim should be at steps to lessen tension with a view to get rid of the fear of war. Let us have a breathing spell which can be utilized for economic progress, which is a better way of dealing with the problem. Certainly people in every country passionately want peace because it is they who suffer. Therefore, any lead given for peace should have a powerful reaction and welcome.

In Korea today I would suggest three steps. First, have a ceasefire, then a truce, and then a settlement. This last may be merely a provisional settlement. However, it would not only give an opportunity to recover but would also give people time to cool down a little with no threat hanging over them.

What future would I suggest for Korea? Of course, an independent unified Korea. Everyone seems to agree on that.

Q: With Asia at peace again what would be the proper roles for the United States, Russia and China on this continent?

JN: Their roles should be to function in their own territories and not be a threat to others. Such threats bring fear and preparation for war.

Asia's dominant urge is to develop itself and preserve its freedom. When there is any threat to freedom Asians react strongly. Now if there is a feeling of assurance that there is no chance of aggression from any country, immediately a different psychology is created. Then, as peaceful construction goes on, people's minds turn in that direction, towards peace and away from war.

Russia is different from Western Europe, although of course she has always been influenced by Western Europe. But Russia has always been a half-way house between Europe and Asia. The United States has reached the acme of technology. Russia has not so much by any means. But Russia attaches more importance to technology than anything else, more than any country in Europe. Technological growth will make Russia change rapidly.

Let us take the cultural concepts. Europe's culture developed from

the Greeks and Christianity. The United States inherited these outlooks, and in that sense the United States is the child of Europe. This background produced certain ways of thought. India stands by itself. India is a little world of its own in the mental sense. So was China until the Communists came.

Now the great influence of the United States in Asia for a long period came from the fact that she stood apart from the European powers. So the United States was separated in people's minds from European colonialism.

If the United States should come physically into Asia she will lose that approach of a disinterested great power. I am sure the United States does not wish to come physically into Asia. But in the present context of apprehensions something wrong might happen or communism might spread. The latter factor might drag the United States in where she does not particularly wish to be. Whether that would be the best way for the United States to prevent what she does not want is another question. I do not think so, though a situation can arise in which it is necessary to use force, I admit. Ultimately, however, it is the minds of the peoples of Asia that will make the difference. They cannot be influenced merely by force, and still less by the appearance of aid to forces like colonialism.

Communism has many aspects. First, there is the political aspect of communism. Second, communism is in the nature of a crusading religion. It is frightfully difficult to meet communism on a basis of force alone. Force may be necessary, but you also have to meet communism on a different plane. Ultimately it must be met on the economic plane, but there are other planes too.

Suppose all this present tension was gone and the world was divided into peaceful spheres, with no danger of war. Well, ultimately the policy that delivers the goods is the one that will count, that will impress people. The large part of the world which is not so fortunate as America will be influenced by the policy that succeeds in terms of their own wants.

Russia is an enormous chunk of the earth's surface. Let them succeed in their own country. This will be a more powerful argument than books.

The United States has achieved a colossal production of machines—that is a fact. But it remains to be seen how that system can be worked by other countries so that they can raise themselves. We cannot do it at present because this Sword of Damocles, this fear of war, is hanging over us.

If there is an agreement in Korea there will be an immediate change in the world atmosphere. Why, the moment ceasefire talks started in Kaesong the price of jute fell in Calcutta. Cessation of the conflict will turn people's thoughts in another direction everywhere and then we may see great changes.



## 2. To S.S. Dhawan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 10, 1951

My dear Dhawan,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 9th December.

I am afraid it is not possible for me, during my brief visit to Allahabad, to address your Foreign Policy Association. Perhaps when I come next to Allahabad I might be able to do so.

I am surprised to learn that P.C. Joshi<sup>3</sup> says that we have not availed ourselves of the offer of economic help from the Soviet Union. There has been at no time such an offer to us. To quote a vague speech delivered at Singapore has no meaning. We have frequently concluded individual deals with the Soviet Union. We have had great difficulty in all these deals. Even in regard to our recent wheat purchase we have far more difficulty there than in other countries such as China etc. We were charged much more than the normal price and, as it was a barter deal, the Soviet insisted on getting things, like jute, rubber, shellac etc., which we could not easily spare. We did give them a good deal of shellac and jute. They even suggested that we buy some of these things, such as rubber, elsewhere and pass them on to them. It was after long argument, both in Moscow and in Delhi, that the deal was concluded. On the whole, it was not a favourable deal, but because of our need for foodgrains, we accepted fairly hard terms.

I do not want you to refer to this publicly and pointedly, because that serves no purpose. The point is that our efforts to have trade deals with Russia have not been particularly happy, though they have given some results from time to time. The Soviet Union, like the U.S.A., are keen on getting raw materials for armament purposes. It is not our practice to encourage sending these to either of these countries. Some two years ago there were talks with the Soviet Union about a general trade agreement. They faded out without any substantial results. So, Joshi's contention is wholly wrong.

We have been dealing with Czechoslovakia also to some extent and have obtained some goods from there. There is always difficulty in paying for these and the rates are usually high.

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Shanti Swaroop Dhawan, a lecturer in law at the University of Allahabad at this time.

3. General Secretary of the Communist Party of India from 1935 to 1948.

It is quite clear that no offer has been made by the Soviet Union to us of the kind indicated. A vague speech delivered in Singapore can hardly be termed an offer.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 23, 1951

My dear Krishna,

I am continuously on the move, rushing about from place to place in India. I suppose I am setting up some kind of a record in this business of touring. I returned to Delhi this afternoon from the Punjab and am leaving early tomorrow morning for Gujarat, Bombay, Poona, Mangalore, Cannanore, Bangalore, Andhra, Bihar, Assam and West Bengal. All this will be done in ten days and I shall return to Delhi on 3rd January for a brief spell here. This touring will continue till the 20th January.

This absence from Delhi comes in the way of my work here to some extent and I have also been unable to write to you on account of it. During the brief hours I spend in Delhi, I get through as much work as I can and then I go away.

On arrival here today I received your telegram No. 11762 dated 20th December.<sup>2</sup> I have already sent you a reply. Although I have given some time to this matter previously and today and have discussed it with H.M. Patel,<sup>3</sup> I confess that all the facts are by no means clear to me. In any event, as the matter has come up in this way and criticisms are being made, we must go into it more thoroughly to justify such action as we have taken. I can think of no better way than to send someone with the necessary papers who can discuss this with you and Malik.<sup>4</sup> I am not quite sure yet as to whom I shall send, but

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Menon had suggested that the French Government be asked through the Indian Ambassador in Paris to expedite the delivery of Nene engines and modified air frames to India.

3. Defence Secretary, Government of India.

4. H.S. Malik, India's Ambassador to France.



I hope to decide on my return early in January. These talks will, of course, be entirely private and meant chiefly to enlighten me.

I should like to make it clear however that so far as the Nene engine matter is concerned, you should proceed with it, as I have previously indicated in my telegram 21759 of the 13th November.<sup>5</sup> The contracts with General Marshal Cornwall should also be proceeded with.<sup>6</sup> There can be no question of any unilateral withdrawal from them. Apart from other considerations, which are important, any such action may land us in legal difficulties. Both we and the other contracting party are bound by these contracts.

In this and other matters a great deal of criticism has been made here and constant inquiries and references are being made. We have got to answer these inquiries and explain the position and defend our actions. I find I am unable to do so fully with the information at my disposal. Correspondence does not help much and delays matters. It is for this reason that I have decided to send someone to you early next month.

There is another matter about which I have sent you a brief telegram today. This is about K.R.K. Menon's report<sup>7</sup> in regard to the High Commissioner's office in London. You will remember that a tentative draft of this was left with you by me. Subsequently, fuller information was sent to you and you were requested to send your comments. This was many months ago and I do not know why there has been so much delay about it. I think I sent you one or two telegrams on the subject also and in answer to one of them you said that your comments were going to be sent soon and yet they have not come.

You will appreciate that this is rather embarrassing and it upsets all our plans. So many things are held up because of this. Please send your comments etc. very soon.

Owing to the general elections and the consequent changes that are likely to take place, we are in a process of transition and we cannot afford to leave things in a fluid condition.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

5. Not printed.

6. In his telegram of 20 December 1951, Menon had stated that in the face of brewing controversy in India with regard to arms contracts, Marshal Cornwall had asked the Government of India to relieve him of all contractual obligations and had invited the Government to institute an independent enquiry into his company's accounts.

7. In response to a question in Parliament by S.P. Mookerjee regarding financial irregularities in the Indian High Commission in London, the Government of India said they had asked K.R.K. Menon to enquire into the matter.

#### 4. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 3, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I came back to Delhi this afternoon after eleven days' absence. I am leaving again early tomorrow morning. My election tours will continue till the 21st of January with very brief spells in Delhi.

I have received your two letters of the 31st December. I am quite unable to deal with them fully at present.

Your letter HC/264-6/51 deals with the purchase of Nene engines, etc. I am sending copies of it to the various people concerned here.

We are sending N.R. Pillai<sup>2</sup> for the Finance Ministers' Conference to London. As he is going there I am requesting him to discuss this matter of the Nene engines and connected matters with you. He will also meet Malik in Paris. Perhaps it might be desirable for you to meet Malik together with Pillai so that this matter can be straightened out. If this has caused you worry, it has added to my burdens considerably also. The question of integrity does not arise so far as I am concerned. When a particular procedure is challenged and all kinds of questions are asked, I have to find the answers for them and be able to satisfy those who ask the questions. This kind of thing occurs in regard to some of our ministries and I have made it a rule that whenever this happens, we must find out exactly what has occurred and give the necessary information. It is not desirable to differentiate between persons on the basis of personal knowledge. We have to deal with the public.

Your other letter is in answer to mine of the 23rd December.<sup>3</sup> I am afraid I do not understand it. You are repeating the same arguments which you used six months ago and which seemed to me to have no particular importance then. Indeed, I am greatly surprised to read your letter, because repeatedly I have asked you for your comments on K.R.K. Menon's suggestions and you promised to send them. I have been deeply hurt about this and had to come to the conclusion that you did not wish to cooperate in this matter either with me or the Government here. Whether K.R.K. Menon's suggestions are right or not is a matter for us to consider. But it seems to me not quite fair that we should be kept waiting for months and months for your comments. We have dealt in this way with every Ministry of the Government of India and so far

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Cabinet Secretary.

3. See the preceding item.



as I know, no disagreement has arisen, even though there have been differences. I do not know how to explain myself to you.

The bundle of papers which you have sent will be examined immediately.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 5. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
January 4, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have your letter of the 31st December in which you refer to K.R.K. Menon's report. I have also received the bundle of papers which you have sent along with it.

In this letter you raise some points which have no particular relevance at present and which anyhow were raised and disposed of long ago. I think I have written to you on this subject pretty fully previously. Here is, what appears to me, a fairly simple matter. During the past year we have been not only trying to economize but also, where possible, to improve our administrative set up. Every Ministry and every foreign mission of ours has been examined from this point of view. In this connection it was natural for us to consider India House, more particularly because you had repeatedly emphasized that you were short of staff. If additional staff had to be added, it would have to be justified in Parliament here because of numerous questions that are asked there. Those questions are often based on lack of knowledge. But we have to give facts and justification in answer.

Naturally we have to attach a good deal of weight to what the head of the mission says from his experience. But from the very nature of things, our answers in Parliament and our decisions have to be based on other considerations also. Practically every Ministry of ours as well as every mission abroad complains of inadequate staff. A certain procedure was, therefore, adopted to enable us to consider this matter in all its aspects.

About this time you came here and you yourself suggested, when this

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

question was raised, that K.R.K. Menon might go to London and look into this matter. He was asked to confer with you and we expected some kind of recommendations from him, preferably in agreement with you.

He presented his recommendations to us after his talks with you, though his report was written out later. I was given to understand that, except for one or two points, you were agreeable to these proposals.

This was many months ago. Since then there has been much correspondence as to the propriety of Menon reporting to us or to you. It has always seemed to me that this correspondence had little importance and I wrote to you about that. I asked you to send your comments on such matters as were not accepted by you. As these were very few, I expected your reply within a few days or weeks. However, in spite of many reminders, nothing has come for months. And now you again raise the old question as to whether K.R.K. Menon should have said anything to us about this matter.

I am not for the moment concerned with K.R.K. Menon's proposals, but I am very much concerned with the way this whole matter has been dealt with during these months. The natural conclusion was that you did not wish to help us at all in this matter and had adopted some kind of non-cooperation. Even in your last letter you expressed surprise that we should proceed with this matter. I just do not know how to explain this, because we seemed to look upon it from entirely different points of view. It did seem to me that your treatment of this was not very courteous to me, apart from other aspects. Anyhow, it has embarrassed me very greatly, because I have to deal with the Parliament, public and press here. I go on telling people here that we are waiting for your reply and comments before considering a certain report and recommendations. Months pass and nothing is done. A general impression grows that you wish to ignore all of us here. That is not a good impression from any point of view.

Now you have sent me a bundle of papers, which will, no doubt, be examined. But I cannot say much about them, because I have not looked into them carefully. What I expected was not a general note on various departments of India House but rather your comments on one or two specific matters with which you did not happen to agree.

In one of my previous letters I suggested to you to come to India about the beginning of February. I thought that our elections will be over by the end of January. As a matter of fact, these elections will drag on till the end of February and so February will not be a suitable date for you to come here. Probably March will be more suitable. I shall write to you.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal



## 6. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 4, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I am here for a day. I have received your letter of the 31st December about the purchase of Nene engines etc.<sup>2</sup> As this letter contained some relevant information, I have sent extracts from it to the various people concerned here.

We are sending N.R. Pillai for the Finance Ministers' Conference to London. I should like you to lead our delegation at this conference. Pillai can be your alternate as a senior official. He is taking the full brief with him.

As Pillai is going to London and he is, I think, one of the best men we have, I am asking him to discuss this matter of the Nene engines etc. with you and to give you such information as we possess here. He will also meet Malik in Paris. It would be desirable, I think, for you, Malik and Pillai to meet together some time or other so that this matter might be straightened out.

I need not tell you that the question of integrity does not arise so far as I am concerned. But when a procedure is challenged or questions are put, I have to deal with the matter as thoroughly as I can. In the present state of things in India all kinds of wild allegations are continuously made against all of us. I have let it be known that I shall enquire into every one if there is any *prima facie* basis and indeed I have done so in the case of several Ministers. We have to deal with our people as they are and it does not help very much to get angry with them, though anger might be justified occasionally.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Menon wrote that he would keep H.S. Malik, the Indian Ambassador in Paris, informed about the plan for procurement of munitions and Nene engines which was being directly handled by the Indian High Commission. Menon thought that a system of direct purchase was cheaper, though in this case it was necessary to make agreements with the Rolls Royce Company and probably with the British Government as they played a substantial part in the whole process.

## 7. Libraries and Scholarships Abroad<sup>1</sup>

I see that savingsgrams have been sent to a number of our representatives in foreign countries where there is a large Indian population. It is suggested in these savingsgrams that libraries should be set up. I am interested in this project, but I would have left out Rangoon, Colombo and Singapore for the present at least. There is no reason, or at any rate no immediate reason, why we should start libraries in a place where there are plenty of Indians who are in a position to do this if they so feel inclined. I think we should concentrate on Port of Spain, Suva, Port Louis. Also Nairobi. The Nairobi Library should be specially meant for Africans and Indians.

2. The question also arises as to what authority should be in general control of these libraries and other amenities. You refer to the British Council. We have nothing comparable to it. Is there any proposal to have some such Council? It would be improper for the Government as such to start libraries and to be incharge of them.

3. The Cabinet are also agreeable to the grant of additional scholarships both to Indians abroad and to Africans for study in India. This matter might be considered in cooperation with the Education Ministry and proposals put up.

4. I should like some attention to be paid also to the special position of East Africa. I shall gladly do something there to help Africans or the Africans and Indians together. It is important that we develop fellow-feeling among Indians and Africans.

1. Note to the Secretary, Commonwealth Relations, 5 March 1952. J.N. Collection.

## 8. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 14, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have now had three long talks with Raghavan Pillai. He has not prepared a note on the matters he discussed with you and so I have had to rely almost entirely on the talks I have had with him. He has handed me three papers. One is a note dated 29th January which Sir James Marshal Cornwall gave

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, N.M.M.L.



him as a kind of *aide memoire*. The other two papers were given by you to Pillai. They deal with the contract for supply of 37 mm and 75 mm ammunitions and the contract for the supply of anti-tank grenades (Strim).

2. In a matter of this kind it is difficult for any one, and more specially for me, to go into details and to examine every aspect of the question. If that is necessary, of course, it has to be done. My object in having these talks with Pillai was to get, as far as possible, a broad picture of these various contracts for the supply of defence material.

3. For about a year now, these questions have been coming up before me repeatedly. They have been referred to and even discussed in Parliament. There is constant reference to them in the newspapers here and the criticism is very far from being complimentary to Government. Much of this criticism is no doubt uninformed and rather irresponsible. Nevertheless the fact that there is this continuous criticism makes it impossible for us to remain silent. We have to give explanations, if not always to the public, then at least to our Parliamentary Committee.

4. Apart from this public criticism, I have myself felt very much ill-at-ease at some of the facts that have come up before me from time to time. There may have been satisfactory explanations for them, but I have not been convinced. It was for this reason that I asked Raghavan Pillai to go over to London and Paris and have talks with you and Malik and to see the relevant papers. He has done this work and has met not only you and Malik but a large number of other persons including the members of the firm of Sir James Marshal Cornwall and partners. He has met the representatives of the French Government also, including the Defence Minister in the former Government. He is therefore in possession of information from several sides. Neither you nor Malik probably has all this information, because each of you dealt largely with one side.

5. I became interested in the matter of these contracts when the first jeep contract<sup>2</sup> came up for criticism in Parliament last year.<sup>3</sup> You were here then and we went through all the available papers. I was myself satisfied then that in view of the urgency of the situation, when the order was sent from India, some unusual and abnormal steps were necessitated. I think that there were

2. In early 1948 India needed urgent military equipment and jeeps for operations in Kashmir and Hyderabad. Instead of following the conventional channels of procuring military supplies through the Ministry, Krishna Menon directly contacted a company called Antimistates, floated by one E.H. Potter and made an advance payment of £172,000. In March 1949, when the first shipment of 155 jeeps reached Madras, they were found by the Defence Ministry experts to be unserviceable, since the spare parts were not available. The Ministry cancelled the order resulting in a loss of £143,62. In March 1951, India signed another contract with a British firm to procure military jeeps.

3. See *Selected Works* (second series), Vol. 16, Pt. I, pp. 263-264.

some lapses in the drawing up of the contract and greater care should have been exercised in regard to some matters. But I felt that it is easy to be wise after the event and some risks have to be taken in cases of overriding national necessity.

6. That first jeep contract was then converted into the second jeep contract and apparently any losses that we might have suffered were covered by this second contract. We explained this to Parliament. That explanation involved an assurance that all would be well in the future. As a matter of fact, all has not been well and we have not obtained deliveries of the jeeps according to contract. I believe that thus far only about 50 jeeps have been received by us and there is no great chance of our getting many more jeeps under this contract. I do not exactly know what the present position is. I understand it is being enquired into both at your end and here.

7. I have been told that our suppliers, i.e. S.C.K. (subsequently Sir James Marshal Cornwall and partners) have made no formal contract with the manufacturers of the jeeps in Belgium. This seems very odd to me. The result is that we are in difficulties now and we have been unable to keep the assurance we gave to Parliament.

8. I realize fully that the position in regard to the purchase of munitions etc. is a difficult one owing to intensive rearmament programme in Europe and America. There are all kinds of restrictions and the NATO countries practically reserve all production for themselves. While appreciating these difficulties, I still feel that we have not shown much wisdom in getting entangled in this way and thereby not only not getting what we wanted but probably losing a good deal of money.

9. The other two important contracts were for the supply of 37 and 75 mm ammunition and anti-tank (Strim) grenades. I have discussed both these with Raghavan Pillai. He told me a great deal and evidently he had gone fairly deep into these matters with various people concerned. Here also I was left with an uncomfortable feeling that we have got into the habit of acting in a hurry and without full consideration or scrutiny. The fact of our undoubted need should not make us relax or become careless in regard to quality, prices and delivery. It is not possible for me to say precisely how far we would have gained if we had acted somewhat differently. But *prima facie* it does appear to me that we would have been much better off from every point of view if we had dealt more directly with the French Government or with French manufacturers. I think we could have saved a considerable sum of money.

10. This appears to be a natural conclusion. It is always desirable not to deal through middlemen when it is possible to have direct dealings. More specially where Governments are concerned, it is always preferable for them to deal directly with one another. Sometimes this may not be possible and



then if the need is great and urgent, one has recourse to middlemen. In the present instance, representatives of the French Government have informed us that they would have preferred to deal more directly with us. If that is so, and we must presume that it is so in view of what the French Government have told us, then our procedure in bypassing them was wrong and has caused us loss.

11. I understand that Lahiri<sup>4</sup> is a very competent technical expert. People who know him speak highly of his knowledge in this respect. But it appears that he acted sometimes not only as a technical expert but also for purposes of procurement. That was going outside his scope and knowledge.

12. I have got the impression that most of our armament business somehow goes through the hands of a single firm or rather a group of associated firms which are connected with each other in a variety of ways. Now they are known as Sir James Marshal Cornwall and partners. Previously they were the S.C.K. Agencies. In some way or other, Potter and Cleminson were also associated with one of the partners in the firm previously. It seems to me unwise in principle to get tied up with one firm or group. In practice this has led us into all kinds of difficulties. These firms may be as good as other firms dealing in armaments. They may have done us a good turn occasionally. But obviously they also gradually appeared to become indispensable to us and used their position to bring pressure upon us. Again and again they tried to hustle us, telling us that unless we accepted their terms very soon, we would miss the bus or Pakistan would go ahead of us. Our Defence Ministry was alarmed at this prospect and accepted the terms.

13. I suppose, in the nature of things, firms dealing with armaments are a class by themselves. There is secrecy which leads sometimes to underhand dealings, because the normal checks are absent. We may have to put up with this occasionally if our need is great; but I react strongly against this. Our need may be great but it is not so great as to unnerve us and hustle us into doing something which we might otherwise not do. Anyhow our need for economy is at least equally great.

14. The impression I get, therefore, is that we have played too often into the hands of these firms and have placed our trust in them far too much. I am not in a position to condemn them and they may be like any other firms or perhaps even a little better. But obviously they are out to make profits and large profits at that, and we ought to be very careful indeed in dealing with them or any other firm. I do not think we have been sufficiently careful and we have allowed ourselves to be pushed about far too much.

15. I have been unable to understand why we bypassed the French Government. It may be true that Sir James Marshal Cornwall and partners

4. Brigadier B.N. Lahiri was Ordnance Consulting Officer in London at this time.

were successful in establishing a new manufacturer in France and to some extent this was to our advantage. Nevertheless, I think we should have approached the French Government directly and found out what could be done through them or with their advice. In any event this ought to have led us to a substantial reduction in the price charged for the anti-tank grenades.

16. Apart, therefore, from any detailed examination of these transactions, I am convinced that we must not in future rely so much on these particular firms. As a matter of fact, owing to the mounting criticism in India in regard to these firms and their contracts with us, we cannot continue to use them as our normal procurement agents for our defence requirements.

17. Our invariable rule should be that we must avoid intermediaries except when there is no other possible course open to us. We must deal with foreign Governments or foreign manufacturers directly. In regard to purchases in France, if they are from French arsenals, we should deal with the French Government directly. Even where they are from private armament manufacturers, the initial approach should be to the French Government.

18. As far as possible we should follow normal procedures and in any event there must be full scrutiny before a contract is entered into. We must not be hustled.

19. So far as the two existing contracts are concerned, namely for the supply of 37 mm and 75 mm ammunition and antitank grenades (Strim)—they must necessarily be proceeded with. In regard to any future contracts, we must explore a broader field and not confine ourselves to Sir James Marshal Cornwall and partners or their associates. We should always try to deal with the manufacturers directly.

20. In regard to the Nene engines, we have at last approached the French Government and got their agreement, subject to the U.K. Government's permission. The U.K. Government should be asked about this.

21. It seems to me that our effort to concentrate procurement in London has led to this concentration being in the hands of Sir James Marshal Cornwall and their associates. In other words, this firm has almost developed a monopoly in supply to us. That is bad anyhow. In view of our experience of our contracts with them in the past, we have to be particularly careful about our dealings with them.

22. You will remember my sending you a copy of Dhiren Mitra's<sup>5</sup> letter last year. In this letter it was suggested that some commission had been paid by Potter to, I think, 'Cleminson. You promised to enquire into this and I believe that some enquiry was made and evidence recorded. Was this enquiry completed and what was the outcome of it?

5. Dharendra Nath Mitra was the Solicitor to the Indian High Commissioner in London.



23. I am writing this letter to you very soon after my last talk with Pillai when I have the subject fresh in mind. He mentioned to me many particulars. I have not referred to them here as I wanted to get a broad picture. I have tried to convey to you in this letter the picture that I have formed in my mind. Apart from the inherent importance of these matters, they have become even more important for us because of the public outcry in regard to these contracts.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 9. AICC Resolution on Foreign Policy<sup>1</sup>

The All India Congress Committee views with anxiety the continuation of conflicts in the international sphere, referred to as the "Cold War", which are not only accelerating the drift to the terrible catastrophe of another world war, but are also casting an unbearable burden of armaments on the people and leading to a continuous deterioration in the economic situation in the world. The Committee is convinced that none of the great problems that concern humanity today can be solved by war, which can only result in uttermost destruction of man and the creation of new and far more difficult problems. Every possible effort must therefore be made to avoid this catastrophe. The Committee earnestly appeals to the great nations of the world to pursue policies of peace and to avoid, in particular, any action or word which adds to the present estrangement and bitterness.

2. The Committee trusts that the ceasefire negotiations in Korea will lead to a cessation of fighting and to the consideration of other problems with a view to a peaceful settlement in the Far East.

3. The Committee considers it essential in the interests of peace and human progress for all remaining forms of colonial or foreign control over the countries of Asia and Africa to be removed so as to enable the people of those countries to develop in accordance with their own genius.

4. The Committee expresses its full approval of the foreign policy pursued by the Government of India, which, while avoiding alignment with any nation or group against another, seeks the friendship of all countries. It trusts that other countries will also follow a like policy and thus advance the cause of peace.

1. The resolution was drafted by Nehru and adopted at the meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Calcutta on 22 March 1952. File No. G-14C/1952, A.I.C.C. Papers, N.M.M.L.

## 10. The Turkish Press Delegation<sup>1</sup>

The visit of the Turkish press delegation to India<sup>2</sup> has given us great pleasure. I was happy to meet them and to discuss various matters of common interest to us. I am particularly glad that they were able to see, during their visit to India, some of our great construction works, river valley schemes, industrial enterprises and agricultural projects. I hope that they were able to realize something of the new spirit that is animating India. We are anxious and eager to build up the new India and to raise the living standards of millions of our people. This is our first consideration.

Secondly, we are anxious to strengthen the unity of India in the framework of a democratic society. India is a big country and exhibits great variety. We wish to preserve this rich variety and at the same time to strengthen the unity of the country. We wish to give free play to all religions and cultural manifestations that have found a home in India and to give them equal freedom. Thus we have sought to build up a progressive and secular democracy. We have faced many difficulties and we shall no doubt face more difficulties in the future, but we have made good to a large extent already and we hope to go ahead and produce still further results in the future.

The people of India have always had a warm feeling for the people of Turkey. The visit of the Turkish press delegation has had the happy result of bringing our two countries a little closer to one another. I hope these contacts will increase and evergrowing understanding of each other will come out of them.

In bidding good-bye to the eminent representatives of the Turkish press who have come here I would request them to convey our greetings and good wishes to the people of Turkey.

1. Message to the press delegation of Turkey on the eve of their departure from India, 26 March 1952. File No. 43(98)/52-PMS.
2. A five-member Turkish press delegation arrived in Delhi on 4 February for a seven-week tour and had visited Bombay, Hyderabad, Bhakra-Nangal, Calcutta and Madras. Talking to the press, Ahmetemin Yalman, leader of the delegation, spoke highly of the maturity shown by the Indian electorate in the recent elections and praised India's practice of secularism and tolerance and a free Indian press and its objective reporting.





LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS





1

New Delhi  
November 1, 1951

My dear Chief Minister,

The approach of the general elections and of the initial preparations for them are involving an amount of work and worry which is becoming almost a nightmare. This has come at a time of developing crisis in various parts of the world which demands constant attention. One dominant wish overshadows, for the moment, almost everything else in my mind, and of course that wish will be realized. This is for the next hundred days or so to pass and the elections to be a thing of the past. Inevitably, the hundred days will pass, though the end of them will not see an end of our problems.

2. I confess that I find this electioneering business most depressing and I wonder sometimes if this particular form of democracy cannot be improved upon something that brings out the undesirable features in a man's nature, his desire for power and position, his acquisitiveness and wish for self-advancement even at the cost of others, his losing all perspective of the larger issues and judging everything by some petty and personal electoral victory. These individual reactions apart, a serious development is the importance that caste groups are likely to play in the elections. It was in view of this that the last Congress session passed a special resolution about anti-social tendencies.<sup>2</sup> We shall have to face these stoutly and without compromising with them.

3. I still think, as I have said on many occasions, that the most dangerous development today is that of communalism and separatism. Some people have criticized me because of this and declared that there is no such thing as communalism in India. That is a thing of the past. Most of these critics happen to function in communal organizations today and themselves play an exceedingly narrow-minded and communal role. It is understandable that they do not find any fault with themselves and their own activities. They could only see the communalism of some other group, and not their own.

4. The fact is that the partition and its consequences, while it largely pushed out Muslim communalism and sent it to Pakistan, where it flourished exceedingly, also resulted in encouraging Hindu and Sikh communalism in India and many other separatist tendencies. These flourished in the name of

1. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 2 (New Delhi, 1986), pp. 519-577.
2. At its session in Delhi on 18 and 19 October 1951, the Congress, while reaffirming its faith in a secular State, passed a resolution condemning casteism and communalism as contrary to the true spirit of religion and the cultural traditions of India. It reaffirmed equality of rights and opportunities to every citizen irrespective of caste, creed or religion.



nationalism and culture. They demanded loudly what they called strong action against Pakistan, which included war, and criticized governmental policy as one of appeasement of Pakistan. These people, most of whom had done little in the struggle for India's freedom, become her aggressive champions—their India being limited of course to those who agreed with them.

5. This narrow-minded upsurge spread the spirit of separatism in various forms throughout the country and imperilled the national unity which it had been the aim of the Congress to build up and which it had largely succeeded in doing. The Sikhs demanded a separate State or at least a separate province. Demands for linguistic provinces became more vociferous, regardless of certain basic facts and agreements. Caste groups began to think more of themselves than of any larger national issue. Even the Congress was affected by these tendencies and many in the Congress succumbed to them.

6. We are told that communalism and separatism have no significance and that the real problem of India is that of poverty and unemployment and the like. Of course, the primary problem of India is economic and everything else has second place. But in order to tackle that problem effectively, there must be some unity of conception and effort. If separatist and sectarian ideas increase, they make it difficult to tackle that principal problem. If chaotic conditions exist in some parts of the country, then the energy of the nation is largely absorbed in dealing with them, and other matters, however important, become secondary. Therefore it is of primary importance to scotch and try to put an end to those communal and separatist tendencies in order to go ahead with the primary problem of India's economic ills. The two are inter-related and affect one another and, to some extent, have to be tackled together. But if we allow the communal spirit to grow, then inevitably social reaction will also grow and prevent economic progress.

7. I can understand these criticisms from non-Congressmen, who have had some communal background in the past. But it amazes me that any Congressman should so mislead himself and others as to think that we can ignore these dangerous tendencies. Because we partly ignored them, they grew and cast a shadow all over the country and created an inner weakness in the Congress itself. A change has come now because of a straightforward and frontal approach to this problem and most people who had allowed themselves to drift in a wrong direction, have pulled themselves up. There should be or can be no relaxation in this effort. I would like to repeat that it is better to lose elections than to give up something which has been the basis of our national movement and that is the foundation of all progress in India.

8. The election campaign, which is gradually taking shape all over the country, largely consists in attacks on our Governments and on the Congress. Every party has the right to criticize or condemn present-day Governments but, in reading these criticisms, the dominant reaction is of their emptiness

and barrenness. Instead of any positive approach to our problems, the easy and negative way of condemnation is adopted, and even this usually takes the form of personal attacks, sometimes bordering on indecency, and utter falsehoods about the Governments.

9. If India had something in the nature of war-lords fighting for mastery over their respective areas, then the issue would have been clear enough. We have not got those war-lords, but we have something rather similar to them in the ideological sphere and we have to deal with them lest they delude the people and injure the country's cause by false slogans. Whatever misguided people may say or do, it is essential that we should avoid sinking to a level of personal attack during these elections.

10. Much has happened during these last ten days since I wrote to you. The food situation has grown worse and the lack of rain in Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and some parts of Uttar Pradesh and the Punjab, has darkened our future prospects. In Pakistan the assassination of Mr Liaquat Ali Khan has led to certain important changes in the Government.<sup>3</sup> We have had a visit from Thakin Nu, the Prime Minister of Burma.<sup>4</sup> It is always a pleasure to have him here, for he is an unusual type of political leader, who thinks and acts in a straight manner. Our meetings are not only, I hope, good for both of us, but have a larger significance in cementing the good relations of India and Burma. The Chinese cultural delegation is in Delhi now and has had a warm welcome. It consists of eminent representatives in science, letters, music, economics and other subjects. They are at the beginning of their all-India tours and will visit, as you know, many States. In the long perspective of history, it is of the highest importance that the two great countries of China and India should understand each other.

11. There is in the world today an amazing lack of mutual understanding. Foreign affairs are governed by slogans. Is it a communist or non-communist country; is it in this bloc or that? The test is whether it falls in a set line laid down for it or keeps away. My doxy is orthodoxy; other doxies are heterodoxy. It is amazing how narrow viewpoints are becoming.

12. It is with regret that I have to inform you that Shri Rajagopalachari is leaving Government.<sup>5</sup> I could not induce him to stay any longer and had to agree to his oft-expressed desire for rest. We shall miss him greatly

3. Ghulam Mohammed, the Finance Minister, became the Governor General, and Khwaja Nazimuddin, Prime Minister and Defence Minister. Chaudhuri Mohammed Ali became the Secretary General of the Pakistan Government and Finance Minister, and Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Industries Minister.

4. From 21 to 24 October 1951.

5. Rajagopalachari resigned from the Central Cabinet on 5 November 1951.



and the burdens that I have to carry will increase. I am sure that the nation cannot accept his retirement for long. I have invited Dr Kailas Nath Katju, Governor of Bengal, to join the Central Cabinet and I am glad to say that he has accepted it. I intend asking him to take up both the Home and Law portfolios. Normally these two portfolios should not be joined together as, to some extent, each is a check on the other. But for the relatively brief period till the elections are over and the new Parliament meets, this arrangement seemed to me most convenient. Any other arrangement would have somewhat upset existing Ministries.

13. Our Ambassador in Washington, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, has decided to resign with a view to standing for election to Parliament. She has been out of India for many years and it was her earnest desire to return home. I could not say no to her, although her departure from Washington creates a difficult problem for us. She has been one of our outstanding successes in our diplomatic work and it will be difficult to replace her. She, in common with some of our other Ambassadors, has often been criticized in Parliament and outside. It is not possible for her, and it was not easy for us, to discuss the work of our Ambassadors in public. But the fact has been that she occupied one of our most difficult posts during a critical period, with great distinction and served India well. Her popularity in the United States has been something phenomenal. Whenever the question of her return to India has been mentioned, the State Department of Washington has expressed its regret and its desire that she should continue.

14. Another foreign mission of ours is at present without an Ambassador. This is Peking, also a difficult and delicate assignment. Shri K.M. Panikkar has recently come back to India after three hard years in Peking. During these years he has played a very distinguished and outstanding role and done good service to India and to Indo-Chinese understanding. I hope that it may be possible for him to go back to China for a brief period at least. Meanwhile he is joining our Delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

15. Our Foreign Service has grown up rapidly and it was inevitable that it should lack experience. It is often criticized and sometimes the criticism is justified. But, by and large, our Ambassadors abroad stand out among the other members of the diplomatic corps and the reputation of India's foreign missions is high. We have had trouble in some places and sometimes the younger members of our mission have not behaved as they should. The new environment has swept them away. Another difficulty is a proper adjustment between administrative efficiency and political understanding, which is so necessary during this critical period of the world. Most people imagine that an Ambassador's life is one of parties and ceremonial functions. It is true that this relic of old times continues. But the other and far more important part of his work does not come to the surface and is little known. Ultimately it is not

the parties that count, but the political understanding of India's policies as well as of those of the country to which the Ambassador is accredited. He or she has to reflect India's policy clearly and firmly and yet to retain the goodwill of the other country.

16. Recently the Auditor-General, in his report to Parliament,<sup>6</sup> made some observations which have been splashed in the press and led some people to believe that our foreign missions are in a bad way. As a matter of fact, the Auditor-General spoke well of many of our missions abroad and criticized in rather strong terms one particular mission, where accounts etc., had not been properly kept. We had ourselves felt unhappy about this matter and it was at our instance that the Auditor-General went there.<sup>7</sup> Even before his report came to us, we took action and changed a large part of the staff there. The head of the Legation<sup>8</sup> died before the enquiry was over. There was no charge or proof of any loss of money, but there were certain grave irregularities and we took strong action. We propose to take such action wherever and whenever needed, whether in the case of individuals or of a mission abroad.

17. We have had to deal, during the past few days, with certain developments in Nepal which were coming in the way of ordered progress there. Our Ambassador in Kathmandu<sup>9</sup> was summoned for consultation. He has now gone back and we hope that some of the difficulties that face Nepal will be eased in the near future.

18. The Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. R.G. Casey, who used to be Governor of Bengal at one time, paid a brief visit<sup>10</sup> to New Delhi on his way to the United Nations. The visit of Commonwealth statesmen is always welcome because it enables us to exchange ideas and keep in touch with each other. Unfortunately newspapers often think that some secret intrigues are afoot whenever Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers meet. And so a report suddenly came out that some new and secret move was being taken by India in regard to the Kashmir question. This bright idea struck someone because he saw one of our Foreign Office Secretaries<sup>11</sup> travelling in the same aircraft to Karachi with Mr Casey. This was pure accident and our Secretary was paying a routine visit to Karachi for purposes of inspection. His going there had nothing to do with either Mr Casey or with Kashmir.

6. In his report which was laid on the table of the House on 16 October 1951, V. Narahari Rao, the Auditor-General, had referred to irregularities and misuse of public funds at the Legation in Berne.

7. He went there in September 1950.

8. Dhirajlal B. Desai.

9. C.P.N. Singh.

10. From 25 to 28 October 1951.

11. B.N. Chakravarti.



19. The Constituent Assembly of Kashmir began its first sessions yesterday. Probably it will adjourn after a few days and after appointing a number of committees. This Assembly contains a solid bloc of representatives of the National Conference under Shaikh Abdullah's leadership. Naturally it must reflect the views of the National Conference in regard to the Kashmir problem. These views are in favour of accession to India but, it must be remembered, that we have clearly stated that any expression of views in the Constituent Assembly will not come in the way of the Security Council's consideration of the Kashmir problem. We have made certain commitments and we must stand by them. The elections to the Constituent Assembly have proved beyond doubt what the people of Jammu and Kashmir, or at any rate, the people of the areas under the control of the Jammu and Kashmir Government at present, think. It has been an overwhelming victory for Shaikh Abdullah and his National Conference. While this is clear to anyone, still we are perfectly willing and indeed anxious to have a plebiscite if satisfactory conditions are laid down for it. The frequent criticism in the foreign press and elsewhere that we are fighting shy of a plebiscite because we are afraid of its result, is completely without foundation. The sooner a proper plebiscite is held, the better for us because it will finally solve this question which has troubled us for so long. We have no doubt as to the result of that plebiscite. But, as I have said above, the plebiscite can only be satisfactory if the conditions under which it is held are proper. Dr Graham's report is likely to be considered by the Security Council early this month in Paris.<sup>12</sup>

The general elections in the United Kingdom have resulted, not unexpectedly, in a victory for the Conservative Party, though the margin is not great. Some people in India, remembering past history, think that Mr Churchill and his colleagues will create difficulties for India. I do not think this apprehension is justified. As an independent country, India is not directly concerned with changes of Governments in the United Kingdom. Naturally we are deeply interested in them because of the larger consequences that flow from any major change in policy in the United Kingdom. We have also close relations in many matters. But whatever the past of the Conservative Party might have been in regard to India, they are realists and they cannot undo what has happened. Indeed, many of the leaders of the Conservative Party have assured me of this in the past. More particularly, Mr Eden, the Foreign Secretary and Lord Ismay, the Commonwealth Secretary, have, I believe, friendly feelings towards India. Lord Ismay was here with Lord Mountbatten<sup>13</sup>

12. It was considered on 10 November 1951.

13. From March to November 1947.

and Mr Eden paid a brief visit to New Delhi some time ago<sup>14</sup> and was pleasantly surprised with what he found here. He addressed our Members of Parliament also.<sup>15</sup> It is possible of course that in some matters British policy may not be wholly agreeable to us. Even the Labour Government's foreign policy was not always pleasing to us. We have to deal with these matters as they arise. I think it is unbecoming and improper for us to condemn a foreign Government or to express apprehensions as to what it might do to India.

21. There is some talk of a Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London. This is still very vague and nothing has been proposed. Should such a Conference be held, it will of course be very difficult, and hardly possible, for me to attend it, till the elections are over at least.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

14. From 21 to 24 March 1949.

15. In his address to the Members of Parliament on 22 March 1949, Eden had said that while the decision to remain in the Commonwealth was India's own, he would be happier to see India strive for a 'closer and more intimate' relationship with U.K. and other sister nations of the Commonwealth.

## II

New Delhi  
November 30, 1951

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you what is called my fortnightly letter after a full month. I am very sorry at this lapse on my part. I have tried to be more or less regular in the past but events have rather overwhelmed me during this past month. I suppose the next six weeks or so will be equally difficult. You will understand my predicament and forgive me.

2. A great deal of my time has been taken up by work connected with the elections. There has been the business of selecting candidates (and there are over 4,000 of them to be so selected) and then touring. The process of selection of candidates has been a most depressing business. I am quite convinced that the procedure we had laid down for inviting applications and then appeals, has been a wrong procedure. It has given rise to charges and counter-charges and an attempt on the part of many of the applicants to run down their rivals. The most extraordinary charges have often been made. It was obviously impossible for the Selection Committee to convert itself into some kind of a judicial tribunal and decide on the many unsavoury issues that were raised.



We gave a great deal of time to this and worked early and late, but it was manifestly impossible to carry on enquiries into the charges. We had to decide with the date before us, keeping in mind the recommendations of the Pradesh Congress Committee. The result of all this has been, to my mind, highly unsatisfactory from every point of view. A lot of mud has been thrown about indiscriminately and it is difficult to avoid some of it sticking. In the circumstances, it is inevitable that mistakes should be made and many should be disappointed and even have a sense of unfair treatment.

3. We shall have to devise some better method in future. Of course this process of selection of candidates on the eve of election is bad. This should be done much earlier. As it is the selection has been made sometimes a day or two before nominations and then difficulties have arisen if the nomination paper was rejected or some other confusion arose. Many who would have made excellent candidates, have preferred not to stand at all because of this atmosphere of charge and counter-charge.<sup>1</sup> Indeed politics in India, as perhaps elsewhere, gradually tends to eliminate the sensitive person. Only the tough survive.

4. Touring has been an exhausting business for me and yet it has also been exhilarating. I confess that the sight of vast numbers of friendly people cheered me greatly and gave me strength. I am used to large crowds but I have seldom seen such numbers as I saw during my last tour. I spent five days on this tour—half a day in Bombay, about a day in Madras, and two-and-a-half days in Travancore-Cochin. During these four days I must have addressed at public meetings or met at roadside gatherings about forty lakhs of people. There were several meetings a day and the attendance at the larger meetings often amounted to several hundred thousands. These colossal numbers obviously have some significance. Indeed I had the sensation of vast movements of multitudes of human beings, almost like some human earthquake or flood. They looked with kindly and affectionate eyes and I was filled with emotion.

5. Politics are in a peculiarly fluid state in India at present. To some extent this is natural. This is our first test on a colossal scale after the attainment of independence. The old objectives change and new urges and apprehensions fill the people. Innumerable parties clamour for attention and seek election for their candidates. Many of these parties are mushroom growths. Some are older ones and have importance. Among the older parties is the Socialist Party which appears to have some strength in a few States. The Communist Party hardly counts in India as a whole but in some small areas they have a considerable following, chiefly because of local reasons. They are much more

1. For example, Sri Prakasa and Purushottamdas Tandon had declined to contest the elections on this ground.

demonstrative than others. In the north of India the Bharatiya Jan Sangh is playing an important part. It is a new Party under its present name but it is a direct offspring of existing communal organizations. Then there are a number of local or provincial parties,<sup>2</sup> the Congress towering above all these other parties, and attempts are being made for all kinds of combinations between them. There are a large number of Independents standing.

6. Probably many of these mushroom parties will disappear after the elections. The others will have to organize themselves anew with the experience gained, and gradually our political life will become less fluid.

7. You will remember that the President issued a directive to the Mysore Government in regard to a certain case that is going on in the courts there. The Mysore Government having agreed to get a Judge from Bombay for this trial, there was no further necessity for the President's directive and this has been withdrawn.

8. In Nepal a new Cabinet has been formed.<sup>3</sup> From all accounts this Cabinet is a stronger and more representative one than the last, and for the first time there is a non-Rana Prime Minister. In recent developments in Nepal, our advice has been frequently sought and I am glad to say that a great deal of attention has been paid to it. Many difficulties still continue in Nepal but on the whole the outlook is better than it was.

9. The failure of the rains in some parts of the country has made the food position more difficult. Fortunately there have been recent rains in Madras and in some parts of Bombay and these have somewhat improved the situation. Nevertheless the situation continues to be grave and the hope we nourished that we would be able to carry forward a considerable quantity of foodgrains to the next year is rather dim now. There has been reference in the newspapers to widespread famine next year. I do not think that this is at all a correct appraisal of the situation. It is perfectly true that crops have failed in parts of Rajasthan, Ajmer-Merwara, Gujarat, Saurashtra and some districts of the Punjab, Madhya Bharat and U.P. Nevertheless the situation is not bad as it is painted. In other parts of India crops have been good.

10. The Kashmir issue came up again before the Security Council and they have decided to give another six weeks to Dr Graham. Dr Graham is now carrying on conversations with Shri B.N. Rau and Mr Zafrullah Khan. As the main question being discussed is one of demilitarization we have sent Major-General Thimayya and Brigadier Manekshaw to advise our representative.

2. Of the seventy-five political parties which participated in the elections, eight functioned on an all-India basis, fourteen were regional and the rest were local in character.
3. On 16 November 1951, M.P. Koirala became the Prime Minister of Nepal with a cabinet predominantly of members of the Nepali Congress.



Thus far nothing very promising has emerged. Meanwhile in Kashmir steady progress is made. The Constituent Assembly met and after appointing a number of Committees<sup>4</sup> adjourned to meet probably in April next.

11. In Egypt a difficult situation has arisen because of the assumption by the King of the additional title of King of Sudan. The Egyptian Government is apparently insisting on Ambassadors presenting their credentials to the King of Egypt and Sudan. This means a recognition of the new title and thereby of Egypt's claims on the Sudan. It seems hardly proper to do so in this indirect and rather casual way. We do not therefore propose to take any such steps. We have at present no Ambassador there. Probably we shall not send any Ambassador for some time until the situation clears up more. We shall keep a Chargé d' Affaires in Cairo till then.

12. I am glad to inform you that our Railway Ministry has arrived at an agreement<sup>5</sup> with the All-India Railwaymen's Federation regarding the machinery for settlement of disputes.

13. About two weeks ago I paid a brief visit to Himachal Pradesh.<sup>6</sup> It was very pleasant to go to the Kulu and Kangra Valleys and I met with an enthusiastic reception everywhere. But wherever I went there was a cry for more roads, more schools, more post offices and other amenities. The hunger for learning was surprising and sometimes little boys under ten would walk as much as fifteen miles a day to go to school. The greatest problem of these mountain valleys is that of communications. Once proper roads are built they would become much more accessible and would develop fairly rapidly.

14. The Sindri Fertilizer Factory has begun production of ammonium sulphate. The amount produced will be progressively increased during the next few months.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Constituent Assembly met on 31 October 1951 and appointed various committees on the questions of compensation to dispossessed landlords, fundamental rights, and the basic principles.

5. The agreement was arrived at on 10 November 1951 recommending constitution of a three-tier negotiating machinery to resolve disputes between the workers and the employers.

6. From 15 to 17 November 1951.

## III

New Delhi  
January 7, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

There has been another gap in these fortnightly letters and I fear they tend to become monthly. I hope, however, to revert to a fortnightly soon.

2. As you must know, I have been touring about incessantly. I have visited many parts of India from the Himalayas to the extreme south and from the northeast to the west. I must have created some kind of a record in this respect. It was not possible for me to go everywhere and, regretfully, I had to say no to many places. But I have been to nearly all our States, though my visit to some of them have been very brief indeed. I am particularly sorry that I could not visit Tamil Nad except for a day in Madras. In Malabar also, I could only go for one brief meeting at Cannanore.

3. I am going out again tomorrow, this time to Saurashtra, Kutch and Ajmer. After a brief interval, I shall go to Uttar Pradesh for a few days. This will end my touring on January 21st. That indeed is the last day possible for this, as elections will be over in most States by then and will begin in Uttar Pradesh soon after.<sup>1</sup> In a sense, I shall have visited all the States, except Manipur, Tripura and Coorg.

4. Apart from the number of places visited by me, the number of people who have come to my meetings has been extraordinary and beyond any previous experience. Quite a large number of my meetings have had an audience of 1,00,000 or more, some have gone up to 2,00,000 or 3,00,000. One meeting held on the Calcutta Maidan<sup>2</sup> was variously estimated to have had an audience of over half a million or about a million. I imagine that I have actually addressed directly, during the past five or six weeks, at least fifteen million people and possibly nearly twenty millions. This does not include many whom I passed by the wayside. By the time I have finished this touring, I will have come into some kind of direct contact with nearly ten per cent of India's vast population.

5. Many friends express concern at the hectic and nomadic life that I have been leading recently. They ask me if it does not tire me out. Of course it is tiring, but, as a matter of fact, I have found it very exhilarating. The mere fact of coming into contact in this way with vast numbers of our people, who are full of affection, is an overpowering experience which I can never forget. As I rushed about from place to place, the varied panorama of India

1. From 22 January 1952.

2. On 1 January 1952.



passed before my eyes and each place recalled to my mind some fragment of our history. So the touring enriched me in addition to bringing me nearer to the millions of our people. I sensed a feeling of deep kinship with them and my faith in them grew. The realization came upon me, as it had come in the past also sometimes, that it was more important to share this feeling of kinship than to approach them merely with logical arguments, though the logical approach is of course necessary. But logic by itself can be very barren and may not take us far. It is awareness and appreciation of each other that counts. I felt overwhelmed at the abundance of affection shown to me, in spite of the obvious complaints and disabilities which people suffer from. Given the right approach, the reaction of the Indian people, as of any other people, is good. The question came to my mind repeatedly how we can produce this reaction for constructive effort in India. It can be done if we know how to do it, not by distant advice but rather by associating ourselves with the work.

6. Some slight indication of the results of the elections can be obtained already,<sup>3</sup> but we shall have to wait for some time longer before the picture is at all definite. Actually the full and final results will not be available till the end of February. This means that the elections for the Upper Houses will have to take place in March<sup>4</sup> and the Presidential election will be held in the first half of April.<sup>5</sup> The new Parliament cannot meet before the end of April or the beginning of May at the earliest.<sup>6</sup>

7. Because of the provisions of our Constitution and also for other valid reasons, we cannot have such a long gap period between two sessions of Parliament. We have, therefore, to have a meeting of the old Parliament some time earlier to consider the provisional budget and some other important matters. We are fixing the 5th February for the opening day of the next Parliamentary session. This will probably last a month. We shall avoid taking up any controversial measure during this session because it would not be proper for the expiring Parliament to deal with major matters on which there is a difference of opinion. Our agenda for Parliament will, therefore, be confined to the budget, to various ordinances, and to some other important matters. The notification regarding the Punjab is expiring about the 8th of

3. There were indications of the Congress Party leading in Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh, while it was facing strong opposition in Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Hyderabad and Orissa.

4. The election for 200 seats in the Rajya Sabha—the Council of States, took place on 27 March 1952.

5. Election of the Vice-President and the President took place on 24 April and 6 May 1952 respectively.

6. The new Parliament met on 13 May 1952.

February. It is manifest that we cannot have a meeting of the new Punjab Assembly by that time. Therefore, we shall have to extend this period of the notification till it becomes feasible to have a Ministry in the Punjab. It was this necessity that made us fix the date of the next session of Parliament early in February. Otherwise we might have had it a little later.

8. Elections inevitably give rise to arguments which sometimes become quite passionate. This leads to ill will. I hope that after the elections are over, we shall all make a special effort to get over this ill will and try to get as much cooperation as possible from all groups in building up the new India. While political differences must necessarily remain, there is no reason why we should cling to old controversies and come in each other's way all the time. Whether we win or lose, we have to carry on, in our different capacities, the national work. All our people have to learn this essential feature of democracy. On the whole thus far, the elections have been peaceful and well organized.

9. Because of my incessant touring, I regret that I have not been able to keep in an intimate touch with developments as I normally do and should have done. Many things have happened during this past month, and the general situation in the world has not improved. In Korea, the ceasefire talks have encountered what appears to be an insurmountable barrier and the prospect of peace there has receded. In Europe, though there is no near prospect of war, the tension appears to have become worse. It centres round Germany and the questions of German rearmament and German unity have become of vital importance. There is a good deal of difference of opinion about the constitution of a European army.<sup>7</sup> The U.K., after encouraging this concept, has hesitated to accept it with all its implications.<sup>8</sup> On the future of Germany, one might say that the issue of war and peace depends. To some extent, the same argument applies to the rearmament of Japan in the Far East.

10. The international situation has been powerfully affected by the developments in the Middle East, more particularly in Iran<sup>9</sup> and Egypt. In both places there is an impasse. Apart from the merits of the questions that

7. On 11 August 1950, the Council of Europe adopted a resolution proposed by Winston Churchill for setting up of a European army. Representatives of France, Italy, Belgium, West Germany, Luxembourg and the Netherlands met in Paris from 27 to 30 December 1951 and agreed to set up a "Supernational Army" by a gradual supercession of their national armies.
8. On 28 November 1951, the British representative to the Council of Europe stated that Britain could never envisage participation in a European federation on account of its vital interests in other regions of the world but added that a European army would be a very important contribution.
9. On 3 January 1952, Iran rejected the World Bank proposals for reviving the Abadan refinery which had been closed down in 1951.



have arisen, the significance of the Middle East today lies in the growth of an intense nationalism. This has upset many of the calculations of the great powers, more particularly in regard to Middle Eastern defence.<sup>10</sup> The U.S.S.R. are obviously pleased at the turn events have taken in the Middle East, for this weakens their adversaries. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom is at present in Washington to discuss all these various problems.<sup>11</sup>

11. Dr Graham has presented his report on Kashmir. This report does not take us very much further. It is, more or less, a factual report, certain new suggestions are put forward by Dr Graham which do not appear to us to be in line with the previous decisions of the U.N. Commission or what we agreed to. This will come up before the Security Council about the middle of this month when Dr Graham is expected to make a statement. Further discussion is likely to take place about the end of January. Meanwhile, the Pakistan press is again indulging in some wild talk about Kashmir.<sup>12</sup> The Prime Minister of Pakistan has also hinted that the Security Council should impose some solution.<sup>13</sup> I thought it desirable to make it perfectly clear that we could not agree to any imposition.<sup>14</sup>

12. The U.N. General Assembly has been meeting in Paris. Among other questions discussed has been the South African Indian question. This has become a hardy annual. Each time the General Assembly criticizes the South African attitude and proposes some further consultation. The Union Government of South Africa, however, pursues its determined policy of racial discrimination in this matter as in others, regardless of the U.N.'s advice or directives. The South African Indian question becomes a part of the much larger issue of racial discrimination. There may be no quick or easy solution of this, but it is one of the most explosive and far-reaching issues of our times, because the whole of the continent of Africa is involved in this wider issue of racial discrimination. Delay in finding a solution makes the disease worse. It will be

10. The Middle East defence plan, sponsored by the United States, Britain, France and Turkey on 13 October 1951, envisaged setting up of a new Allied Middle East Command with Egypt as an equal partner. The plan proposed the supercession of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the transfer of the Suez Canal zone to the Allied Command. Egypt rejected the plan on 14 October 1951.

11. Churchill visited the United States and Canada from 5 to 27 January 1952.

12. On 28 December 1951, *Dawn* wrote that "Pakistan's patience has a limit and that limit has been reached."

13. At Lahore on 25 December 1951, Khwaja Nazimuddin said, "Pakistan demands that the Security Council should use its powers and direct India to withdraw her forces from Kashmir. It should then arrange to hold a fair and impartial plebiscite under its auspices."

14. On 27 December, Nehru said that "if the Prime Minister of Pakistan or the Prime Minister of any country in the world thinks that anything is going to be imposed upon India in regard to Kashmir he is very much mistaken .... We will stand no nonsense or bullying from any country in the world because we know we are right."

a bad day for all if a racial explosion takes place on a big scale in Africa. We have seen the consequences of delay in Iran and Egypt. These consequences may well be much worse in Africa.

13. In East Africa, the Government of the day, which is dominated by the European planter element, has passed a law bringing in separate communal electorates. This has been done in the face of persistent and heated opposition on the part of Indians there, who have had enough experience of this discredited system of separate electorates. It is clear that this is meant to weaken various popular elements in East Africa and to make it easier for the European planters to hold on to their special interests and position.

14. As I am writing to you, we are having informal consultations with the Prime Minister and some other Ministers of Nepal, who have come to Delhi for this purpose.<sup>15</sup> The Government of Nepal had expressed a desire that our foreign and defence policies should be closely coordinated. We entirely agree with this proposal and the only question that arises is how to give effect to it. The Prime Minister of Nepal now is Shri Maitrika Prasad Koirala, President of the Nepali Congress. His assumption of the office of Prime Minister marks a further and important step in the democratization of Nepal. It may be called the end of the first phase. The next phase should be the election of the Constituent Assembly and thus the completion of the political revolution in Nepal. It is worth remembering that these far-reaching and revolutionary changes in Nepal have taken place without much conflict or trouble. This has been largely due to the friendly cooperation between the Governments of Nepal and India.

15. A meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers is taking place in London soon. This will discuss the grave economic situation that has arisen more especially in the United Kingdom. The programmes of rearmament on a big scale are making their effect felt and depressing the economy of the countries concerned. Our Finance Minister is unable to attend this conference because of the elections. We have, however, sent a strong team, on an official basis, to this conference. It is possible that our Finance Minister might have to go to London some time next month to discuss special points as between India and the U.K.

16. A Treaty of Friendship with Turkey has been signed.<sup>16</sup>

17. Shri B.N. Rau, who has carried on his work as India's representative in the U.N. with such distinction has now been elected a Member of the

15. The Nepalese delegation was in Delhi from 6 to 9 January 1952.

16. Signed in Ankara on 14 December 1951, the Treaty provided for maintenance of diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries, reciprocity of rights to nationals of each country, settlement of disputes through diplomatic channels, and strengthening of cultural ties.



International Court of Justice. This is a well-deserved honour, but it deprives us of his services in the U.N. Our Ambassador in Washington, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, resigned from her post in order to stand as a candidate in the elections that are taking place in India.

18. You will have noticed that the Government of India has signed contracts with some foreign oil companies for the setting up of oil refineries in India.<sup>17</sup> Some people have criticized these contracts without knowing all the facts.<sup>18</sup> It is true that this is rather a special contract and we should not like to repeat this. We have to buy petrol, as we have not got enough of it in India. If we cannot produce oil in the country, it must come from abroad. We have not the resources in trained men or money to build up refineries in various parts of India. The new agreement will give us these refineries and will thus mean a definite advantage to us both financially and in terms of availability of an article of great importance in the modern world.

19. The Ford Foundation of America have offered us a sum of money which is to be utilized in developing fifty rural centres in India more or less on the lines of Etawah.

20. Two days ago I signed an agreement with the U.S. Government, which will result in a contribution, which may be considered a grant, of fifty million dollars for the development of townships and rural areas, in particular, places like Nilokheri and Etawah. I attach great importance to these experiments which have already justified themselves fully. If we could spread them all over India, it would be a great thing, not only from the point of view of food production etc., but because it will build up integrated communities.

21. Your Government must immediately consider the selection of some suitable sites for the building up of such townships or rural areas. Our Planning Commission will address you on this subject and I hope you will give early attention to their request.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. The Government of India had signed contracts with Standard Vacuum Oil on 30 November and Burnah Shell on 16 December 1951, according to which these companies were required to set up refineries at Bombay, open their branches in India and offer 25% of their capital to Indians as preference stock. In return, the Government assured that the companies would not be acquired for twenty-five years and were to be exempt from the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act.

18. In a statement on 3 December 1951, Asoka Mehta alleged that Nehru had entered into agreements with the concerns against whom Mossadeq was fighting and that these concerns had been assured a long-term monopoly at the expense of Indian companies.

## IV

New Delhi

January 31, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I have at last finished my tours. Just a week ago I returned to Delhi and since then I have been trying to return to what is more or less my normal life here. Perhaps normal is hardly the right word to use, because there is no normality in these days for a person who holds responsible position in the State. Much less can there be any normality during and after general elections. Having more or less passed through the stormy weather of the elections, we have to face the after-effects and the consequences and that is no easy business. Already many headaches loom in the distance.

2. The general elections were, by and large, a leap in the dark. Nobody could prophecy the result of an appeal to a new and vast electorate. There were no precedents or measuring rods available and any attempt at prophecy could not be much more than guess-work. The Congress had some advantages and many grave disadvantages. The advantages were obvious—some kind of an organization, tradition and its past record. Even these advantages had their countervailing disadvantages, because tradition and past prestige gave rise to an easy optimism; the organization became loose and complacent; and the past record included also the past hopes and aspirations which became a standard to judge the more recent record.

3. There were also positive disadvantages, the obvious one being the close association with the governmental structure and the inevitable dissatisfaction with a Government in office for a number of years of economic stress and hardship. It was easy for any opposing party to lay stress on these hardships and difficulties and practically to confine its programme and propaganda to one of condemnation of the Congress. Of course, errors and mistakes had been committed by the Congress and the Governments. These were exaggerated and the achievements of Government were conveniently ignored. Indeed, some of the propaganda against the Congress and the Governments made them appear to be monsters of evil.

4. The last five years had let loose many forces. There were those represented vaguely by different kinds of so-called leftists who laid stress on far-reaching economic changes. There were also strong communal elements among the Hindus and the Sikhs and others, and a growth of casteism in our politics. Relatively small constituencies encouraged an appeal to a dominant caste in that area. These were general considerations. More specifically certain State Governments had become very unpopular, as subsequent events showed. As I write this, elections are not over yet and many results have still to come. It would be foolish therefore for me to sit in judgment on them or to draw



conclusions without adequate date. There have already been many surprises in these elections and there might well be more surprises in store for us. Nevertheless, a certain picture has emerged all over India and we are justified in coming to some provisional conclusions.

5. Broadly speaking, the Congress stood as a kind of progressive centre party pledged to economic changes but cautious in its approach. On the one side there were the communal parties which were socially reactionary. There were also parties which definitely represented social conservatism like the jagirdars, zamindars and in some places big Capital. On the other side there were the so-called leftists of various shades and grades from Socialists to Communists. There were, of course, other groups too, such as the K.M.P.P. But it would require a very wise man indeed to say where exactly the K.M.P.P. was or if it was anywhere at all, because while vehemently anti-Congress, it was otherwise all things to all men and made alliances indiscriminately with other groups.

6. The Congress by tradition and historic necessity stood for the unity of the country, anti-communalism and fought against disintegrating tendencies. It is true that evils had crept into it and even some elements of communalism were to be seen within its ranks. It had also developed, as large political parties are apt to do, a certain boss-type of local politics. This had discouraged the development of local leadership and thus greatly lessened its contact with the people. In the election, however, it stood four-square for unity and against communalism. On the whole, it can be said that it achieved success in this respect and communal parties fared badly against it. A significant fact was that the leftist parties seldom directly opposed communalism and indeed called it a bogey which hardly existed. That seemed to me a complete misreading of the situation. It has been only the vigorous opposition of the Congress to communalism during these elections that has checked the latter's growth. Where communalism has succeeded, it has generally done so with the help of jagirdari and like elements.

7. Another feature of communalism, however, sometimes masquerading under a leftist guise, has undoubtedly come more to the front, especially in the South. This is voting on caste lines.<sup>1</sup>

8. One rather significant feature of the elections has been the permutations and combinations of various parties opposed to the Congress. There was not much principle involved in this; indeed, principles were often sacrificed. Thus the Congress fought on all fronts and sometimes even within itself. Keeping

1. For example, in Travancore-Cochin the Ezhavas, Jacobites and Catholics voted for Congress and the principal Hindu castes deserted the Congress and stood by the Communists. The Vániya community in South Arcot supported the Tamilnad Toilers Party which fought elections with the Communist Party as part of the United Front.

in view these circumstances the success of the Congress, except in South India, has been rather remarkable.

9. Undoubtedly in South India the Congress has largely failed,<sup>2</sup> although it is still the biggest single party in any State there. There are a multitude of reasons for this failure in the South, but I think in the main they are four; dissatisfaction with the existing State Governments; the food shortages and specially the lack of rice; disintegration of the Congress organization; and caste groupings. It is significant that leftist parties often took full advantage of these caste groupings, especially in Assembly elections.

10. These are some odd considerations and I could write much more on this subject. But the major fact is that in spite of the notable success of the Congress in many parts of the country, its failure in the South has great significance. It is something which encourages a certain inherent disintegrating tendency in the country against which the Congress has fought throughout its long career. Also it is clear evidence of dissatisfaction with the Congress on the ground that it has not been able to meet adequately the challenge of economic conditions. That feeling, I think, is widespread, though it was more concentrated in the South. Perhaps the South has also experienced the feeling that it was rather ignored by the North and that the North did not pay enough attention to its problems.

11. Another significant feature of these elections has been the success in socially backward areas, like Rajasthan, of the jagirdari elements.<sup>3</sup> Old rulers and their numerous relatives have stood as candidates, usually supported by the Hindu communal organizations, and it has become evident that they still have considerable prestige in their own States. The Governments of those States had effectively alienated these ruling classes and at the same time had not gone far enough to win over the peasantry who were still afraid of their feudal lords and influenced by the glamour of royalty. It was no small matter when the ex-ruler, and even more so his wife, went canvassing or making personal appeals for votes. There is little doubt that many of these rulers and their supporters aimed at some kind of united effort to get back their lost privileges or to re-establish themselves in some other way. In particular, there was opposition to the abolition of the jagirdari system.

12. The failure of the Socialist Party in these elections is also another significant feature. They have shown a peculiar capacity for misjudging a situation and for living in an unreal world of dreams. Their policies are often adventurist and did not carry weight. They lacked ballast very much.

2. The Congress won 146 out of 375 seats in Madras, 93 out of 175 in Hyderabad, and 44 out of 108 in Travancore-Cochin.
3. In Rajasthan, jagirdars and former rulers contesting either as Independents or as the Jan Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad and Hindu Mahasabha candidates secured 62 seats in the Assembly.



Communists on the other hand concentrated on local troubles and were usually able organizers. They did not indulge in tall talk like the Socialists and showed a certain practical sense in their immediate approach although no doubt their distant approach was probably very different.

13. You will forgive me for these odd reflections on the elections. Purely from the organizational point of view, they have been a tremendous success and, contrary to expectation, they have passed off peacefully and without any major trouble. Adult franchise has been a success<sup>4</sup> and, on the whole, there has been freedom and secrecy of voting. That achievement itself is very creditable to all those officials or non-officials, who were in charge. The electorate has also shown a very great deal of discipline and has exercised its judgments. Voting has been heavy in many places and a particularly pleasing feature has been the interest that women have taken.<sup>5</sup> But the result of these elections has produced a peculiar melange in some States and the relatively even tenor of political life in India is likely to be gravely disturbed. Any number of problems are appearing on the horizon and will soon be upon us.

14. Political life in India has been concentrated on these elections during the last two or three months. People will now be excited about the formation of Ministries and the like. The elections are by no means over. Even the general elections for the House of the People and the State Assemblies will not be completely over till the end of February. Elections for the Second Chamber will then follow and last of all the election of the President. All this will take us to the latter part of April.

15. Meanwhile, while we were engrossed in our elections, the world has gone on and not solved any of its problems. It has indeed added to them. In Korea the talks about the ceasefire and armistice have not made much progress. The U.K. Prime Minister, Mr Winston Churchill, has visited the President of the U.S.A. and made brave speeches there which, for all their eloquence, are disquieting and rather tend to emphasize the prospect of and the preparation for war.<sup>6</sup> In Iran there is a complete deadlock. In Egypt there has been a

4. Of a total electorate of 173,213,635, the number of those who cast their votes was 88,612,171.

5. The Chief Election Commissioner informed the press on 4 February that women had voted in greater number than men in the elections.

6. On 17 January 1952, addressing the joint session of the U.S. Congress, Churchill had warned that if the Korean truce was broken after being signed, the U.K. and the U.S. response would be 'blunt, resolute and effective'. He further asserted that the rearmament of the allied bloc had already altered the balance of power in their favour and this was sufficient to avoid a third world war.

violent flare up.<sup>7</sup> In Tunisia we are witnessing a repetition of the old conflict between a nationalist movement and a dominant colonial system.

16. The Kashmir issue is again before the Security Council and is probably being argued even as I write this. Probably nothing new will happen there and Dr Graham is likely to be given some more time. There has been a good deal of excitement about the so-called Devers plan which Dr Graham released recently. The Devers plan which we knew and which had been given to our representatives, was something very different from this new edition of it. We have made this perfectly clear.<sup>8</sup> We can never accept this new version.

17. In Nepal there was a sudden crisis when a group of the Raksha Dal in Kathmandu suddenly rebelled and actually took possession of the headquarters of Government and many strategic points. Fortunately this revolt fizzled out and the Government regained control soon. But the notorious Dr K.I. Singh escaped with a band of men, fully armed, and is at present roaming about. He might give trouble. Otherwise too there are some disquieting features in the Nepal situation and certain elements exploit them. During the recent visit of the Prime Minister of Nepal to Delhi we had long talks and it was agreed that the defence and foreign policies of the two countries should be closely coordinated. We also hope to help Nepal in its development schemes by means of loans or otherwise.

18. There is one matter to which I should like to draw your special attention. We have talked a good deal about planning and there is the draft Five Year Plan which I hope will be finalized and improved in the process, by April. But all planning on a national scale depends on two important factors. One is public understanding and cooperation and the other is accurate data and statistics. I am afraid our statistics are still not only inadequate but even incorrect. We have to overhaul this whole statistical apparatus of ours. There is at present a complete data of coordination in it and there is no scrutiny worth the name. The first thing to do is to coordinate all branches of statistical data. The second thing is to have an independent scrutiny of statistical data. Statistics, like audit, must be independent in order to be effective and yield proper results. We have to take this matter up soon and perhaps I shall address you in greater detail about it later.

19. I have already informed you in my last letter about the agreement we have signed with the U.S. Government under which a contribution of fifty million dollars will be made to us for the development of townships in rural areas. The Planning Commission has addressed a letter to all State Governments on this subject and invited their proposals immediately. The Indian Council of

7. On 19 January 1952, British forces occupied Kafr Abdou, Tel el Kabir, el Hamada and Ismailia in Egypt following violent attacks on them by the Egyptian National Liberation Army.

8. This was conveyed on 23 January 1952.



Agricultural Research also addressed, sometime ago, some State Governments about the opening of agricultural extension trading centres to be financed from funds made available by the Ford Foundation. These latter projects of agricultural extension might well merge in the larger rural-cum-urban community projects under the U.S. Technical Cooperation Plan. I would urge you to take early decisions in these matters and to select suitable sites for the community projects. Delay in selecting the sites in time may even lead to the loss of one crop season so far as the agricultural extension programme is concerned. I have already told you of the great importance I attach to these community projects and I would invite your Government's very special attention to them.

20. Parliament, as you know, is meeting on the 5th of February. This will be the last session of this dying Parliament. It cannot be a very exciting session because controversial measures have to be avoided. But there will be excitement enough outside Parliament, as a result of the elections.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## V

Ranikhet  
February 18, 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing this letter to you from Ranikhet in the Kumaon Hills of Uttar Pradesh. I have come here ostensibly for election purposes, because elections were delayed in these mountain areas on account of the winter. They are now taking place and will be over within three or four days. This will be the last of the general elections.<sup>1</sup>

2. But, perhaps, the real reason for my coming here was the urge to see the mountains and the snow peaks again. After my hectic travelling about all over India and many troublesome days in Delhi, I felt the need for the cold air of the mountains and the sight of the snows. So, I came here for three days. Two of these were partly spent in meetings in various places in these mountain regions and partly in inspecting a fine enterprise of the U.P. Government at the foot of the mountains. This was in the *Terai* near Bareilly.

1. General elections in the hilly regions ended on 21 February 1952.

The *Terai* was a jungle and marshy land exceedingly unhealthy and full of malaria. A large area has now been separated, cleaned up and has become a big State farm with fine fields, orchards, dairies, etc. The yield of this land is much greater than of land elsewhere. New villages have grown up and malaria has been completely put an end to in this entire area. Indeed, the first step that was taken was to put an end to malaria. It was only after that that other work could follow. This whole venture, called the Naini Tal Tarai Reclamation and Colonization Scheme,<sup>2</sup> is one of those bright spots in India which hearten and encourage us. When I went there, I performed the opening ceremony of a new hospital.<sup>3</sup> The contrast between this reclaimed land and the original *Terai* jungle is remarkable.

3. As I motored up to Ranikhet, and subsequently to Almora, my mind went back to the time when I last passed this way. This was six years and eight months ago, in June 1945, when I was released from Almora Jail after nearly three years of prison, most of which had been spent in Ahmednagar.<sup>4</sup> These six years and more have been full of major changes and big events in India; they have brought to us success as well as the lack of it, and they have brought many burdens also. But sitting here and gazing at the magnificent snow-range, with Nanda Devi and Trishul standing out proudly and dominating it, I felt at peace, or almost so, because there could be no complete forgetting of the difficulties that encompass us.

4. This district of Almora has long attracted adventurous Europeans. Missions of various kinds are spread out all over the place. These include Christian missions, as well as Hindu missions. Swami Vivekananda<sup>5</sup> was here for some time and there is a flourishing Ramakrishna Mission<sup>6</sup> at present. There are other Hindu missions, especially of the Vaishnavite variety. A number of Europeans are attached to these Hindu missions, and some Europeans live separately the simple life of a Hindu recluse. There are Englishmen among them and Americans and Danes and, perhaps, others. One of them is a very

2. Launched in 1949, the scheme proposed to settle servicemen, displaced persons, and landless cultivators on the fertile *Terai* land. By 1952, 35,000 acres of land had been reclaimed and 2,000 families settled in 16 villages. On 16 February 1952, Nehru inaugurated a central state farm with 1,000 acres of land.
3. At Rudrapur on 16 February 1952.
4. Nehru was arrested in Bombay on 9 August 1942 along with the other members of the Congress Working Committee and interned in Ahmednagar Fort. He was transferred to Bareilly Jail on 28 March 1945 and after 10 weeks was sent to Almora Jail on 10 June and released from there after five days.
5. (1863-1902).
6. Popularly known as Advaita Ashram, the mission is situated at Mayavati near Almora.



eminent surgeon<sup>7</sup> who used to be a member of the Indian Medical Service, but suddenly gave it up and became some kind of a sanyasi here. There is an eminent American painter<sup>8</sup> also who is practically a Buddhist and has written a life of the Buddha. A young Englishman,<sup>9</sup> who used to be a professor, has gained the reputation of being a great Yogi.

5. This is one side of the picture. There is another side also. There appears to be a strong urge for some missions to establish themselves on the Tibet road and, indeed, as near the Tibet border as possible. It must be remembered that Almora district borders Tibet. The frontier is a little more than eighty miles from where I sit, but it takes a week's journey by foot-path and bridle road to cover those eighty odd miles. It is strange, or perhaps not very strange, for some missions to feel so attracted to the border of Tibet, which has lately become very interesting for us also. For some distance on this side of the border, there is what is called an inner line which foreigners are not supposed to cross without permission. I fear, however, that this rule has not been strictly enforced in the past.

6. The elections are over at last, or nearly so, and we have now to face the results that flow from them. Like much else in life, these results are mixed and while some people rejoice at them, others are full of apprehensions. Undoubtedly, difficult situations might be created in some States and in all there will be some change. I see no reason for alarm, though there is plenty of reason for us to be wide-awake and watchful.

7. One good result of the elections has been that it has shaken up the people of India. The interest taken in these elections all over the country has been very good. Oddly enough, the interest has been somewhat greater in rural areas than in the cities, and even the percentage of voters has usually been greater in rural areas.<sup>10</sup> I think that the average percentage works out to over 50. As a matter of fact far more people went to the polling booths than these figures indicate. But because their names were not correctly inscribed in the electoral roll, or because they could not wait long enough till their turn came, they could not vote. It was interesting to observe also that where there was a re-poll, a larger number voted. Probably, this was due to the initial shyness of the voter vanishing off. It may be that at a subsequent election a much larger number will vote.

7. Robert Dudley Alexander (d. 1957); served in Indian Medical Service, 1928-38; joined the Ashram at Mirtola, Almora; later took the name of Sri Haridas.
8. Earl H. Brewster (d. 1958); American painter who settled in Almora in 1935 with his wife Achshah, also a painter; author of *The Life of Gotama the Buddha*, 1926.
9. Ronald Nixon (d. 1965); Professor of English at Lucknow and Banaras Universities; settled in an *ashram* at Mirtola, Almora, and took the name of Krishna Prem.
10. Polling average was 40 per cent in the towns and 60 per cent in the villages.

8. The elections compelled candidates and their supporters to visit every village. It was a tremendous task of political education. Many people talk superiorly of the ignorance of the illiterate voter and even suggest that he is not worthy of the vote. My own experience has been, and this has been supported by many others, that the so-called illiterate voter showed greater civic sense than most people of the towns.

9. I have been trying to impress upon people the lessons of these elections and the principal lesson is to keep close contact with our people, to explain to them the problems we have to face and what we are trying to do, and to know from them what their difficulties and viewpoints are. When dealt with in this friendly and adult manner, their response is intelligent and good.

10. Our politics, ever since the attainment of independence, have been in a somewhat fluid or even nebulous stage. These elections have now given them some shape and we see now real problems emerging. The Socialists have failed in the past and they failed in these elections also because of their lack of reality. They cannot get out of the atmosphere of a college debating society. It is extraordinary how, with the earnest men they have and with their other opportunities, they have failed to make good. The Congress succeeded, where it did, to the extent it came in touch with real problems and with the people.

11. In most of the States the Congress has got a clear overall majority,<sup>11</sup> and the problem that has to be faced there is the election of the leader and the formation of a Ministry. Oddly enough, too overwhelming a success brings its own difficulties and probably produces a sense of complacency, and yet nothing could be worse than any such sense of complacency. In three States, namely, Madras, Rajasthan and Madhya Bharat, the Chief Ministers were defeated at the polls. In Travancore-Cochin, the Chief Minister survived but the dominant party did not fare well at the elections. These States, as well as Orissa, offer new problems. The defeated ministers have as a rule resigned, but, inevitably, existing Governments have been asked to carry on till a new Government can come in. There was no other alternative open to us as there cannot be any gap period without a Government. Also, newly-elected persons, who are not in the old House, cannot be asked to undertake responsibility so long as the old House is carrying on.

12. In Madras, the Governor accepted these resignations, except that of the Chief Minister, who had also been defeated, though by a very narrow margin. The Chief Minister, together with his surviving colleagues, is now functioning in a Caretaker Ministry. Some people have criticized this as being an affront on democracy. I really fail to understand this criticism, and I think

11. The Congress failed to get an absolute majority only in Pepsu, Madras and Travancore-Cochin.



that we have acted quite rightly in this matter. Any other course would have been worse.

13. There is a good deal of talk of President's rule. If we are driven to it and circumstances indicate that there can be no stable Government, then we shall certainly recommend President's rule and, later elections. But it would not be right to impose President's rule till all other avenues have been explored.

14. Whatever the composition of a State Government might be, it is clear that they must not only remain in close touch with the people but should also develop policies and programmes which bring quick relief to the people. We have drawn up many fine and big schemes and they are important. But these fine schemes bear fruit after a considerable time. It has become urgent that we should take all necessary steps to lessen the distress of our people wherever this exists. We can afford no longer to talk of a distant future. There is no time for that and people expect some relief at an early stage. Among the things that have to be pushed through as rapidly as possible is agrarian reform, i.e., putting an end to zamindaris, jagirdaris, etc. This is an urgent matter for every State to tackle. Unless we complete that process soon, we shall get into deeper waters.

15. The outstanding event of the last fortnight has been the death of King George VI. I had occasion to meet King George at least half a dozen times or more. He was a shy person and perhaps my previous reputation made him feel shy still. But gradually that shyness wore off and he discussed with me many problems relating to India. He was obviously interested in India. The change-over to a Republic created a situation without parallel. He was personally concerned in this matter and took a great deal of interest in it. It was partly, at least, due to his desire to find a way out that an honourable way out was found without in the least affecting our independence or our republican status.

16. As some doubts have arisen, I should like to make it clear that the death of King George VI does not make any difference to our association with the Commonwealth. You will remember how this association took place. When it was finally decided that we should become a Republic, i.e., when the Constituent Assembly so decided, I made a statement to that effect before the Prime Ministers' Conference in London in April 1949.<sup>12</sup> In May 1949 the Constituent Assembly ratified<sup>13</sup> that statement of mine and thus accepted membership of the Commonwealth for the Republic of India. We also accepted the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent member

12. It was agreed at the Prime Ministers' Conference on 27 April that India could remain as a full and equal member of the Commonwealth of Nations even after she became a Republic.

13. On 17 May 1949.

nations of the Commonwealth and, as such, the Head of the Commonwealth. It must be borne in mind that as a Republic we cease to owe any allegiance to the King. Indeed, he ceases to have any external authority over us of any kind whatever.

17. Our association with the Commonwealth was novel and without precedent. Nevertheless, it has stood the test of these two and a half years. I am quite sure that the decision we reached was a right one. Some people criticize it still, but that must be on some vague sentimental ground which has no force behind it. No one can point out a single act of commission or omission which we did against our own wishes or interest because of our membership of the Commonwealth. We have functioned with complete independence and have often adopted a line different from that of the other member nations of the Commonwealth; and yet we have remained on friendly terms with them except, of course, with the Union of South Africa. Our association with the Commonwealth has been a factor for peace in the world.

18. Even as our present association is based on a resolution of the Constituent Assembly, it can be put an end to by a declaration of Parliament. There are no commitments on either side and nothing to bind us together against our wishes. Our Constitution and laws make no reference to the King. Under that Constitution the executive power of the Republic of India in regard to matters, internal and external, is vested in the President of India. The declaration ratified by the Constituent Assembly on the 17th May 1949 is in the nature of a treaty or an agreement between independent nations. Oddly enough, it is a treaty with no binding clauses and thus is better than the normal written treaty. This treaty or agreement does not cease to be operative by a change in the head of one of the States which is a party to the treaty. Such a change does not alter the person of the State which concluded the treaty. Thus, the death of the King makes no difference to that treaty or agreement and we continue to be members of the Commonwealth and recognize the new Queen Elizabeth II<sup>14</sup> as the head of that Commonwealth for the time being. I have dealt with this matter at some length in order to remove any misunderstanding.

19. There appears to be a fair chance of a ceasefire in Korea.<sup>15</sup> That is to be welcomed. But, unfortunately, this does not indicate any real improvement in the international situation although every little step in the right direction should be welcomed. The ceasefire will represent the pressure of circumstances on both sides, and not any change of heart. It may, of course, lead gradually to a lessening of tension. On both sides the language continues to be minatory

14. Queen of England since 1952.

15. Talks between the two sides broke down after coming to an agreement on a truce followed by a political conference.



and rather threatening.<sup>16</sup> It is even suggested that the Chinese Government should be officially informed that a breach of the ceasefire terms will lead to immediate action. Such a warning can only lead to tension and bitterness. It seems peculiarly uncalled for, because both the parties know well enough that a breach of the ceasefire will lead to serious results. Another very unfortunate recent happening, to which I think I referred in a previous letter, was Yoshida's<sup>17</sup> letter to Dulles<sup>18</sup> about Japan recognizing the Formosa Government. Apart from the merits of such a step, and they are not at all obvious to me, the manner of doing it was most unfortunate and left an unhealthy taste.

20. As you know, our Finance Minister has been to London and a little before he went, there was a conference there to discuss what is called 'the sterling area crisis'. Attempts were made in this conference to induce sterling countries to reduce their dollar imports and their general expenditure. So far as we are concerned, there was little room for much reduction as we have been making strenuous efforts in the past to stop all unnecessary imports. There is frequent reference to what is called 'improvident spending' meaning presumably expenditure on social services and the like. As a matter of fact, the economic crisis in the West has been caused principally by the new programmes of rearmament. Because of these, not only has expenditure gone up tremendously, but raw materials are being used in increasing measure for defence purposes. The result is a certain lowering of standards in the West to which, naturally, exception is taken. Thus this economic crisis is intimately connected with the cold war that is going on. We have kept out of this cold war, but we are naturally affected by its economic consequences. We try, however, to keep out of these entanglements as much as possible.

21. The situation in Nepal continues to be unhealthy and is causing us some anxiety. Nothing special has happened there recently, but there is a lack of stability. Democracy has come there without the essential basis for it and we see a very backward country trying to adapt itself to democratic procedures without the equipment for them. We are prepared to help, of course, but we are anxious at the same time not to interfere.

22. As a result of the elections, Caretaker Governments have come into being in some of the States.<sup>19</sup> In others very soon there will be new Ministries.

16. During the discussion in the General Assembly on 2 February 1952 on the Korean question, the Soviet delegate charged the United States of pressurizing the Assembly into postponing the discussion so that it would have a free hand in Korea.

17. Shigeru Yoshida, the Prime Minister of Japan.

18. John Foster Dulles.

19. In Madhya Bharat, Madras, Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin.

I have already suggested that it would be desirable to have fresh blood in our new Ministries as far as possible. It must be remembered that every State Government, and for the matter of that the Central Government also, has to function in future in a much more speedy and wide-awake manner than in the past. I imagine that the most important portfolio in each Government will be that of the Development Minister. It is on the fulfilment of our schemes of development that judgement will be pronounced on our various Governments. These development schemes should not only be long-term ones, but such as bring results speedily. I have already told you that I attach the greatest importance to the community projects that are being considered now.

23. There has been a good deal of scare-writing in the Press about the food situation. I think this has been much exaggerated. The situation is not satisfactory, but it is certainly not worse than last year. Indeed, it is better. The States naturally incline towards underestimating their production and hence one is led to imagine that the situation is very bad. But I am quite sure that the estimates of some of the States are very far from the truth. I have already written to you of the necessity for independent statistical surveys of production, and specially food production. This has become a matter of paramount importance. Otherwise we cannot have any sound food policy or planning.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VI

New Delhi ●  
March 16 1952

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you after a full month, that is, I have missed writing to you at the beginning of this month as I should have done. You will forgive me.

2. We have finished with the general elections and we have now to go through the other processes of elections. It is extraordinary how much of one's time and energy is taken up in a system of democracy by elections. Life appears to become a ceaseless round of elections with relatively brief intervals in between. Even the approach of elections casts a shadow on political affairs. It is well-known that a powerful factor in the international situation today is the approaching Presidential election in the United States of America.<sup>1</sup> No

1. In the elections of 4 November 1952, Dwight D. Eisenhower, the Republican candidate, defeated Adlai Stevenson.



party there and no candidate can adopt a policy which, though desirable, might antagonize some groups of voters.

3. We have now to elect our Second Chambers in the States as well as the Council of States at the Centre. When this process is completed, the Presidential election will have to take place and last of all the election of the Vice-President and the Speaker. Probably, the polling for the Presidential election, if this is contested, will take place on the second of May, the result being declared about the 6th of May. A programme has been drawn up and will be sent to you separately. The new Parliament is likely to meet about the middle of May.

4. In a few States, where there are no Second Chambers, the new Ministries have been formed<sup>2</sup> and the new Assemblies will be meeting soon. Where there are Second Chambers, the Legislature will not be fully formed till the second half of April.

5. Some days ago I paid visits to the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works<sup>3</sup> the Damodar Valley, the fertilizer factory at Sindri<sup>4</sup> and the Institute of Technology at Kharagpur.<sup>5</sup> This visit was very heartening and exhilarating, because I saw great new structures rising up and new townships being built, symbolic of what we want the new India to be. Sindri, which I inaugurated formally, is a very impressive affair. It is something more than a fertilizer factory. A new town has grown up where a vast chemical industry is taking shape. We have had some trouble with this in the early stages, but during the last year or two, progress has been rapid and results are now appearing.

6. In some ways the Chittaranjan Locomotive Works pleased me even more, although they are obviously on a smaller scale. Here also a new township has grown up and the town planning and the workers' houses were very attractive. Two days later I went to Kharagpur and the workers' houses there were very bad indeed. I visited Kanpur<sup>6</sup> also and now saw the slum dwellings of the workers there. I was horrified and I have not yet recovered from the shock.

7. We discuss often enough great housing schemes for workers and then we come to the conclusion that they are too costly and therefore little progress is made. It is true that the problem is colossal and unless we have the resources we cannot tackle it adequately. But I cannot reconcile myself to the continuation of these horrible slums. My immediate reaction in Kanpur was

2. Between 20 February and 13 March 1952, new ministries were formed in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Saurashtra, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Assam, Hyderabad, Himachal Pradesh, Travancore-Cochin and Vindhya Pradesh.

3. On 1 March.

4. On 2 March.

5. Nehru inaugurated the Institute on 3 March.

6. On 24 February 1952.

that these slums should be burnt. That reaction holds still and I am convinced that it is better to have no houses at all and for the workers to be given an open space to live in temporarily than to be made to live in places which are not fit for domestic animals.

8. All of us, no doubt, feel the necessity for better housing for our workers and others and yet I have a sensation that we do not feel this quite as acutely as we ought to feel. There is no sense of horror and urgency about it. If we have an epidemic of plague, we shake ourselves up and try to suppress it with all our might. These slum dwellings are as bad as an epidemic and for us to tolerate them, even though we dislike them, means a certain complacency, a certain acceptance of things as they are, even though they are very bad.

9. I think that housing must be given a high priority. We might not be able to change the face of India quickly, but we should proceed about it with some speed. I think that our normal approach to this has been wholly unsatisfactory. We talk about the life of a building and the P.W.D. builds structures which, no doubt, are very solid. More often it does not build them at all because we cannot afford them. I cannot see why so much stress is laid on the long life of a building when the building consists of bare walls and little else. We have to think out this problem afresh and take urgent steps. Private and vested interests must on no account come in the way of this housing reform.

10. The food situation in Madras, and even more so the water situation there, have become rather critical, especially in Rayalaseema and two or three other districts. Our Food Minister visited these scarcity areas and has come back with certain proposals which we are considering. As a matter of fact the over-all all-India situation in respect of food is not too bad. It is better than last year's. Therefore there is no need for alarm at all. But there is need for us to husband our resources to the utmost and to help in the scarcity areas. We had to meet an even greater peril last year in Bihar. We fought that and succeeded in averting it. We must do likewise in Madras and elsewhere.

11. There has been recently a sharp fall in prices of some commodities<sup>7</sup> and this has given rise to demands for Government to step in and help the market.<sup>8</sup> We see no reason to do so, at this stage at any rate. Indeed, we are not unduly alarmed at the prospect of prices coming down. There are certainly

7. The retail prices of essential food items, cotton seeds, jute, edible oil, and spices fell sharply between 7 and 15 March 1952. The prices touched the lowest level between 13 and 15 March.

8. Appeals were made to the Central Government by the All India Exporters' Association, The South Indian Chambers of Commerce and various other organizations for a sharp reduction in the export duty on raw cotton, cotton textiles, oil and oilseeds, and for taking urgent steps to arrest the decline in prices which had created a state of panic in the market.



dangers and therefore it is necessary for us to be alert and watchful. But there are also advantageous aspects of this fall. Government therefore do not propose to take any special steps for the time being. It must be realized that the loss it has caused is to speculators who cannot expect much sympathy from others. The main test is that production should not suffer. Apart from this, a fall in prices is to be welcomed.

12. Some two or three weeks ago, it seemed pretty certain that there would be a ceasefire in Korea. Now this has become doubtful. The actual lack of agreement at Panmunjon is not great and is largely concerned with the prestige of the different parties. Meanwhile, a new development has taken place. The Chinese Government have openly charged the U.S. Army with carrying on a bacteriological form of attack both in North Korea and China proper.<sup>9</sup> Indeed people in China, from all reports are highly indignant. They have further said that in case any American airmen land in North Korea or China, they will be treated as war criminals.<sup>10</sup> The U.S. Government has denied this charge completely<sup>11</sup> and has suggested some kind of an international inquiry.<sup>12</sup> The Chinese Government have not agreed to this inquiry, as suggested. They have had an inquiry of their own which, according to them, supports or even proves their thesis.<sup>13</sup>

13. This is very serious development and it has, for the moment, put the ceasefire negotiations completely in the shade. It appears almost unbelievable that the Chinese charge can be true. But whether it is true or not, the fact remains that there is a vast amount of excitement and passion in China over this matter. In the event of U.S. airmen being treated as war criminals, the reactions in the U.S. will be very great indeed. We have thus to face a new and critical situation in the Far East.

14. In Europe, although there is no basic improvement in the international situation there does appear to be some lessening of tension and less fear of

9. The United States was accused of dropping shells with disease-laden fleas, spiders and insects in North Korea and Manchuria between February and early March 1952.

10. This was said by Zhou En-lai over Beijing Radio on 8 March 1952.

11. On 4 March, the U.S. Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, rejected the Chinese charges of germ warfare as "nonsense" and "entirely false".

12. Acheson further challenged China to let an impartial international agency such as the International Committee of the Red Cross investigate their charges.

13. *The People's Daily* (Beijing) of 15 March 1952 carried photographs claiming to prove germ warfare. Beijing Radio also announced on 15 March that a large commission had left Beijing to enquire into the intensity and harm caused by germ warfare in north-east China and Korea.

war in the near future. But the development of the conflict in the Far East, if this spreads, will have far-reaching repercussions in Europe and elsewhere.

15. Dr Graham has come back to Delhi From Pakistan. We have made little progress in our talks and for the moment there does not appear to be any prospect of any kind of agreement being reached.<sup>14</sup> We have offered to reduce our forces in Kashmir to the lowest limit. The offer is to make them about one-sixth of what they were at the time of the ceasefire. Also to take away big armour. This makes the reduced force hardly adequate to prevent infiltration. We have suggested also that this force might be kept right at the borders and the ceasefire line so that no one can possibly say that it can interfere with the plebiscite. The Pakistan Government, however wants something approaching parity, that is, it wants us to reduce our forces still further and to keep some forces of its own in 'Azad Kashmir'.<sup>15</sup> We have made it clear that we cannot accept this. Meanwhile, the Pakistan press is again full of passionate denunciations and appeals for "Other Methods" being employed, i.e., war. This technique is adopted whenever Dr Graham comes here or the matter goes to the Security Council. There is no particular reason for us to be alarmed, but we should always be alert.

16. We have just had a Governors' and Rajpramukhs' Conference in Delhi.<sup>16</sup> These conferences have proved useful. I think that, perhaps, it would be a good idea to have, once a year, a Chief Ministers' Conference in Delhi where many of our common problems can be discussed.

17. Among the various subjects discussed at the Governors' Conference was the question of the cooperative organization. We talk a great deal about this and sometimes imagine that we are making great progress. It was pointed out, however, that nearly all of these cooperatives are for credit purposes only, and have little to do with agricultural production. Many of them are called, rather grandiloquently, multi-purpose cooperatives. The multi-purpose apparently consists of the fact that they sell salt, kerosene oil, etc. The cooperative staff normally thinks in terms of credit only and is too busy with its own rules and regulations to encourage or advance the cause of cooperation. The conference felt that it was necessary to reorient our approach to cooperation completely. If necessary, the present staff should be changed or, at any rate, should be trained.

14. Agreement could not be reached on the quantum of forces to be retained and on the appointment of a plebiscite administrator.

15. On 11 March 1952, the Prime Minister of Pakistan told Graham that they "expect a substantial reduction of forces on the Indian side and an increase of forces on the 'Azad Kashmir' side."

16. On 14 and 15 March 1952.



18. Another subject mentioned at the Governors' Conference was horse-breeding. Some alarm was expressed at the proposals of some State Governments in regard to racing which are likely to put an end to the growing horse-breeding industry in India. From the Defence point of view horse-breeding is important.

19. The evacuee property law was also discussed and it was felt that the time had come to change it in many ways. There is no doubt that it works harshly for large numbers of persons who are completely innocent. The whole conception of 'intending evacuee' is extraordinary. It becomes difficult for Muslim businessmen and shopkeepers to carry on their work properly, because of the shadow of this law. It is proposed to change this law as early as possible.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, it is desirable that State Governments should apply it with leniency and should take particular care that innocent people do not suffer.

20. As you are aware, we are sending a cultural mission to China about the middle of April. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit has been chosen to lead this delegation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

17. The Evacuee Property Act, 1950, was amended on 9 April 1953.







# 1. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

November 11, 1951

My dear Krishna,

I received your two letters, one of the 30th October and the other of 1st November,<sup>2</sup> three days ago. You had informed me by telegram that these letters were coming and so I postponed writing to you. This election business has taken a lot out of me. It is a non-stop affair and I can hardly find a minute for anything else. The present phase of it, i.e., selection of candidates, will presumably be over in another four or five days. The next phase is likely to be equally difficult, though different. The whole business is most distressing. But one has to carry on with the job one undertakes. I shall go through with this during the next three months or so if my health does not fail me or something else does not happen. I am so tired with all this already that my dominant urge is to be away from it all and rest somewhere far off from such matters. I have little idea as to what I shall do when February comes and the elections are over.

2. No one can prophesy what the result of the elections will be. There is enormous confusion everywhere and all kinds of parties are shouting at the top of their voices. The Congress is certainly not in a fit condition and yet I can do very little to it just at present. It is bad enough to deal with the elections; to take up the reorganization of the Congress at the same time is quite impossible. This reorganization may well have to be undertaken after the elections are over. Meanwhile, one has to take things as they are and choose such candidates as are available. The choice would have been much better but for numerous other developments. Choice is after all limited by quite a number of considerations.

3. In some States like the Punjab and Pepsu and, to some extent, in Bengal, the situation is very complicated and difficult. In Pepsu and Rajasthan law and order are in a bad way.

4. I suppose ultimately the Congress will certainly have a substantial majority in Parliament and some kind of majority in the States. A new situation will have to be faced in forming Governments. Many old and tried persons might not be there.

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. In his telegram of 1 November 1951, Menon has sought Nehru's views on whether he should let his doctors know that Nehru attached 'limited importance' to their reports regarding his health. He added that he would shortly inform the doctors Nehru's reasons for asking him to take leave and come back to India.



5. Coming back to your letter, I want to make it clear that I accept entirely what your doctors have said. Such other information as I have got from various persons has confirmed the report of those doctors and I have been told by many that you have improved greatly in health.<sup>3</sup> That is very satisfactory and I am happy about it. This certainly removes one major difficulty, though I confess that I do not feel quite sure about your continuing in health. As I said in my telegram to you, if sudden changes for the better take place, equally quick changes for the worse might also take place. I hope, of course, that this will not occur. During the last year your health has been so bad that I have not only been alarmed, but also surprised that you should be so anxious to carry on your work in spite of it. It seemed to me that the obvious course for you was to leave off work for some months. I wrote to you repeatedly about this, but you preferred to continue working. Ultimately I had to write as I did because I was firmly convinced that it was not right for you to continue. This conviction came to me chiefly from my own observation. I had seen you in London and in Paris and Delhi. Your letters and telegrams gave me the same sensation and disturbed my peace of mind. You seem to imagine that I have relied on others to form my opinion. Of course, I took into consideration all factors, including others' opinions, but all that the others did was to confirm my own opinion. I had formed my opinion and indeed informed you of it on several occasions that I wanted to make sure.

6. Perhaps you think that Mathai went to London at my instance.<sup>4</sup> That is completely incorrect. I had nothing to do with it, except to agree to give him leave. He naturally reported to me on his return when he brought your own letter also. During these past few months, I have had news about you from a large number of persons who are your friends and mine. Each one of them confirmed my own impressions. I did not keep anything from you, except that I did not write to you quite as positively as I might have done. When I wrote more precisely, you were hurt by it. You will remember the letter you received from me on the eve of your going to Dublin. I was surprised that even that letter did not produce the result that I had expected. When I finally wrote to you again I gave you a shock,<sup>5</sup> as you have told me yourself. I must confess

3. Menon was suffering from protracted illness and mental depression following virulent criticism made by the opposition as well as some Congress members in Parliament regarding certain financial and administrative irregularities in the High Commission. Menon was also held responsible for the jeep scandal case and irregular arms deals in which the Government was said to have suffered heavy financial losses.

4. Mathai had been to London in September 1951.

5. See Nehru's letter to Menon of 25 August 1951, (*Selected Works* (second series) Vol. 16, Pt. II, pp. 748-751) in which Nehru had cited reports about Menon's ill health and had urged him to take rest and seek medical help. In his reply of 24 September 1951, Menon expressed his anguish and shock at receiving such a letter from Nehru.

that it surprised and distressed me that in spite of my repeated suggestions, you should have rejected every idea of leaving London even for a relatively brief period. I could not understand this strong attachment in spite of illness and everything. I wish you would appreciate that I have throughout dealt directly with you about these matters and not through the medium of others, as you seem to imagine.

7. I came to the firm conclusion that a change would be certainly good for you and, possibly, for our work too. I knew very well that your absence from London would be harmful to that work, and no one else could possibly carry it on in the way you had done so well. Nevertheless, I thought that no institution should revolve round a single person for long, because no single person lasts for ever. The institution must get used to functioning by itself and not be dependent even on outstanding persons. An interval like this, I felt, would be good for all concerned. After that you could go back to it, fresh in mind, and the institution would also have shown up what it could do and what it could not do in your absence.

8. You have often written to me objecting to much that was done here in the Ministry of External Affairs or in other Ministries. Generally speaking, you were right, though some of your ideas seemed to me either without foundation or somewhat exaggerated. But, in any event, it was and is beyond me to change the whole structure of the Government of India in order to carry out some of your suggestions. This continuous lack of pulling together has led not only to work suffering, but to further difficulties coming in your way. I have tried to remove them where I could. But I could not physically deal with every matter. Because of this lack of confidence between London and Delhi there are many loose ends between them and long and endless arguments continue. For some months now we have been waiting for your comments on the report and suggestions made by K.R.K. Menon. Quite a number of things are hung up because those matters have not been settled.

9. You have often told me that London is by far the most important of our missions abroad. This is obvious and I agree with it entirely for a variety of reasons. You have wanted to concentrate even more work and responsibility in London. With this I do not agree. Any system that we build up should be such as can continue normally. It should not be built up round particular individuals. You might be capable of adding to your responsibilities indefinitely, but I can think of nobody else who could discharge those responsibilities adequately. Your idea therefore of making London a kind of supervisory authority over some other countries also seems to me wrong for practical reasons as well as political ones. Generally speaking, I think it is wrong to concentrate too much responsibility in one place or in one person. It may pay some time, but it is not a safe way of working and some time or other it is bound to create trouble.



10. I am writing all this but it is hardly relevant to the principal issue about which I am writing. Nevertheless, I felt that you should know what I have been thinking for some time past because that does influence my conclusion. That conclusion remains that you should leave India House for a time, which may be a few months. You may go back to it afterwards or you may take charge of some other important and responsible work. You will remember that I had suggested to you to take leave for a few months and then come to India as soon as you were well. I wanted you to come to India then for a variety of reasons. The elections would have resulted in a new picture with new problems. I wanted your advice in regard to them and further I had in mind that it would be a good thing from many points of view if you became a Minister for some time at least. Your presence here would have been of great help to me and you could have influenced events much more effectively than from a distance.

11. The great improvement in your health naturally makes a difference and the principal reason for urgency disappears. Political developments in England<sup>6</sup> also make a change at this stage inappropriate. I agree with you therefore that there should be no change at present and you should continue for some time. Probably, the time for change would be not earlier than the end of January.

12. That would be the right time for you to visit India. We need not fix any particular time now and certainly no announcement is going to be made. But you might bear in mind that within three months you will come to India. It is not necessary for us to fix up details now as to what should be done then. But it seems to me that the proper course would be for you not to resign, but to take leave for a period and come to India, or you might come, to begin with, just for consultations. But however you might come, it should be understood that you will be away from India House for some considerable time and during this period some other arrangements would have to be made. There would be no necessity for you to do your farewells etc. As I have hinted at above, I would like you to become a Minister here. That need be for a period only, say six months, or it might be more if it suits everybody. At the end of that period you could return to London or undertake some other responsibility. These are just ideas at present, because nothing can take real shape till the end of the elections here.

6. The Labour Government headed by Attlee had fallen and in the ensuing elections the Conservatives formed the Government under Winston Churchill. Nehru felt that a change in the High Commissioner's office at this juncture could cause misunderstanding.

13. In any event, you have to continue your work in London for the present and presumably till the end of January. This is more or less what you have written to me. I agree with you. I have, however, put this in a somewhat different context from what you have done.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 2. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 11, 1951

My dear Prakasa,

I have delayed slightly in sending an answer to your letter of November 7th.<sup>2</sup> It was so like you to send me a cheque for Rs 5,000/- for the election fund. I doubt if there is anyone else amongst our friends or colleagues in the Congress or outside, who would have thought of doing this. Most of us, I fear, feel that by having gone to jail on some previous occasions, we have laid the country and all our people under a deep obligation to us. We have nothing further to do and it is others that should go on helping us. So, although money does not mean very much to me, I was rather moved by your sending me this cheque for the particular purpose you mentioned.

I agree with so much that you have written that I need not write at length. I have had for some time past a deep inner feeling of emptiness in regard to our politics or indeed our social life generally. I do not see any basic strength in it and the various forces that have pulled us down in the past, are functioning again. Of course, behind them are many understandable economic and other causes. Nevertheless, we come back to a certain inner weakness. Somehow or other, Gandhiji gave us the illusion, but nevertheless it was a kind of passive and negative strength. Present-day conditions require a more positive and dynamic quality. We lack that.

If I felt that this was a full explanation of our condition and that there

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Sri Prakasa had stated that he did not wish to contest the general elections due to various reasons. First, he considered himself a misfit in the Central Cabinet; second, he had some pressing family problems which needed immediate attention; third, he was tired of political life in the face of continuously deteriorating moral standards in public life.



was nothing more to be said about it, then indeed it would be very difficult for me, as for anyone else, to function. Or at best, I could function like some dead machine, efficiently enough but without life. That is not real functioning. It is a terrible feeling when one feels functionless. I have sometimes had that feeling, but generally I have overcome it. For some odd reason, which I cannot logically explain or justify, there is an element of faith about India and her future in me and so I carry on.

I am surprised that you should feel that you have been a futile member of the Cabinet. That is absurd and you have absolutely no reason to think so. Certainly I have never felt so and you being here and your work have been a great comfort to me. Please do not think in this utterly wrong way.

I agree with you that a few great men cannot save a nation and that it is the ordinary citizen who counts. But how do you get the ordinary citizen to function in a particular way? One can influence, to some extent, one's environment, one's neighbours and the like. And yet we know many cases when we cannot influence even our children or our other intimate relations, in spite of our best efforts. How then can we influence others? Personal influence counts, but the influence of the environment and of prevailing urges and tendencies count much more. Therefore one tries to change or influence that environment. Gandhi changed it. We are not Gandhis. But, nevertheless, we have to think of the larger environment or else we shall potter away in some small sphere without making much difference. We may have the satisfaction of course of having done our job. Therefore, it becomes necessary, in trying to change that environment, to interest oneself in political, economic and social matters in a large way.

This is what pushes one to politics, in spite of dislike. This is what pushed us into all these movements during the past thirty years and more and I do not see any escape from it, although the manner of our working may vary.

Indeed the question becomes even bigger than a national question. We are affected by international issues, not in some distant indirect way, but sometimes in a deeply personal way. If war comes, everyone suffers and we cannot escape that suffering. So our activities might be compared to our building little huts in a place which is frequented by earthquakes. The earthquake comes and the huts collapse.

But I will not pursue this argument. It is so easy to argue this way and that way without much help. Ultimately one follows the dominant urge, or it may be one goes on functioning in a particular way simply because of a certain pride and a feeling that one cannot and must not run away from a difficulty.

I feel interested in my work or, at any rate, in the bigger things which come up before me. I am interested in this extraordinary jigsaw puzzle of the modern world with its permutations and combinations, its dangers and its

hope of survival. I am interested in any building up—our great river valley schemes, our laboratories, etc. When I look at our constructive effort, I feel some hope. But basically the hope or the lack of it comes out of some inner feeling, which cannot be argued about.

I quite understand your desire not to stand for election. I have that feeling strongly within me, but I know that I just cannot give in to it for a variety of reasons. I should have very much liked you to stand for elections, not for the sake of election, but because this does open out avenues for constructive work. But if you feel strongly, I shall certainly not press you the other way. In any event, I would like you to be in the Council of States, preferably not by nomination but by the other way.

Now that I am writing to you, I would like to say something, which I have long had in mind and which I have not yet mentioned to a soul. I would like you to take up the Congress Presidentship. Obviously it is quite impossible for me to carry on with it. I think it is somewhat improper too. I took this burden in peculiar circumstances and there was no escape from it, nor can I run away from it till the elections are over. After that I must leave it and some worthy person must take charge. I can think of no one but you for the present. It is not my intention even then to play a passive role in the Congress because I think the time has come for an attempt at least to be made for an active regeneration of this institution, which has been such a great part of our lives. That will be after the elections. That kind of work will not only suit you but will be in keeping with your own urges. Because of our intimate association, we could cooperate on that with the greatest ease.

I have mentioned this to you, so that you can think about it. I want no answer from you at present, nor would I like you to mention this to others.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

### 3. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
November 22, 1951

My dear Prakasa,

I have not written to you and even acknowledged your affectionate letter of November 14th. I read it carefully. I fear that fresh wisdom is hardly likely to

1. J.N. Collection.



come my way, even though the necessity for it ever grows. But I am in search for it always and perhaps this helps.

Thank you for the two verses you have sent me. I wish I could live up to those maxims.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

#### 4. To A.D. Gorwala<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
December 6, 1951

Dear Mr Gorwala,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 23rd November.<sup>3</sup> I do not know who your informant is and what his sources of knowledge are. I have been in intimate touch with a very large number of high placed persons in the United Kingdom, including Members of the past and present Government. The impression I have gathered from them is entirely opposed to the message you have sent me. Indeed, I have been complimented repeatedly for Krishna Menon's good work. I am told that he is one of the ablest of foreign representatives in England. Occasionally the question of his leaving his present office has arisen. I have often been pressed by a number of high placed persons in England not to remove him or transfer him, because of the good work that he was doing there. Mr Krishna Menon was very ill for some time this year. He has recovered now.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.

2. The founder-editor of the weekly *Opinion* and involved at this time in the preparation of reports for Government on administration and management of state enterprises.

3. Gorwala wrote that the correspondent of a well-known British weekly had shown him a private letter from his editor who, "wondered why Mr Krishna Menon continued to remain India's representative in London. Was it not known in India that he was widely disliked and despised in Britain, and that his continuance in his present post was doing positive harm to his country?"

## 5. To Hare Krushna Mahtab<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

December 20, 1951

My dear Mahtab,<sup>2</sup>

I see from the newspapers that you have been making some very positive and far-reaching statements about the princes.<sup>3</sup> You have said that their privy purses must be put an end to. Indeed you have gone further and said that you are going to do it within a year or so. This is most embarrassing. Many of us feel that these privy purses are too bloated. Nevertheless we have committed ourselves to them and we cannot easily walk through our commitments.

I have referred to this matter in a different context and said that where a prince misbehaves politically or otherwise, then this question arises. I wish you would not say anything which commits Government in this way. Our States Ministry is greatly embarrassed.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. H.K. Mahtab Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Union Minister of Industry and Commerce at this time.
3. On 12 December 1951, at a public meeting in Cuttack, Mahtab declared that he had taken a pledge to put a check on the rulers' privy purses within a year as he considered that unrestrained growth and use of wealth was not congenial to democratic political values.

## 6. Kamagata Maru Memorial<sup>1</sup>

The people of India should not forget the past. The Kamagata Maru episode<sup>2</sup> had produced a great effect in the second decade of this century. Since then India had seen many changes. But the episode has still a great lesson for the youth of the country. The structure of Indian independence was built stage by stage and the Kamagata Maru incident had a significant bearing on it.

1. Speech after unveiling the Kamagata Maru memorial at Calcutta, 1 January 1952. From *The Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 2 January 1952.
2. A memorial had been erected by the West Bengal Government in memory of the Sikhs who died in police firing in 1914, on their return to Budge Budge, Calcutta, by S.S. Kamagata Maru from Canada, where they intended to immigrate but were not allowed to land.



## 7. The India League<sup>1</sup>

As I send this message for the annual Republic Day Celebration of the India League,<sup>2</sup> general elections on a vast scale are taking place in India. I do not know yet what the result of these elections will be. But the holding of these elections on this colossal scale is itself an act of faith on the part of our people which, I am sure, will justify itself. These elections give full effect to the new Constitution of the Republic. They mark the end of the political revolution in India. That is the end of one phase and the beginning of another, which must necessarily concentrate on economic changes which are so urgently required.

The India League has been a good friend of ours in the old days and I am happy that in the changed circumstances of today, it continues its labours for India and for good relations between India and England. I think that the India League can justly take much credit for these good relations that exist between these two countries. In a world where there is so much conflict and bitterness and hatred and fear, we have to cling on to all avenues of friendly cooperation and to avoid being swept away by gusts of prejudice and passion.

The journey to swaraj and independence was a long one. We reached at last the end of the particular journey and we did so in a manner that did credit to England and India. But there is no journey's end for us or for any other country; we have hardly time even to rest for a while. Our own wish and circumstances compel us to go forward. In this new journey I hope and believe that we shall have the good wishes and friendship of our friends of the India League and others in England. To all of them I send my greetings.

1. Message on the annual Republic Day Celebrations of the India League, 14 January 1952. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. The Home Rule of India League founded by Annie Besant to serve as a legislative body and information centre had changed its name to Commonwealth of India League in 1921. It remained moribund till 1929 when Krishna Menon revived it as the India League and worked as its honorary secretary till India became independent in 1947.

## 8. To Archibald Nye<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 26, 1952

My dear Archie,

Thank you and Colleen very much for the note<sup>2</sup> you gave me this morning. It is true that there is no end to problems, but ultimately perhaps one learns the lesson that one must do the day's work with as much strength as one possesses, and not worry too much about consequences.

Indira has done a man's job during these past two months, indeed more than that. She is still wandering about the villages of Allahabad and Rae Bareilly Districts, in spite of fever. I threatened to lock her up, but my threat produced no result whatever. Anyhow she will have finished this by the end of this month.

I am very sorry about Colleen's ill-health. I do hope she will get over this trouble soon.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Collection.
2. In a personal message of congratulation from his wife and himself, Nye wrote: "It has been a trying and difficult year for you, and you have many problems ahead. We have watched with admiration your vitality and above all your courage which does not diminish and in the years ahead, whatever may happen you will always have our sympathy and affection."

## 9. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 26, 1952

My dear Deshmukh,

There is another matter I want to talk to you about. This relates to India House and Krishna Menon. I have been greatly troubled over developments there during the last few months and more. They have become so complicated that I can hardly follow them or understand them. Some three or four months ago I came to the definite conclusion that Krishna Menon should leave India

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, N.M.M.L.



House. He had been very ill and that itself was reason enough. Apart from this, I felt that a change in India House would be good both for India House and Krishna Menon. I wrote to him accordingly. Soon after, the elections took place in the U.K., bringing a new Government. Rather miraculously, just about that time, Krishna Menon recovered health. Nevertheless I thought it best for him to leave India House, or at any rate, to be out of it for some months. I had suggested to him previously to come to India about the end of January.

2. Lord Mountbatten then wrote to me that it would be disastrous for Krishna Menon to leave India House soon after the change in Government in the U.K. Because of his interest in Krishna, I had kept him informed and he had previously agreed with me that it would be better for Krishna to leave. But later he said that just at that moment and because of the change in Government in the U.K. Krishna's departure would lead to many misunderstandings. It so happened that Krishna knew most of the new members of Government fairly well. Thereupon I decided to postpone Krishna's departure from India House by a month or two. But the decision remained and it still remains.

3. Krishna Menon did an amazingly fine job of work, politically and diplomatically considered, during the first two years of his High Commissionership. Later, continuing ill-health and other reasons lowered the quality of that work and produced many other problems, some of which have been troubling you and me for a long time past. I was greatly worried over these matters. On the one hand, he was a man possessing some very rare qualities, which put him head and shoulders above others. I have hardly come across a keener intelligence and brain. Stafford Cripps, Harold Laski and others had the highest respect for him and frequently spoke about him to me. Of course, I knew him well enough too. His integrity appeared to me to be unquestionable. I knew for a fact how repeatedly he had stuck to his principles and very simple way of living in spite of tempting offers. His long record in the struggle for India's freedom and the astonishing results he achieved in England were remarkable. Whether people liked him or not in England, they had great respect for him. Men of all parties in England have spoken to me about him on many occasions in high terms of praise.

4. With all this, he was self-willed, self-opinionated, highly sensitive and difficult to get on with. In a big agitation or movement for freedom, this did not matter much. But in a large organization, this did matter. He had a tendency to rely on people sometimes when he should have been more careful. All this got him into entanglements.

5. I am writing this just to put you in touch with what I have in my mind. I need not dilate upon it.

6. Nevertheless, taking all factors into consideration, I decided that Krishna Menon should leave India House. I asked him to come to India because I was anxious that some way ought to be found to utilize his great abilities (although I did not know how at the time) and also because I did not wish him to feel that he had been let down. That would have been a poor recompense for a lifetime of brilliant service to the country. Mountbatten, who attached great importance to the High Commissionership, pressed me to induce Rajaji to accept it. I spoke to Rajaji. This was a little before Rajaji went away. He was not entirely averse to doing so, but pleaded for two or three months of retirement. I agreed. Of course I did not want to put the heavy burden of the High Commissioner's office upon him. I wanted him rather to deal with high matters of policy and leave the rest to someone else, who of course must be very good also. I thought of Raghavan Pillai in this connection.

7. During the last two or three months, I have been so busy with touring that I have been unable to give much thought to this matter. Meanwhile, other complications have arisen. Now some decisions have to be taken. I still think that the best course would be for Krishna Menon to leave India House. I have asked him to take leave about the middle of March and to come to India then. I suggested March because February was a very heavy month for us both because of Parliament and the consequences of the elections. That holds.

8. Some time ago, I received a letter from Mountbatten. I enclose a copy of it. I told Mountbatten in reply that Krishna had been asked by me to carry on till some time in March and then he was to come to India. I have not fixed any date, as that would depend upon developments here and when we have some slight leisure.

9. I am writing to you all this so that I can discuss this matter with you when you come here. I think that the business of the reorganization of India House, which has been held up chiefly because of Krishna, can hardly take place during the next few weeks while he is there. The best thing is for his successor to deal with it. As you perhaps know, he has sent long notes on this subject, which I am unable to read or to understand. I see no point in arguing with him about matters which are not very important in themselves and which should not have given rise to any controversy. I suggest, therefore, that while we may examine his notes, we should allow this matter to be dealt with a little later and the present arrangements in India House should continue during this intervening period.

10. About the other matters, we shall await Pillai's return.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 10. To Indira Gandhi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

28th January 1952

Darling Indu,

This is just to send you my love—come back soon. You have had enough of these elections. After my return from touring on the 21st night, my mind turned away from elections and I hardly have the patience now to read the long lists of election returns.

I am anxious to have you back here before you fall ill and take to bed. Puphi is bedridden. I have been, in a way, having a quiet time. Not very quiet, and there was plenty of work. But there was more rest than usual and Boshi Sen<sup>2</sup> rubbed and thumped me twice a day. That has done me good and I feel rested. Boshi will be going away tonight.

There is a Shakespearian play here (Eric Elliot's Company) on Feb. 1st night. Try to come by then if you can manage it without inconvenience. You will like it.

The next month is going to be a heavy one for me. Heavy not only because of work but more so because of decisions to be made.

Edwina writes to say that she might come here in the second or third week of February on her way to Japan, etc.

Give my love to Feroze and keep a lot of it for yourself.

Love,

Papu

1. *Two Alone, Two Together Letters Between Indira Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru 1940-1964*, Ed. Sonia Gandhi (London, 1992), pp. 577-578.
2. Bashishwar Sen (1887-1971); an agricultural scientist; set up an institute for research on plant life in Almora; member, British Physiological Society, and American Botanical Society; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1957, and Watumal Foundation Prize, 1962.

11. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

January 28, 1952

My dear Krishna,

I have just received your two letters of January 20th and 24th.<sup>2</sup> I am immediately writing a brief reply.

First of all I can assure you that nobody has broken my spirit and I doubt very much if anyone can do so now. Apart from this, my recent tour all over India has strengthened me greatly. I do not feel isolated even though I may have that feeling in regard to some individuals. But the burden is heavy and so much seems to depend on me.

About yourself, I am quite sure that you should come to India for a variety of reasons, mostly personal to you and me but also others. You should not suddenly resign and fade out of the picture as you seem to think of doing. You should ask for leave. Thereupon I will agree to the leave but not fix a date for it till you come here and I have had a chance of discussing many matters with you. I require your advice in so many matters and personal talks and discussions. So far as I am concerned, I do not want you to fade out or become just a private individual. However, we need not consider these matters now. The issues at stake are big and we cannot allow our personal feelings and predilections to come in the way.

Yours,

Jawaharlal

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Krishna Menon had expressed deep sorrow for causing so much unhappiness to Nehru over the functioning of India House. He himself, Menon wrote, no longer bothered about the criticism, treachery, and mudslinging by some people in India as well as in England who were trying to turn Nehru against him by making all sorts of allegations. He expressed his desire to leave everything on 30 January, the death anniversary of Gandhiji, and become a private individual.



## 12. To Ella Maillart<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

February 7, 1952

Dear Ella Maillart,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 28th December reached me only today.<sup>3</sup> Why it has taken this very long time, I do not know. Anyhow, the writing intrigued me and I turned it over to see who had written it. For a moment, my tiredness vanished and a breath of fresh air seemed to fill the room.

I am writing to you immediately in answer, because if I delay, I may not write for a long time. Other things would overwhelm me. I have not read your article yet. That has to be kept for a leisure moment. However busy one may be, there is vanity in most of us, certainly in me, to like to read about oneself. More especially, when you are the writer.

I am sending you a copy of my *Discovery of India*. I am also sending you, unasked, an odd photograph of mine, which was taken in Leh two years ago.

I have long been looking forward to your book about the cat and you. I suppose it will come some time or other.

A great traveller like you in the wild places of the world will of course sniff at my journeys by conventional means in India. Recently, that is in about two months and a half, I have travelled all over India in connection with our elections. The elections were the apparent cause of my journeying. But I was drawn by other forces and urges and the more I moved about and saw vast multitudes of people, the more the spirit of this adventure seized me. I have travelled about 25,000 miles in about nine weeks with intervals of stay in Delhi. I am told that during this period I addressed personally (not through the radio) nearly 40 million people. The figure may be exaggerated. But it is true that I had colossal audiences everywhere and many times a day. An audience of a hundred thousand was common and once or twice it went up to half a million. However big the audience, it became for me almost like a family gathering, an immense one. This tour of mine and the vast numbers of people that I saw produced a powerful emotional impression upon me. People sympathized with me and warned me not to over-exert myself. Many expected me to suffer physical collapse. But not only did I survive but I improved in

1. J.N. Collection.

2. (b. 1903); Swiss traveller and explorer, and an author of repute.

3. Ella Maillart said that she had written an article on Nehru which took her some time to publish. She had also asked for a copy of *The Discovery of India*.

health and was much better at the end of it. I felt exhilarated at these mass contacts and the friendliness of our people.

And now I am back in Delhi, feeling rather lonely in this city of official routine, diplomatic procedure and protocol.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 13. To Hare Krushna Mahtab<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 8, 1952

My dear Mahtab,

In the President's Address on the opening of Parliament, we said that the production of cloth for internal consumption had increased. Complaints, however, continue to come about lack of cloth. We had a large number of workers for our elections in Allahabad District. They are unanimous in saying that the loudest complaint was of lack of cloth. They themselves saw many women with very little clothing.

The *Sarpanchs* and the *Mukhias* were especially criticized and condemned, as it was said that they blackmarketed in cloth.

Another complaint was that the cloth supplied was much too thin and totally unsuitable for village use. They wanted thicker stuff.

I do not know how far these complaints are due to our supplying not enough cloth to the local areas or to maldistribution there. I think something should be done to improve the distribution. Also, can we not produce more thick cloth? Why should we go on producing thin saris and the like which are totally unsuitable for our people?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(239)/51, PMS.



## 14. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
February 13, 1952

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter for February 12th. I have read it carefully.

I think it would be a very wrong precedent for you to resign on this and the question does not arise.

I am inclined to think that to remain quiet is also not the proper cause. Therefore the only third possible course appears to be to issue a statement or perhaps preferably have a question put in Parliament and answer it. I do not particularly like the draft statement that you have sent. If I answer the question I would word it much more strongly. I shall think about this and consult Katju.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly possible to make hard and fast rules about seeing people in office or at home. I do a great deal of my work in my house but this is usually late at night. I see large numbers of people at home. Many of them are Congressmen. Whenever any kind of request comes to me for help of any kind, it is immediately referred by me either to the Ministry concerned or to my P.P.S. who puts up a note. I do not deal with any request directly or till I have received some kind of a result of enquiry.

It is true that a person in a responsible position is likely to be exploited by unscrupulous persons and inevitably one has to take care. Personally I have kept away from all matters concerning business transactions, permits, licences, etc., and referred them always to some Ministry. During the last five years I have not directly or indirectly appointed anybody to an office, except Governors, Ambassadors and the like. Partly of course this was due to lack of time, but also to a feeling that I should keep away from such matters as far as possible.

You have written to me several times previously about your desire not to continue in office here. If you feel strongly about it, obviously I cannot go on pressing you. We shall discuss this later.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Collection.

2. Kailas Nath Katju, the Home Minister.

## 15. Qazi Ataullah<sup>1</sup>

Another thing I would like to mention, a difficult thing, I do not often talk about some of our friends in the Frontier Province of Pakistan, but recently one of our colleagues, Qazi Ataullah,<sup>2</sup> died in a Lahore hospital under very distressing circumstances. As you know, he was one of the ministers before partition. Soon after that, he and his chief, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr Khan Saheb were imprisoned or kept in detention and it is now more than three and a half years. Qazi Ataullah has succumbed and reports reach us that Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is also very ill. I cannot do anything about it but these are names (although public memory is short) to conjure up all over India and if I may say so vast numbers of people even in Pakistan have looked up to them and still look up to them, not in a political sense, but as great leaders who fought for freedom. And if India or Pakistan have got independence, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan is one of the builders of that independence. We remain quiet partly because officially we do not wish to say things about internal affairs of Pakistan. Secondly because our saying something might result to their disadvantage because he is accused of being in intrigue with India. Apart from these distressing newspaper reports and others, we know nothing about them. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, whatever he was, was never an intriguer. He was a brave man and never gave up anything he cherished, whatever the gain or loss might be. He spent about a dozen years in prison during the British period and now that independence has come to Pakistan, he has spent another three and a half years in prison. It is very tragic. Many of us feel very deeply about it and feel more specially as we are completely helpless in the matter. We cannot do anything for our colleague and leader.

1. Concluding remarks at a press conference, New Delhi, 28 February 1952. Press Information Bureau. For other parts of the conference, see pp. 153-157, 167-169, 181, 273-276, 338-342, 414-416, 446-448, 474-477, 492, 510-511, 529-530 and 557-560.
2. A Red Shirt leader and lieutenant of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Qazi was Revenue Minister in the Khan Saheb Ministry in N.W.F.P., before the partition. Soon after, the Pakistan Government dismissed the provincial government and put its leaders in detention. In early 1952, Qazi was released from jail on medical grounds and expired on 18 February in a Lahore hospital.



## 16. To Lord Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 16, 1952

My dear Dickie,

Edwina gave me your letter of the 18th February. You must forgive me for this great delay in answering.

During our elections, I worked hard enough and dashed about all over India. I thought, rather foolishly, that after these elections were over, I could settle down to relatively peaceful activities. But I have had more troubles after the elections than I had during them, for now all kinds of problems surround me and try to overwhelm me....

You never fail to astonish me with your practical and methodical approach to life's problems. Your writing to me about my ultimate successor was a special example of this foresight. What you say is, logically speaking, absolutely correct. But logic does not go too far in this complicated world of ours; and where the democratic method flourishes, it fails even more often. Nevertheless, there is much in what you say. I am not thinking of it so much from the point of view of an individual who might succeed me, but rather of a group who might be in a position to take charge. In a sense I am always on the look out for such persons. The demand for right persons to take charge of responsible positions in India is great and growing and it is exceedingly difficult to find the right persons often enough.

I am sorry to say that Rajaji has been very unhappy for some time past. The result of the elections in South India upset him very much, and he has not recovered from the shock yet. The effect on me was not so great, partly because I saw the whole of India and we had done very well in other parts, and partly perhaps because I am constituted differently. But the fact remains that South India is teeming with problems and we are going to have a very difficult time there. The Communist and near-communist groups are going to give us an infinity of trouble. The signs of this are already visible. Unfortunately, there is rather a vacuum on our side in regard to effective leadership in the South.

Last night I was sitting in Government House at a banquet which the President gave to the Governors and Rajpramukhs. We have been having a Governors' Conference. I believe you started this. I suppose you know who the Rajpramukhs are. They are the life Governors of some of the old States or group of States. The Nizam, for instance, is the Rajpramukh of Hyderabad now. As I sat at that banquet with all these Highnesses and Excellencies and

1. J.N. Collection. Extracts.

saw the Nizam sitting near the President opposite me, my mind went back to those strenuous days of 1948 when you made such tremendous efforts to get him to come to Delhi. You did not succeed then and other things happened. Well, here was the Nizam, apparently fitting into this new picture of Rajpramukhs etc. He was not much to look at and his speech was more like a staccato bark than anything else. I had him to a buffet lunch yesterday at my house. This evening he gave a big party at the Hyderabad House here.

So, times change and the yesterdays seem very far off. The Nizam has brought a big retinue with him, two wives and innumerable children. This was his first journey by air. Just before he came, he went up for one or two short flights over Hyderabad. He now tells me that he likes air travel.

You have mentioned Krishna in your letter. I know very well what a fine job he has done. But he has been High Commissioner for four and a half years now and I think that it has become quite inevitable for a change to be made. Probably, he will come here in April. I have not decided yet about his successor. Of course, he should be a very high-class man. But where am I to find these supermen?....

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

## 17. Subhas Chandra Bose<sup>1</sup>

We are unveiling today the portrait of a comrade, friend, and a leader of India. People loved and admired him from the core of their hearts.

As I stand here today my mind goes back and travels in various directions. I look on one side to this portrait that is still to be unveiled and on the other this ancient citadel, Government House of Calcutta, which has played, perhaps, more than any other structure, an important role during the 150 years of British rule that existed in India. It struck me as both rather odd and at the same time fitting that this ceremony should take place in this ancient abode of British power in India.

Times have changed greatly and in the shaping of these changes, Subhas Chandra Bose played a very great part. When I think of him, standing as I do,

1. Speech while unveiling a life-size portrait of Subhas Chandra Bose in Calcutta, 24 March 1952. From the *National Herald*, 25 March 1952.



I feel lonely, because he was younger to me. But, although younger, he was a near and dear colleague with whom I worked for many years. So I am unveiling the portrait of one who not only served India but brought freedom to us. Somehow I lose the perspective of history standing here in this picturesque house and thinking of him on the one hand as a dear and near colleague with whom we worked for years and on the other as one who has become a part of the history of India. What part he has played in the history of India or what part any of us here today has played is a matter for future historians.

## 18. To V.K. Krishna Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
March 25, 1952

My dear Krishna,

You will remember that I had suggested to you to come to India in February. I had thought then that our elections would be over by January. When I discovered later that the elections would be going on in February, I suggested that you might come some time in March. But I told you not to fix up anything till you heard from me further.

The stress of work here continues and there is likely to be no relief from it. Early in May the new Parliament will meet and immediately I shall be rather overwhelmed with additional work. I think therefore that the best time for you to come here would be about the middle of April. You can fix any date suitable to you after the 12th April.<sup>2</sup> I shall be here most of the time but I might have to go to Madras because of famine conditions there.

These elections have brought about in their train many changes. I have now to give thought to the appointment of Governors and changes in our missions abroad. As you know, for some time past I have been thinking that it would be desirable to have a change in London. For any person to be in one place for a long period appears inadvisable. You have now been in London as our High Commissioner for four years and eight months. You have done excellent work during a critical period<sup>3</sup> of our history. Nevertheless I think that it will be good for a change to take place. I would like you very much to

1. V.K. Krishna Menon Papers, N.M.M.L.

2. Menon returned to India on 22 April 1952.

3. In his reply of 29 March 1952 Menon wrote that the period was 'perhaps not so critical' as compared to the future which lay ahead; "the period to which you refer is for me now history which is not always the womb of the future, but the graveyard of the past and the forgotten."

go as our Ambassador to Moscow. Radhakrishnan will be coming back soon and is likely to be elected our Vice-President.<sup>4</sup>

Moscow is a difficult and important place and it is not easy for us to find a suitable person. If you would agree to go there, as I hope you will, my mind would be lightened.<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary for you to go there for any long period. I would suggest a year to begin with but the period may be lengthened.

I have been thinking a great deal about your successor in London.<sup>6</sup> It will be difficult for any one to succeed you. In any event, I should like one of our best men to go there. I have thought of B.G. Kher in this connection. He is one of our top-ranking men and I have great respect for him. I think I can induce him to go there.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

4. S. Radhakrishnan was elected Vice-President of India on 24 April 1952.
5. Menon declined the offer for reasons of 'sheer unsuitability'.
6. B.G. Kher succeeded Menon as the Indian High Commissioner in London and took charge on 15 June 1952.





akhand Bharat	undivided India
choga	ceremonial gown
dalal	broker / agent
darbar	royal court
jagir	land given for services rendered
jehad	holy war
lok sevak	servant of the people
Magh mela	fair held during January and February (or the Hindu month of Magh)
mantra	invocation
maulvi	Muslim priest
mukhia	headman
phuphi	paternal aunt / father's sister
Rajpramukh	literally first among rulers and was the title of head of new Part B States
sanyasi	ascetic
sarpanch	head of the village council
shastra	religious scriptures / texts of Hindu religion
swaraj	self-rule
taluka	sub-division
tehsil	revenue sub-division of a district
terai	marshy jungle in the Himalayan foothill
Yuvaraj	crown prince





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This volume covers the five months from 1 November 1951 to 31 March 1952, when Jawaharlal Nehru was preoccupied with the general elections—India's first experiment in adult suffrage on a scale without precedent.

As President of the Congress, the squabbles over selection of candidates, and the cliques, bossism and lack of organization which were widely prevailing, filled Nehru with dismay. However excitement returned once he set out on a vigorous campaign covering 25,000 miles and addressing in all about 35 million people. He urged the masses to use their minds and was pleased to discover that "the so-called illiterate voter showed greater civic sense than most people of the towns" and by and large the voters conducted themselves peacefully. Congress, he felt, was the only party that could ensure unity against communal and separatist forces, push through land and social reforms and build a new and secular India.

The left parties were successful in halting the Nehru wave in the South and effectively exploited local dissatisfaction with the existing government, shortage of food, especially rice, caste groupings, and disintegration of the Congress organization.

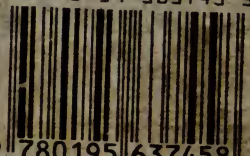
...The draft Five Year Plan seemed to him a realistic attempt "to look at the whole picture of India in its various activities—industrial, agricultural, social, cultural etc." He told the industrialists that any planning would be faulty "unless both private and public sectors are properly adjusted so as to ensure proper coordination" and warned that "freedom to private enterprise tends to create an unwholesome atmosphere in the present day world. If you want to tackle the big national problems, it is essential that you carry the teeming millions with you."

*Distributed by*  
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

ISBN 0-19-563745-3



ISBN 0-19-563745-3



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